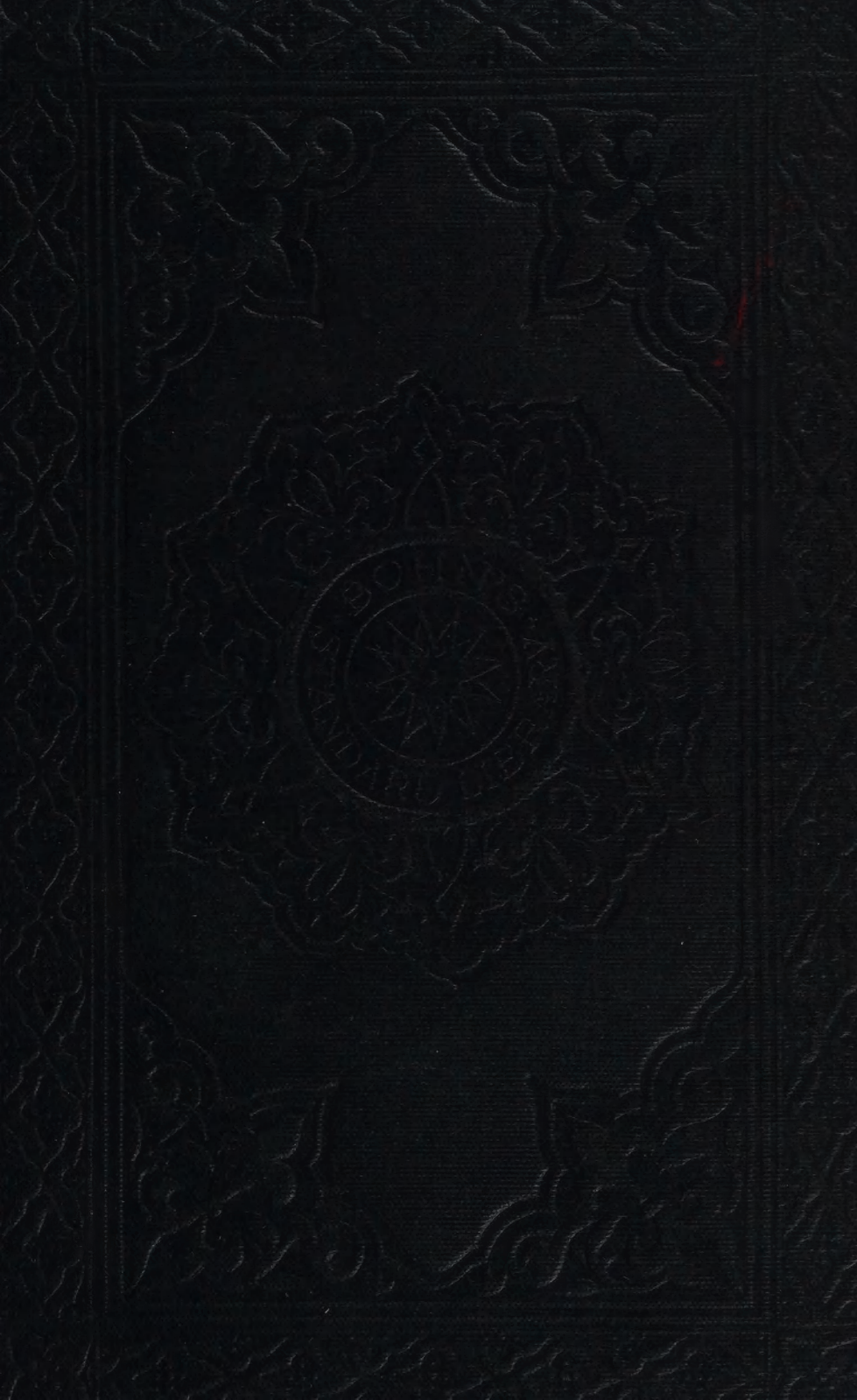

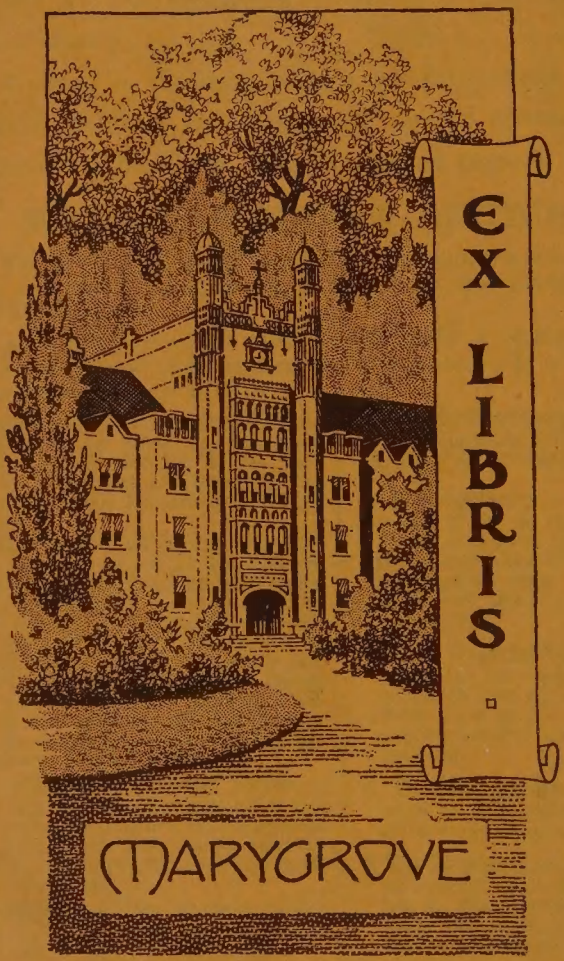
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VOL. IV.

LONDON: GEORGE BELL & SONS, YORK STREET,
COVENT GARDEN.

1879.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

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LIVES

OF THE MOST EMINENT PAINTERS, SCULPTORS, AND ARCHITECTS.

THE FLORENTINE ARCHITECT, ANTONIO DA SAN GALLO.

[BORN 148..?—DIED 1546.]

How many great and illustrious princes, richly abounding in the goods of fortune, would leave an enduring glory attached to their names, if, together with the distinction of riches and station, they had also received minds attuned to greatness and disposed to such pursuits as not only tend to promote the embellishment of the world, but are likewise capable of securing infinite advantage and perpetual enjoyment to the whole human race! But what can, or should great men and princes do the most effectually to profit by the various endowments of those who serve them, and to maintain the memories of such men and of themselves in perpetual duration, if not to erect great and magnificent edifices? For what, of all the vast outlay made by the ancient Romans when at the topmost summit of their glory, what other has remained to us, upholding the eternal splendour of the Roman name, what but those relics of buildings which we honour almost as something holy, and labour incessantly to imitate as the sole erections really beautiful? And to what extent the minds of certain princes who were ruling in the days of the Florentine architect Antonio da San Gallo were disposed to these things, will be clearly seen in the life of that master which we are now about to write.

Antonio was the son of Bartolommeo Picconi, a cooper of Mugello, and having learned the craft of the carpenter in his early youth, he departed from the city of Florence on hearing that his uncle Giuliano da San Gallo was employed in Rome, together with Antonio da San Gallo* the brother of Giuliano;

* For the lives of these masters see vol. ii. of the present work.

and followed them thither,* where he devoted himself with his whole heart to the study of architecture, giving promise at once of that distinction which we have seen him evince at a more mature age in the many works produced by his skill in all parts of Italy.

Now it chanced that Giuliano, disabled by the internal disease with which he had been long afflicted, was compelled to return to Florence, but Antonio had by that time been made known to the architect Bramante of Castel Durante,† who was also become old, and being no longer able to work as he had formerly done, from gout and paralysis of the hands, received assistance from Antonio in the designs which he was preparing. These the young architect completed to such perfection that Bramante, finding his sketches executed with the utmost exactitude, became more and more disposed to leave the charge of such works as he was then conducting to the care of Antonio, Bramante describing the arrangements which he desired to have made, and supplying all the compositions and inventions for every operation that remained to be accomplished.

With so much judgment, care, and expedition did Bramante then find himself served on all these occasions by Antonio, that in the year 1512 he committed to him the care of the Corridor which led towards the trenches of the Castel Sant' Angelo, an occupation which brought him in ten scudi per month; but the death of Pope Julius II. then intervening, the work remained unfinished. Antonio had meanwhile already acquired the reputation of possessing considerable ability in architecture, and was reputed to give evidence of a very good manner in building; this caused Alessandro, who was first Cardinal Farnese, and afterwards Pope Paul III., to conceive the idea of restoring, by his help, the old palace in the Campo di Fiore, in which he dwelt together with his family; and Antonio, anxious to put himself forward, prepared numerous designs in different manners. Among these, one by which the fabric was divided into two separate dwellings was that which best pleased his most reverend lordship, he having two sons, the Signor Pier Luigi and the Signor Ranuccio, whom he

* It was therefore that he afterwards received the name of San Gallo.

† See vol. ii.

thought he should leave well accommodated by that arrangement. The edifice was commenced accordingly; a certain portion being regularly constructed every year.

The church of Santa Maria di Loreto in Rome, which is situate at the Macello de' Corbi, near the Column of Trajan, was at this time in course of erection, and was finished by Antonio with decorations of the utmost beauty;* soon after the completion of this work, Messer Marchionne Baldassini caused a Palace to be erected near Sant' Agostino, after the designs and under the direction of Antonio. This building is arranged in such a manner, that small as it is, it merits to be and is considered the most commodious and most judiciously arranged dwelling in Rome: the steps, the court, the loggie, the doors, the communications, all parts, in short, are distributed in the most admirable manner, and each separate portion is finished with the most perfect grace.† Messer Marchionne was highly satisfied with this result, and determined that the Florentine painter, Perino del Vaga, should adorn one of the Halls with paintings of historical representations and other figures, as will be further described in his life, and these decorations imparted infinite grace and beauty to that portion of the fabric. The House of the Centelli family, near the Torre di Nona, was likewise completed under the direction of Antonio; this also is small, but exceedingly commodious.

No long time elapsed after these things before the architect was sent to Gradoli, a place within the domain of the most reverend Cardinal Farnese, where he directed the building of a very handsome and commodious Palace for that Prelate; and in his way to Gradoli, he performed a very important service, the restoration, namely, of the Fortress of Capo di Monte, which he furthermore caused to be surrounded by a low wall of most judicious construction. He prepared, at the same time, the design for the Fortress of Capraruola; and Monsignore, the most reverend Cardinal

* "For the honour of this architect," observes Bottari, "I must needs observe, that the completion of the Cupola of the Madonna of Loretto, the architecture of which is very singular and strange, is not by Antonio, but was designed by the Sicilian, Giacomo del Duca."

† Milizia remarks that the pedestals of the columns which flank the portal are "immeasurably high."

Farnese, perceiving himself to be served in a manner so satisfactory by Antonio in these numerous works, was constrained to feel great good-will for him, and as his estimation of him continually increased, he always favoured Antonio in all his undertakings to the utmost of his power.

The Cardinal Alborense, then desiring to leave a memorial of himself in the church of his native city, caused Antonio to construct a marble chapel in the church of San Jacopo degli Spagnuoli, with a tomb for himself. This chapel was afterwards painted, in the intercolumniations that is to say, by Pellegrino da Modena, as I have related: on the altar, likewise, there was placed a very beautiful statue in marble of San Jacopo which was executed by Jacopo Sansovino. The whole work is considered a very fine one, the architecture being greatly extolled, more particularly for the marble vaulting, which has octangular compartments of great beauty.

No long time after the completion of this work, Messer Bartolommeo Ferratino, for his own convenience and the enjoyment of his friends, as well as in the hope of leaving an enduring and honourable memorial of himself, caused a palace to be built by Antonio on the Piazza d'Amelia, and this also is a very creditable and beautiful work, from which the architect derived no small reputation as well as advantage.

Now at that time Antonio di Monte, Cardinal of Santa Prassedia, was in Rome, and desired that Antonio should build for him the Palace,* in which he afterwards dwelt, and which looks into the Piazza, whereon stands the Statue of Maestro Pasquino.† In the centre of that side which is turned to the Piazza, the Cardinal caused a Tower to be erected, and this was adorned from the first to the third story with a beautiful composition of columns and windows, all arranged and completed after the design of Antonio with

* Which stood where now stands the Palazzo Braschi, built after the design of Morelli, towards the close of the last century.

† This figure is the upper part of the Statue of Menelaus, and belongs to a celebrated antique group, of which there exist several copies and some repetitions; from these we learn that the hero was represented in the act of supporting Patroclus. It was called Pasquino, because the fragment was discovered near the shop of a free-spoken tailor so called, and was erected before the same. On this figure were afterwards appended the satirical songs and caustic remarks, called from that circumstance "Pasquinades."

infinite judgment and grace; it was then decorated, both within and without, by Francesco dell' Indaco, with figures and historical representations in terretta.

Antonio was now much employed by the Cardinal of Rimini also, and that Prelate commissioned him to erect for his use a Palace at Tolentino in the March. For this work he was not only most liberally rewarded by the Cardinal, but was ever afterwards considered by that personage to have laid his lordship under great obligations. While these matters were in progress, and the fame of Antonio, increasing largely, became bruited abroad, it happened that the advanced age of Bramante, with various infirmities, rendered him the denizen of another world, whereupon three architects were immediately appointed by Pope Leo to take charge of the church of San Pietro, Raphael of Urbino, namely, Giuliano da San Gallo (the uncle of Antonio), and Fra Giocondo da Verona. But no long time had elapsed before Fra Giocondo left Rome, and Giuliano da San Gallo having become old, received his dismissal from the Pontiff, and was enabled to return to Florence. Then Antonio, being in the service of the most reverend Cardinal Farnese, earnestly requested him to make supplication to Pope Leo, to the intent that the place of his uncle Giuliano might be granted to himself.* And this was a thing very easy of attainment, first, because of the abilities of Antonio, which rendered him worthy of that appointment, and next on account of the interest made for him by the friendly feeling that existed between the Pontiff and the most reverend Cardinal; thus, in company with Raphael da Urbino, Antonio continued the building, which proceeded coldly and slowly enough.

About this time Pope Leo repaired to Civita Vecchia, to fortify that city, and with him there went a large number of nobles, Giovan-Paolo Baglione and the Signor Vitello among others, with certain men of distinction for ability, as were the engineer Pietro Navarro, and the architect Antonio Marchisi, who then superintended the Fortifications. The latter had repaired thither from Naples, by command of Pope

* Antonio had already taken part in the buildings, but is mentioned in the books of the works as a carpenter only. After the 22nd Jan., 1517, he appears as "*Ajutante del Architetto.*"

Leo, and as the discourse very frequently turned on the best methods of fortifying Civita Vecchia, opinions respecting the same were many and various, some proposing one design and some another. Among so many plans, Antonio da San Gallo displayed one which was declared by the Pontiff and all those nobles and architects, to be superior to all the rest, both for beauty and strength; it was further commended for the admirable forethought displayed in its many appropriate provisions. This brought Antonio into very great credit with the court, and his abilities were soon afterwards further displayed by the reparation of a very serious oversight which he effected, and the matter was on this wise:—

Raphael of Urbino, for the purpose of obliging certain persons about the court, had permitted several void spaces to be left in the walls beneath the papal apartments and loggie, to the great injury of the whole fabric, seeing that the strength of those parts was not able to support the weight laid upon them, and the edifice already began to show signs of weakness from the insufficiency of power to sustain the superincumbent weight; nay, that part would without doubt have come down, had the abilities of Antonio not been brought to aid: but he, by means of piles and beams, filled in those little chambers or cavities thus left in the building, and, refounding the whole, imparted so much strength to the walls, that they were rendered firmer and more secure than they had ever been.

Meanwhile the Florentine nation, or community of that people abiding in Rome, had commenced the erection of their church, which is situate behind the Banchi in the Via Giulia, after a design prepared by Jacopo Sansovino; but they had brought their fabric too close to the river, and saw themselves compelled to expend a sum of twelve thousand scudi on foundations which had to be laid in the water. This was effected in a very secure and beautiful manner by Antonio da San Gallo, and the method for doing this, which Jacopo Sansovino could not discover, was found by Antonio, who erected several braccia of the edifice on the water, making a model for the same which was of such extraordinary beauty, that the work, had it been completed after that model, would without doubt have been most admirable and even astonishing. It was nevertheless a great mistake to bring the fabric

so close to the river, and their having done so proves that there was but little discretion in those who were then chief of the Florentine nation in Rome. It is certain that architects should never be permitted to found a church of such extent in a river so violent, for the mere sake of obtaining some twenty braccia of length, thereby casting away so many thousands of scudi for no better purpose than that of having ever afterwards to maintain an eternal combat with the waters.

These rulers were besides all the more to blame, because they might very easily have raised their church on land had they been willing to extend their limits in another direction, and agreed to give the building a different form, nay, what is more, they might have almost brought the whole to completion at the cost here expended so injudiciously. But if those who governed the affair put their trust in the riches possessed by the merchants of that nation, they were taught in good time the perfect fallacy of their hopes, since in all the years that the papal throne was held by Leo X. by Clemente de' Medici, by Julius III., and by Marcellus (although the latter it is true occupied it but a short time), all of whom were of the Florentine people ;—through all the time of these pontiffs, I say, and notwithstanding the greatness of so many cardinals and the riches of so many merchants, the building has remained, and still remains at the same point wherein it was left by our San Gallo.* It is manifest therefore, that architects, and all else who have to do with the erection of buildings, should think much and well of the end, taking every thing carefully into consideration, before they lay hands on a work of importance.†

But to return to Antonio: this architect restored the Fortress of Monte Fiascone, which had been constructed by Pope Urban, and for the restoration of which he received commission from the Pontiff, who took him to those parts

* It was afterwards completed by Giacomo della Porta.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† Bottari considers the want of judgment here reproved to have been manifested principally in the rejection of three plans, all presented by Michael Angelo, but not one of which found favour in the eyes of the chiefs. These plans were afterwards lost by the neglect of the same persons.

one summer in his train.* In the island of Viscentina also, which is in the lake of Bolsena, he built two small temples for the Cardinal Farnese, one of which he made an octangle on the outside, and round within, while the other was a square externally, but octangular within, the latter having four niches at the angles, one at each angle namely. These two little temples, completed as they were in a very fine manner, bore testimony to the extent of Antonio's abilities and to the variety which he was capable of imparting in architecture.† While they were still in course of erection, Antonio returned to Rome, where he commenced a palace for the Bishop of Cervia ; that fabric was situated at the corner of Santa Lucia, where the New Mint now stands, but the building was not brought to completion. This architect constructed the church of Santa Maria di Monferrato which is near the Corte Savella, and is considered exceedingly beautiful ; he also built a house for a certain Marrano which is behind the palace of Cibo, and near the houses of the Massimi family.

Then followed the death of Pope Leo X. and with him were buried all those beautiful and noble arts which had been recalled to life by his care and by that of his predecessor Julius II. ; for when Adrian VI. succeeded to the pontificate, the arts and talents of all kinds were held in so little esteem, that if he had long retained the apostolic seat, there would once more have happened in Rome under his government what had taken place at a former period, when all the statues left by the Goths, the good as well as the bad, were condemned to the fire. Nay, Pope Adrian had already begun, perhaps in imitation of the pontiffs of the times just mentioned, to talk of his intention to destroy the chapel of the divine Michelangelo, declaring it to be a congregation of naked figures, and expressing his contempt for the best pictures and statues, which he called sensualities of the world, and maintained them to be shameful and abominable inventions. This caused not only San Gallo but all the other men of genius to repose during the pontificate of that Pope, seeing that no works of any kind were proceeded with in Adrian's time; nay, to make no mention of other buildings,

* This fortress is almost entirely destroyed.—*Bottari.*

† The little temples still remain on the island.—*Ibid.*

there was scarcely anything done to the church of San Pietro to the progress of which he might at least have proved himself friendly, since he displayed so much enmity for all worldly things.*

At this time therefore, Antonio found leisure to give his attention to works of no great importance, and under that Pontiff he restored the side-aisles of the church of San Jacopo degli Spagnuoli, furnishing the principal front with handsome windows. He also constructed the tabernacle for the image of the bridge which is in Travertine, and, though small, is a very graceful work; it was afterwards adorned by Perino del Vaga, with a beautiful painting in fresco. The unfortunate arts were already beginning to suffer great wrong from Adrian's modes of thinking, when Heaven, taking pity upon them, decreed that by the death of one man thousands should receive new life; wherefore the command went forth which removed Pope Adrian from this life, and made him give place to one who could more worthily fill the station which he had held, and who would handle the affairs of this world in a different spirit. Such was Pope Clement VII. his successor, full of generous sentiments, pursuing the traces of Leo, and the other forerunners of his illustrious house; and, remembering that in his cardinalate he had already called many fine memorials of himself into existence, he considered that during his papacy it behoved him to surpass all who had preceded him, in the erection, restoration, and adornment of buildings.

The election of this pontiff was thus as the restoration to life of many a timid and dejected spirit, many were the artists consoled and reassured by that event; and to those who had sunk into despair, the accession of Clement imparted new courage and unhoped-for life; yea, these spirits, thus resuscitated, then produced those noble and beautiful works, which we now behold with so much admiration. Antonio was among the first of those who were called into action by the new pontiff, and, receiving a commission from his Holiness for the restoration of the court before the loggie of Raphael,

* Vasari, as an artist, censures Pope Adrian for his neglect of the fine arts; but the churchman Bottari has most justly eulogized his holy life, and the efforts made by this excellent Pontiff in the service of religion and morals. See also Ranke, *History of the Popes*, vol. i.

he set instantly to work. The court was soon rendered by his labours a very beautiful and commodious one, for whereas the passage had previously been by narrow and tortuous ways, San Gallo extended the latter and gave all a better form. But this part of the palace is not now as Antonio left it, Pope Julius III. having taken from it the granite columns wherewith it was adorned, to decorate his villa with the same; the place is therefore entirely changed.

The principal façade of the Old Mint of Rome, which is situate in Banchi, was very beautifully restored by Antonio, who turned the angle of that building in a circular form, which is considered a very difficult thing to accomplish, and is much admired; on this building the architect placed the arms of the Pontiff. The death of Pope Leo had prevented the completion of the papal Loggie, and the carelessness of Pope Adrian had caused them to remain in their unfinished state; in his pontificate they were indeed not even touched, but Antonio was now commanded to proceed with them, and at the desire of Pope Clement, they were at length brought to a conclusion.

His Holiness then determined to fortify Parma and Placenza, when, after many plans and models had been made by divers artists, Antonio was sent to those places, and with him Giuliano Leno, the inspector of the fortifications; San Gallo had his disciple Labacco to assist him in this work, and Pier Francesco da Viterbo, a very skilful engineer, was also there, as was the Veronese architect Michele da San Michele; when all together they brought the designs for those fortifications to perfection. Antonio then left the others remaining there and returned to Rome.* Here he received a commission from the Pope to build certain apartments in the Papal palace, where there was but little convenience in respect to the chambers; he commenced those over the Ferraria accordingly, where the public concistory is now held, and these he arranged in such a manner that the Pope was highly satisfied with his work, and caused him to erect rooms for the chamberlains of his Holiness above those before-mentioned.

* In the first edition, we find "Antonio departed alone, and going to Rome, he took Florence in his way, for the purpose of visiting his friends, and this happened in the year MDXXVI." Then follows the account of his marriage, as it will be given in a subsequent note.

Over these chambers, moreover, Antonio raised others, which were exceedingly commodious, although the construction thereof was a very difficult undertaking by reason of the new foundations required for the same. On this point Antonio was of a truth very skilful, his buildings never show a crack, nor has there ever been one among the architects of modern times who has proved himself to be more cautious, or who has displayed greater prudence in the execution of masonry.

In the time of Pope Paul II. the church of the Madonna of Loretto, was very small, and had its roof erected immediately over the columns, which were constructed of brick in a very rude manner; but during the pontificate of that Pope, this church was partially rebuilt and enlarged to the extent we now see, by favour of the genius and skill of Giuliano da Majano. Under Sixtus IV. and others it was continued to a certain height, as we have before said; but in the year 1526, and in the time of Pope Clement VII., although there had before never been the slightest intimation of decay perceived, the edifice began to crack in such a manner, that not only were the arches of the Tribune in danger of falling, but the whole church also was in many places threatened with ruin, the cause being that the foundations were not sufficiently strong, nor of adequate depth. Antonio was therefore sent to Loretto by the Pontiff, to the end that he might repair so grievous a disorder; and having arrived there, he gave the requisite supports to the arches, and providing for every demand, like the bold and judicious architect that he was, he restored the whole fabric, strengthening the piers and walls both within and without, giving the building a beautiful form in the whole; and carefully regulating the proportions of each separate part; he thus finally rendered the walls strong enough to bear any weight that might require to be laid on them, however massive.

Antonio continued the transept and aisles of the church in one and the same order, adorning the architraves over the arches with superb mouldings; the frescoes and cornices also being equally beautiful: he likewise imparted the utmost richness to the basement of the four great piers, which, passing around the eight sides of the tribune, support the four arches, three of which are in the transepts namely, where the

chapels are constructed, and the larger one in the middle aisle. Now this work does certainly merit to be celebrated as the best which Antonio ever performed, and that not without reasonable cause, for while he who constructs an entirely new building, erecting it from its foundations, has full power to raise or lower it at his pleasure, and to bring it to such perfection as he will or can, without impediment of any kind; he, on the contrary, who has to rectify or restore the edifice commenced by others, but who have succeeded badly, either by misfortune or by the inability of the artist, finds himself to possess none of these advantages; wherefore, it may be truly affirmed, that Antonio resuscitated the dead, and performed that which was all but impossible. Having effected all that we have related, the master then arranged for the covering of the church with lead, and gave directions for the manner in which all that still remained to be completed should be done; insomuch, that by his endeavours this most renowned temple may be said to have received a better form, and more perfect grace, than it had previously possessed, with the hope also of a very long duration.

From Loretto Antonio returned to Rome, which he did after that city had been plundered, and when the Pope was abiding in Orvieto. The whole court was then suffering the utmost inconvenience from the want of water; for which cause, and by command of the Pontiff, Antonio constructed a fountain for the city of Orvieto, sinking the well for that purpose, and executing the work entirely in stone, the width being twenty-five braccia, and the descent by a winding stair. This is cut in the Tufa, one step above another, according to the winding of the path to the well, to the bottom of which one descends by these spiral stairs with all convenience; and the animals which carry the water, entering by one door, descend by one of these planes or steps, and having arrived at the platform where they take in their load, they receive the water, and, without turning round, they pass to the other branch of the spiral ascent which turns over that by which they descended, and thus emerge from the well by a different and opposite door to that by which they entered it. This construction, which was a most ingenious, useful, and admirably beautiful work,* had almost

* Bottari tells us that there is a well of this kind in the Palace of

attained completion before the death of Clement, and as the only part remaining to be executed was the mouth of the well, Pope Paul III. commanded that it should be finished, but not after the manner in which Pope Clement, following the counsels of Antonio, had intended to have it completed. The master was greatly extolled for this beautiful work, and it is certain that the ancients never produced anything of the kind which could be considered equal to it, whether as regards the art or laborious industry manifested in its construction; the circular space of the centre is contrived in such a manner that it gives light to the two staircases we have mentioned, even down to the bottom, by means of windows inserted at given distances.*

While this work was in progress, the same architect was also directing those of the fortress of Ancona, which was completed at a later period. Pope Clement at the same time resolved to construct an impregnable fortress in Florence, of which city his nephew Alessandro de' Medici was then Duke.† Alessandro Vitelli, Pier-Francesco of Viterbo, and Antonio Sangallo took orders for this enterprize accordingly, and by them the Castel or Fort,‡ which stands between the gate of Prato and that of San Gallo, was erected and completed with such expedition that no edifice of the kind, either in ancient or modern times, was ever brought to conclusion in so short a period. Beneath one of the towers, that namely which was the first founded, and which was called the Tower of Toso, various inscriptions and medals were deposited with great solemnity and splendour. This work is now famous throughout the world, and is considered to be entirely impregnable.§

By the direction of Antonio da San Gallo it was that the

Chambord, the well-known "Pleasure-house" of Francis I. of France, and his successors.

* Milizia, *Memorie degli Architetti Antichi e Moderni*, mentions a construction of similar character as existing at Turin.

† Gaye, *Carteggio inedito*, &c., gives a letter from Alexander de' Medici to Antonio da San Gallo, bearing date the 10th March, 1534, and wherein the Duke proposes this undertaking to the architect.

‡ The fort here in question is that called the *Fortezza da Basso*, and also that of San Giovanni Battista.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

§ This would now no longer be affirmed of the fort in question.—*Masselli.*

sculptor Tribolo, Raffaello da Monte Lupo, Francesco da San Gallo, who was then very young, and Simon Cioli, were invited to Loretto, when the stories in marble, which had been commenced by Andrea Sansovino, were completed by those masters. Antonio likewise invited to the same place, the Florentine Antonio Il Mosca, an excellent worker in marbles, and who was at that time occupied, as will be related in his life, with the execution of a mantel-piece, in stone for the heirs of Pellegrino da Fossombrone, which proved to be a most divine work of carving, when fully completed.* This Mosca, I say, complying with the request of Antonio, repaired to Loretto, where he executed certain festoons and garlands in stone, which are most exquisitely beautiful; and the decoration of that Chamber of Our Lady was thus completed with diligence and promptitude by the cares of Sangallo, although he had at that time five works of importance on his hands. Nay, though all of these were in different places, and distant each from the other, yet did Antonio so arrange his time that he never suffered any one to be neglected, and if at any time he was unable to be present when required at either of them, he sent his brother Battista as his substitute. These five works were: first the above-named Fortress of Florence,† next that of Ancona, thirdly the Chapel of Loretto, fourthly the Apostolic Palace, and finally the Well of Orvieto.

On the death of Pope Clement VII., and when Cardinal Farnese had been elected High Pontiff, taking the name of Paul III., Antonio San Gallo, who had been the friend of the new Pope during his cardinalate, rose into still higher credit, and his Holiness having created his son, Pier-Luigi, Duke of Castro, despatched Antonio to Castro, there to prepare designs for the Fortress, which the Duke Pier-Luigi proposed to construct at that place, as also other designs for the Palace to be erected on the Piazza, called l'Osteria, and for the Mint, which is built in the same place of Travertine, and

* This work, of which more in the Life of Mosca, is now in the Casa Falciai at Borgo Maestro.—*Förster.*

† From the letters of Nanni Unghero to Antonio, and which will be found in the *Lettere Pittoriche*, we learn that Sangallo sent plans and directions for this work from Loretto to Florence, for the guidance of those to whom the superintendence of the works had been committed.

after the plan of that in Rome. Nor were these the only plans prepared by Antonio in that city; he also made designs for many other palaces and buildings of various character, for different persons, some natives of the place, and some strangers. These edifices were in many instances erected at such enormous cost that to whoever has not seen them, the account would seem incredible; they were finished at all points, with the most commodious arrangements, and in the richest manner; this being done by many, without doubt for the purpose of gaining credit with the Pope, for so it is that many seek to obtain favour for themselves by flattering the humour of princes, and in such cases as these it may at least be admitted that the thing deserves commendation in a certain sense, inasmuch as that it redounds to the convenience, advantage, and enjoyment of all.*

In the year which saw Charles V. returning victorious from Tunis, and when there were erected in Messina, Apuglia, and Naples, very magnificent Arches of Triumph in celebration of so great a victory, Antonio received a commission from the Pope to erect a Triumphal Arch† of wood-work at the Palace of San Marco in Rome likewise, the Emperor being expected to visit that city also. This construction presented a square of four sides, being intended to form the entrance of two streets, and was so beautiful, that a more admirably proportioned or more superb work in wood has never been seen. Nay, if the splendour and cost of marble had been added to the forethought, art, and care, bestowed on the design, formation, and construction of this fabric, it might with truth have been enumerated—the perfection of its statues, decorations in painting, and other ornaments considered—among the seven wonders of the world. The Arch was placed at the outermost angle of the place, where it turns towards the principal piazza namely; it was of the Corinthian order, the four round columns of silver-gilt standing on each side, the capitals thereof being beautifully carved in foliage, and richly gilded with gold. Over the columns, both within and without, there were also very superb archi-

* The city having been afterwards demolished, all the works here alluded to have perished.—*Bottari.*

† A particular description of this arch, with its elaborate ornaments, will be found in the Life of Battista Franco, which follows.

traves, friezes, cornices, and ressaults, with four historical delineations painted between the columns, two on each side namely; so that there were in the whole eight of these representations, the subjects of several among them being events from the life of the Emperor Charles, as will be further described in the lives of the artists by whom they were painted.

The splendour of this erection was further enhanced by the addition of two figures in relief, each four braccia and a half high, which were placed on the summit of the two sides of the said arch, and presented the effigies of Rome, her figure standing between two others, representing Emperors of the House of Austria that is to say, those at the one side being Albert and Maximilian, those on the other Frederick and Rudolph. At the angles, on each of the sides were furthermore placed Four Captives, two on each side, with a vast number of Trophies, also in relief, and with the Arms of his Majesty; the whole of which Antonio da Sangallo caused to be executed under his own direction by the most eminent sculptors and the best painters then to be found in Rome. Nor was this all; for not only was the arch directed by Antonio, but every other preparation for the festival to be held on the reception of this great and invincible monarch was arranged under the direction of the same artist.

Our architect then continued the Fortress of Nepi, for the Duke of Castro; with the fortifications of the entire city, which is very beautiful as well as impregnable. He laid out many streets also in the same place, and prepared designs for numerous houses and palaces by commission from the citizens thereof. His Holiness then caused the bastions of Rome, which are of great strength, to be constructed, and the Gate of Santo Spirito being included among these works; this last was built after the design and under the direction of Antonio, by whom it was adorned with decorations of Travertine, in the rustic manner. This work unites so much strength with its extraordinary magnificence, that it may well bear comparison with the labours of antiquity. Attempts were made, after the death of Antonio, by those who were actuated by envy rather than by considerations of a more reasonable character, to procure the destruction of this gate, and that by very unusual means, but they did not

obtain their ends from the rulers who were in power at the time.*

It was under the direction of the same architect, that almost the whole of the foundations beneath the Apostolic Palace were strengthened and restored; many parts besides those we have mentioned, being in great danger of ruin, more particularly on one side of the Sistine Chapel, that whereon are the works of Michelagnolo namely, and on the façade also. This Antonio effected in such a manner, that not the slightest cleft or crack was afterwards perceptible; a work in which there was more danger than honour. He also enlarged the great hall of the Sistine chapel, and in two lunettes on the principal side he constructed those two immense windows which we now see there, with their extraordinary sashes, and compartments thrown forward into the vaulting and decorated with stucco-work: all which was done at great cost, and is a work of so much beauty that this may be considered the richest and most beautiful hall which had then been seen in the world. To this hall the master added a magnificent staircase, forming the communication between the Sistine Chapel and the church of San Pietro: this also is so beautiful and commodious an erection, that nothing better has ever been seen, whether among the ancients or moderns. The Pauline Chapel, wherein the sacrament is deposited, is likewise by Antonio Sangallo, and is a building of singularly beautiful and attractive character; it is indeed so exquisitely proportioned and arranged, that the graceful fabric appears to present itself arranged in festive smiles, as if to welcome the entrance of the visitor.

At the time when contentions were existing between the Pope and the people of Perugia, Antonio constructed the fortifications of that city; this work, in the progress of which the dwellings of the Baglioni family were razed to the ground, was completed by the architect with extraordinary rapidity, and was considered to be very finely executed. Antonio also built the fortress of Ascoli, and brought it to such a state in the course of a few days, that it could be held

* This magnificent gate was never completed, and will now very probably remain unfinished, the extension given to the walls of San Pancrazio by Pope Urban VIII. having rendered the gate of Santo Spirito useless.

by the guard; whereas the Ascolani, as well as other people, having supposed that it could not be put forward to that extent under a lapse of years, stood confounded on seeing the garrison so instantly appointed and installed;—the people, I say, remained looking at each other in utter astonishment, and could with difficulty credit what their eyes beheld. For his own house in the Strada Giulia at Rome, Antonio subsequently made new foundations; these being needful for the better defence of the same against the floods of the Tiber; and he not only began but also completed a great part of the palace near San Biagio, which he then inhabited himself, but which is now the property of the Cardinal Riccio da Montepulciano,* who has added many beautiful rooms thereto, and decorated the whole at a great cost in addition to what had been expended by Antonio, which was not less than many thousands of scudi.

But all the works performed by Antonio da San Gallo for the use and advantage of the world, were as nothing in comparison with the model of the most venerable and most stupendous fabric of San Pietro at Rome, which, having been first planned by Bramante, was afterwards re-arranged and enlarged in a most extraordinary manner, and after a new plan by himself, who imparted its due dignity to the whole as well as correct proportion and befitting arrangement to every separate part. The truth of this assertion may be seen by the model made of wood and finished at every point with the utmost exactitude, by the hand of San Gallo's disciple, Antonio Labacco. This model, by which San Gallo acquired a very great increase of fame, was engraved and published after his death, together with the ground-plan of the whole edifice, by Antonio Labacco, who proposed thereby to make known the extent of ability possessed by San Gallo, and also to the end that all men might learn what had been the real opinions and intentions of that architect, seeing that new orders of a totally opposite character had been given by Michelagnolo, and out of these changes and new arrangements there had arisen many disputes and contentions, as

* Agincourt, *Histoire de l' Art d' apres les Monumens*, has given a plate of this building, No. 32, pl. LXXII. It is now in the Sacchetti Palace.

will be related in the proper place.* It appeared to Michelagnolo and to many others also, by whom the model of Antonio Sangallo has been examined, and who have seen such portions of the work as were executed by him, that he has injured the effect of the whole, and diminished its force, by the many ressaults and divisions which he has adopted, and by members which are too small, as are the columns for example, and those arches above arches and cornices over cornices with which he has loaded his work.

It appeared also that the decoration or garland of columns, small and numerous, with which he had surrounded the two bell-towers of his plan as well as the four small tribunes and the principal Cupola, had failed to give satisfaction, neither did or do please very greatly all those minute pyramids of which he proposed to form the finish, seeing that in all these things the model does rather seem to imitate the Teutonic or Gothic manner than the good and ancient one now usually followed by the best architects All these various parts being completed by Labacco soon after the death of Antonio, it was found that the above-described model of San Pietro, in that which appertains to the wood-work and the carpenters only, had cost a sum of 4184 scudi; but the said Labacco, who had the charge of that work, did certainly acquit himself exceedingly well in the construction of the same, he being intimately acquainted with the details of architecture, as may be clearly perceived by the book which he has published in relation to the buildings of Rome, and which is indeed an extremely beautiful work. With respect to the model here in question, and which may now be seen in the principal chapel of San Pietro,† the length thereof is thirty-five palms and the width twenty-six, its height is twenty palms and a half, whence the completed work would have had a length, according to this model, of 1040 palms or 104 canne, and the width would have been 360 palms or sixty-three canne, for,

* In the Life of Michael Angelo.

† The useless repetition of columns, pilasters, and decorations of all kinds to be remarked in this model, which is still preserved in the "Ottagono di San Gregorio," fully justifies the dissatisfaction here intimated by Vasari. We find it related that, to one who was remarking that this model "afforded a fine field," Michael Angelo replied, interrupting, "Aye, verily, for oxen and horned cattle, who understand but little of architecture."

according to the measure of the masons, the canna used at Rome consists of ten palms.

For the labour he had given to this model of his and for various designs presented by him, Antonio was adjudged by the superintendents who were over the fabric of San Pietro to receive a sum of fifteen hundred scudi, and of these he was at once paid a thousand, but he never received the remainder, seeing that shortly after he had completed such model he passed to the other life. Antonio enlarged and increased the strength of the piers in the above-named church of San Pietro, to the intent that the weight of the tribune might repose securely thereon, he also filled in all the scattered parts of the foundations with solid material, and thereby rendered the whole so strong, that there is now no cause of fear lest the fabric should display further cracks, nor is there any chance of its being in danger of falling as was the case in the time of Bramante. And if this masterpiece of care and prudence were upon the earth instead of being hidden as it is beneath it, the work would cause the boldest genius to stand amazed, for which cause the name and fame of this admirable artist must ever retain a place among those most distinguished in the domain of art.*

We find that even as early as the times of the ancient Romans, the dwellers in Terni and the men of Narni were ever at the bitterest enmity with each other, and so does it remain with those people to the present day; and the reason has been, that the lake of Marmora, sometimes becoming stagnant, frequently caused very great injury to one of the aforesaid communities; but when the people of Narni would fain have given outlet to the waters, the men of Terni could by no means be brought to consent thereto, for which reason there has ever been strife between them, whether Pontiffs or Emperors were ruling in Rome. We find that in the time of Cicero, that orator was despatched by the senate to compose these differences; but the quarrel remained unappeased nevertheless. In the year 1546 ambassadors were sent on the same

* The principal merit of Antonio San Gallo consisted in the solidity of his buildings, as Vasari has before remarked. Bramante, on the contrary, neglected this essential point in his great haste, and constructed edifices which have cost more to maintain them in order than they did to erect them.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

subject to Pope Paul III., who thereupon commissioned Antonio Sangallo to repair to the place, and do his best for the termination of the contest. It was then resolved, by the advice of the architect, that an outlet should be made for the lake on the side whereon the wall is situated, and Antonio caused it to be cut through at that part, but not without extreme difficulty. The heat also was very great, and this, with other inconveniences, Antonio being now old and weakly, caused him to fall sick of a fever at Terni, when he soon after gave up the ghost.

The death of Antonio was the occasion of infinite grief to his friends and kindred, many buildings also were much delayed by this event, more particularly the palace of the Farnese family, near the Campo di Fiore. Pope Paul III., while he was still Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, had already brought that fabric to a considerable height, the first floor in the principal front was in process of construction, the inner hall and one side of the court-yard were likewise erected, but the building had not proceeded to such extent as to display the perfection of its details, when the Cardinal, being elected Pontiff, Antonio changed the whole plan, since it appeared to him that he had no longer to erect the palace of a Cardinal, but of a Pope.* Having demolished certain of the old houses that stood around it, therefore, and taken down the staircase, which he rebuilt in a more commodious form, he extended the court and the entire palace, enlarged the halls, added to the number of the rooms, and enriched the whole with elaborately-carved ceilings, and many other decorations.

Antonio had thus completed the principal front to the second floor, and nothing was now wanting than that the cornice, which was to surround the whole, should be added to the fabric; but as the Pope, who was a man of an aspiring mind and possessed very good judgment, desired to have a cornice more beautiful and richer than had ever been seen in any other palace whatever, he determined that, in addition to the designs prepared by Antonio, all the best architects of Rome should prepare one, each after his own manner, from

* Ferrario, *Palazzi di Roma*, has given the sketch of this palace. Plates of the same may also be found in D'Agincourt, De' Rossi, and others.

which the Pontiff might then choose that which best pleased him, but intending, nevertheless, that Sangallo should carry the design chosen into execution. Thus it happened one morning, while the Pontiff was at breakfast in the Belvidere, that these collected designs were laid before his Holiness in the presence of Antonio, the masters proposing these plans being Perino del Vaga, Fra Bastiano del Piombo, Michelagnolo Buonarroti, and Giorgio Vasari, who was then very young and in the service of the Cardinal Farnese, by commission from whom and from the Pope, he had prepared not one only but two designs of different character for that work. It is true, that Buonarroti did not take his own design himself, but sent it by the above-named Giorgio Vasari, who had gone to him to show the designs which he had made, to the end that Michelagnolo as a friend might give him his opinion respecting them. To Vasari, therefore, Michelagnolo gave his design, desiring that he would present it to the Pope, and would at the same time make an excuse for that he, being indisposed, had not brought it in person.

The designs being all laid before the Pontiff accordingly, his Holiness examined them all attentively and for a long time, commending all as ingenious and beautiful, but extolling that of the divine Michelagnolo above all. Now all this did not take place without some vexation to Antonio, whom that mode of proceeding on the part of the Pope could not much gratify, since he would fain have done every thing by himself; but the thing which displeased him more than all the rest was to see that Pope Paul made great account of a certain Jacopo Melighino of Ferrara, and even availed himself of his services as an architect in the building of San Pietro; nay, although Melighino possessed no ability in design and showed no judgment in his proceedings, the Pope had conferred on him a stipend equal to that of Antonio, on whom all the labours devolved. And this happened because this Melighino, having been a faithful follower of the Pope for many years without any reward, his Holiness was pleased to make it up to him in that manner. He had besides the care of the Belvidere, and of some other buildings belonging to the Pope.

When his Holiness, therefore, had sufficiently examined all the designs presented to him by the above-named masters,

he remarked, perhaps by way of putting Antonio to the trial, 'All these are beautiful, but it would not be amiss that we should look at one which has been made by our Melighino." Thereupon Antonio, getting somewhat angry, and convinced that the Pope was only making a jest of him, replied, "Holy Father, Melighino is but an architect in joke." Hearing which, the Pope, who was seated, turned towards Antonio, and bowing his head almost to the ground, made answer: "Antonio, it is our pleasure that Melighino should be an architect in earnest, and so you may see by the stipend he receives." Having said this, he rose and went away, dismissing all who were present, and herein he perhaps intended to show that it is sometimes by the will of princes, rather than by their own merits, that certain men are conducted to such greatness as the said princes shall please to confer.* The cornice in question was afterwards erected by Michelagnolo, who gave an almost entirely different form to the greater part of that palace, as will be related in his life.

At the death of Antonio Sangallo, there remained behind him his brother, Battista Gobbo, a man of considerable ingenuity, who had devoted nearly the whole of his time to the buildings of his brother, but was not treated very well by him. This Battista did not live many years after Antonio, and when he died he left all that he possessed to the Florentine Brotherhood of the Misericordia in Rome, but with the condition that they should cause to be printed a book of Remarks on Vitruvius, which he had written. That book has, nevertheless, not been given to the world, although it is believed that it may be a good one,† seeing that Battista was well acquainted with the details of his art, possessed admirable judgment, and was a most upright and sincere man.

But to return to Antonio. His death having taken place at Terni, he was carried to Rome and there borne to the tomb with very great pomp, being followed to his grave by all the

* Piacenza, in his additions to Baldinucci, has the following plaint:—"Too many of the race of the Melighini may be found, even in our own day, nor is there any lack of the Paul III. genus."

† In the Corsini Library in Rome is still preserved the printed copy of Vitruvius, on which Battista wrote his marginal notes, and wherein he designed numerous figures, by way of illustration to the text. His translated MS. of the same work is also there, but is exceedingly obscure, and this may perhaps have been one cause of its not having been printed.

artists in design and many other persons. His remains were deposited in the church of San Pietro, by command of the superintendents of that fabric, being placed in a sepulchre near the chapel of Pope Sixtus, which is in that church, and here he was honoured with the following inscription: *

Antonio Sancti Galli Florentino urbe munienda ac Publ. operibus, precipueq. D. Petri Templo ornan. architectorum facile principi, dum Velini Lacus emissionem parat, Paolo Pont. Max. auctore, interamne intempestive extincto, Isabella Deta uxor Mæstiss posuit, MDXLVI. III *Calend. Octobris.*

And of a truth, Antonio, having been a most excellent architect, has no less merited to be extolled and renowned, as his works fully demonstrate, than any other master in the same art, whether ancient or modern.†

* This inscription is no longer to be seen.

† Antonio left two sons, Orazio and Giulio, the mother of whom, Isabella, or Lisabetta Deti, was a woman of singular beauty; the relation of his marriage with her is inserted in the first edition of our author, but is omitted in the second. After speaking of Antonio's return from Parma to Florence, Vasari proceeds to say: "And so, as it chanced that he looked about him in the streets as one does after a long absence on returning to the native place, he espied a young girl of most beautiful aspect, with whom for her beauty and her grace he forthwith fell in love; when conferring with his kindred respecting a marriage with this girl, they discouraged that purpose greatly, but in despite of all, and much to the discontent of his brother, he persisted in his intention, and fulfilled his wishes. Antonio had always shown himself harsh and obstinate towards his parents, nay, the life of his father was shortened visibly by the grief he felt at being abandoned by his son. This woman, whom Antonio thus married against all counsel, soon proved herself exceedingly proud and haughty; she lived rather in the manner of a most splendid lady than of an architect's wife, running into such disorders and making such outlay, that her husband's gains, large as they were, proved as nothing to the pomps and vanities of this woman. She drove her mother-in-law from the house, and caused her to die in misery; never could she look with a peaceful eye at any one of Antonio's relations, she thought of nothing but exalting her own kindred, but as for his relations, they might get them beneath the earth. Yet, not for all this did Battista, who was singularly endowed by nature and richly adorned with goodness, refrain from honouring and serving his brother; but all in vain, for he never received any token of affection from Antonio, either during the life or at the death of the latter." The widow of Antonio soon married again, seeing that in the year 1548 we find mention of her as the wife of the Florentine, Giovanni Romei of Castiglion, when she was involved in much trouble on account of her first husband's affairs.

THE PAINTER, GIULIO ROMANO.*

[BORN 1492—DIED 1546.]

AMONG the many, nay, rather, the innumerable scholars of Raphael of Urbino, although the greater part of them became able artists, there was none who pursued the footsteps of the master more closely, whether as regarded manner, invention, design, or colouring, than Giulio Romano; nor was there any one among them who was better versed in the principles of art, of bolder genius, richer fancy, or more varied and abundant resources;† to say nothing at the present moment of his pleasing conversation, his cheerful and obliging disposition, his graceful demeanour, or the propriety of his deportment, qualities for which he was so much beloved by Raphael, that he could scarcely have been more so had he been a son of his own. Whence it happened, that on all occasions of especial importance, it was of Giulio's services that Raphael constantly availed himself, and this was more particularly the case in the works undertaken by the divine master for Pope Leo X.‡ in the papal Loggie. The designs for the architectural details for the ornaments, and for the pictures, were prepared by Raphael, but he then made Giulio Romano execute several of these pictures, as for example, the Creation of Adam and Eve, that of the Animals, the Building of Noah's Ark, the Sacrifice, and many other works, which are known by the manner; among others that of the Daughter of Pharaoh, who, with her women, discovers Moses in his ark of bulrushes, when he has been thrown into the river by the Hebrews: a work considered admirable for the beauty of a landscape, which is very finely executed therein.

Giulio Romano assisted Raphael in the painting of many things in that apartment of the Torre Borgia wherein is the Conflagration of the Borgo, more particularly the basement,

* The family name of Giulio Romano was Pippi.

† Modern authorities are not in all cases willing to subscribe to the amount of praise bestowed by our author on Giulio Romano. See Kugler, *Geschichte der Malerei;* Platner and Bunsen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom.;* and others.

‡ The paintings of the Loggia have been engraved in thirty plates by G. Ottaviani. It will be observed that in the life of Raphael Vasari has spoken of Giulio Romano as having worked but little in the Loggia.

which is painted in colours to imitate bronze, and where Giulio depicted figures of the Countess Matilda, King Pepin, Charlemagne, Godfrey de Bouillon, King of Jerusalem, and other benefactors of the church; these are all works of great merit, and no long time since there were published engravings of parts thereof, executed after a design made by Giulio himself. He also depicted the larger portion of the stories in fresco which adorn the loggia of Agostino Chigi, and worked much upon a most beautiful picture in oil of Sant' Elizabetta, which Raphael had prepared for the purpose of sending the same to Francis King of France; with another picture of Santa Margareta,* which was almost entirely painted by Giulio Romano, after the design of Raphael, who sent a portrait of the Vice-Queen of Naples to the same monarch, whereof he had but taken the likeness of the head from the life, all the rest being executed by Giulio.† These pictures, which were exceedingly welcome to that sovereign, are still in France, at Fontainebleau that is to say, in the chapel of the king.

Proceeding thus in the service of Raphael his master, and acquiring a knowledge of the most intricate difficulties of his art, which were taught to him by Raphael with the utmost affection and solicitude, Giulio soon became well able to draw perfectly in perspective, to measure edifices and take plans of buildings, Raphael frequently designing and sketching certain inventions, after his own fashion, which he would then leave to Giulio, to the end that the latter might complete them on an enlarged scale, and with the exact measurement and proportions, so that they could afterwards be used by the master in his architectural undertakings. In these last-mentioned labours more particularly, Giulio Romano soon began to take great delight, and devoted his attention thereto in such sort, that, when at a later period he exercised the vocation of the architect, he proved himself to be a very excellent master. After Raphael's death, therefore, and when Giulio and Giovan-Francesco, called Il Fattore, being left his

* Now in the Louvre. The St. Elizabeth has been engraved by Edelinck and by Jacob Frey; the St. Margaret by Desnoyers.

† The portrait of Joanna of Arragon, Vice-Queen of Naples, is also in the Gallery of the Louvre. This work is among those engraved by Raphael Morghen.

heirs, were charged with the office of completing the works commenced by Raphael, it was by Giulio Romano that the greater part of the same were creditably conducted to perfection.

Now, the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who was afterwards Pope Clement VII., had about that period taken possession of a piece of ground at Rome, which was situate beneath the Monte Mario, and where, in addition to a beautiful view, there was a fine running stream, with richly wooded banks in some parts, and at others an agreeable extent of plain, running along the shore of the Tiber, as far as the Ponte Molle;* on each side of the river moreover, there was a range of meadow lands stretching almost to the Gate of San Pietro. Cardinal Giulio therefore resolved to erect a palace on the highest point of the shore, where there was a level space, well suited to that purpose; proposing to furnish his new building with all the beauties and conveniences of fine apartments, gardens, loggie, fountains, groves, and every other embellishment that could be devised; the charge of the whole being given to Giulio. Very willingly did the latter put hand to that work, and in due time he completed the palace, (which was then called the Vigna de' Medici, but is now known as the Madama,†) bringing it to that perfection of which we shall discourse at more length below.

The principal front, in pursuance of the desire of the Cardinal, and to accommodate the building to the site, was constructed in the form of a half circle, after the manner of a theatre, with an alternation of niches and windows of the Ionic order, which was so beautiful that many believed the first sketch to have been made by Raphael himself,‡ and that the structure was but continued and brought to its conclusion by Giulio. That artist then executed numerous paintings in the apartments and other portions of the building, more particularly in a most beautiful Loggia, which passes behind the first vestibule, and is decorated all around with niches, large and small, wherein are vast numbers of

* The Milvian Bridge.

† The building received the name of the Villa Madama from the Duchess Margareta Farnese. It is now the property of the Neapolitan crown. The exterior does not correspond with Giulio Romano's sketch, nor has it even been completed.

‡ In the Life of Raphael, Vasari plainly affirms this to have been the case. See vol. ii. p. 46.

ancient statues; among others was formerly a Jupiter of great value, but this was afterwards sent by the Farnese family, with many other beautiful statues, to the King Francis of France. In addition to those statues, the Loggia in question is also richly adorned with stucco-work, the walls and ceilings being likewise decorated with arabesques and *grottesche* by the hand of Giovanni da Udine.* And at the head of the same is a fresco painted by Giulio himself, and representing Poliphemus, a figure of immense size, with a vast number of children and little satyrs sporting around him. The master obtained high commendation for this group, as he did indeed for all the works designed and executed by him at that palace, which he adorned with fountains, grottoes, groves, fish-ponds, ornamental pavements, and other decorations of similar kind, all executed with the most perfect order and judgment.

It is indeed true, that on the death of Pope Leo, the work was discontinued for the time, seeing that when Pope Adrian had been chosen Pontiff, and the Cardinal de' Medici returned to Florence, this fabric was left neglected, with all the other public buildings commenced by Adrian's predecessor. But Giulio, in the meantime, employed himself, with Giovan-Francesco, in the completion of different works left unfinished by Raphael, and those artists prepared themselves to execute a portion of the Cartoons, which their master had designed for the great hall of the palace, and wherein he had himself commenced the painting of four stories from the life of the Emperor Constantine; nay, at the moment when he died, Raffaello had covered one side of the hall with the proper groundwork for painting on it in oil. The two disciples, nevertheless, soon perceived that Adrian, as a man who cared neither for paintings, sculptures, nor any other good work, had no mind to see these pictures finished, and they were discouraged almost to desperation, seeing that they themselves, with Perino del Vaga, Giovanni da Udine, Bastiano Veniziano, and many other excellent artists, were all, during the life of Adrian, but little better than dying with hunger.

But as it pleased God, while all the court, accustomed to the

* Lanzi calls this artist Giovanni Ricamatore. See *History*, &c., vol. i. p. 395.

splendours and liberalities of Leo, were dismayed and bewildered, and the best of the artists were beginning to consider where they might seek a refuge for the abilities which they saw to be no longer prized;—as it pleased God, I say, Adrian died,* and the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who took the name of Clement VII., was created High Pontiff in his room. On that day the arts of design, together with all the other arts, were recalled to new life, and Giulio and Giovan Francesco set themselves joyfully to work, by command of the Pontiff, to finish the above-named hall of Constantine. The preparation of grounding which had been made for painting in oil they threw down; leaving nevertheless two figures, which Raphael had previously painted in oil as a sort of ornamental frame-work to certain popes: these were a figure of Justice, and another figure of similar character.† The compartments of this hall had been designed with great judgment by Raphael, who had carefully kept in view the fact that it was somewhat deficient in height: over all the doors he had designed niches with decorations of children holding the various devices of the house of Medici, lions, lilies, diamonds, plumes, and other emblems used by that family.

In each of these niches was seated the shaded figure of a Pope in pontifical robes, and around these figures were angels represented by groups of children, and holding books and other appropriate objects in their hands, each pope had moreover a figure presenting a virtue on each side of him, and between whom he sat, these being selected as was deemed befitting the character and deserts of the Pontiff, as for example Religion was placed on one side of the apostle Peter, and Charity or Piety on the other, and thus of all, each was accompanied by his appropriate virtues; and the Popes thus represented were, Damarus I., Alexander I., Leo III., Gregory, Silvester, and some others. These figures were all exceedingly well executed by Giulio, who performed all the best parts of this work in fresco, and took extraordinary

* Our author, as it has been justly remarked, appears to forget that the protection of the fine arts is not the sole merit of a sovereign, but it must not be concealed that Adrian, who found the finances of the state previously disordered by the profusion of his predecessors, commenced the reform of expenditure by first reducing that of his own household.

† This figure has a Dove, and is believed by some to represent Humility; by others, Innocence or Clemency.

pains therewith, as may be seen in a drawing of the San Silvestro, admirably designed by his own hand, and which is perhaps a more graceful work than the finished picture of the same. It may indeed be affirmed, that Giulio always expressed his thoughts more effectually in drawings than in execution, or in the finished pictures, the former displaying more life, power, and feeling, a fact that may have arisen from the circumstance, that the drawing was executed at a sitting, and while he was well warmed with his subject, while over the paintings he sometimes consumed months and even years, insomuch that they became wearisome to him; the glowing inspiration and ardent love which is felt at the commencement of a work were then wanting, whence it is not to be wondered at, if he did not in such a case impart to the painting all that perfection which had been promised by the design.

But to return to the stories. In one of the compartments of the Hall of Constantine, Giulio depicted that Emperor making a speech to his soldiers, while in the air above is seen the sign of the cross appearing in a splendour of light, surrounded by angels in the form of children and with the words, "IN HOC SIGNO VINCES." A Dwarf, standing at the feet of Constantine, and placing a helmet on his head, is executed with much art.* On the principal or largest façade there is the battle of Cavalry at the Ponte Molle,† where Maxentius was routed by Constantine: this work is considered to be one of great merit for the treatment of the dead and wounded, the variety and appropriate character of the attitudes given to the different groups of foot and horse, seen fighting in different parts of the combat, and all very powerfully rendered. There are besides many portraits from the life in this work, and if the picture were not too much darkened, and too heavily loaded with shadows, of which

* Gradasso Beretta da Norcia, the Dwarf of the Cardinal Hyppolito de' Medici, celebrated for his ugliness by Berni, *Opere Burlesche*, vol. i. p. 42. This Dwarf, with the two noble Pages beside the Emperor, is an addition of Giulio's, not being in the original design of Raphael, which is in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire.

† Engraved by many of the older masters, and at a later period by Pietro Aquila, who copied the picture very closely. The original drawing was formerly in the possession of Malvasia, but afterwards fell into the hands of Crozat of Paris. See *Felsina Pittrice*, vol. iii. p. 522.

Giulio was ever profuse in his colouring, it would have been altogether perfect, but this darkness takes from the work much of its grace and beauty.* In the painting here in question, there is a landscape representing the entire declivity of Monte Mario, with the river Tiber, through which Maxentius is swimming his horse, in a bold and fierce attitude; Giulio has, in short, acquitted himself in such a manner throughout this picture, that all the artists who have succeeded him have found the work a great light and valuable assistance for battles of similar kind. He had himself meanwhile acquired much knowledge from the study of Trajan's pillar, of the column of Antonine, and of other antique pillars which exist in Rome, and of which he availed himself largely for the dresses of the soldiers, and for the arms, ensigns, bastions, stoccades, battering-rams, and other engines of war, examples of which are to be seen depicted over every part of that Hall. Beneath these stories, and in colour to imitate bronze, the master then depicted various subjects, all of which are beautiful and praiseworthy productions.†

On the other side our artist painted Pope Silvester baptizing Constantine, and here he represented the very baptistery which is now at San Giovanni Laterano and was erected by Constantine himself. Here we have the Pontiff, Clement VII. also, taken from the life and represented as Pope Silvester, with numerous assistants in their priestly vestments, and a large body of the people. Among the many attendants of the Pope here taken from nature, was the little Cavalier Messer Niccolò Vespucci, Knight of Rhodes, who was at that time all-powerful with his Holiness. Beneath this story, and in the basement, Giulio painted a group to imitate bronze, the subject presenting the Emperor Constantine, engaged in the building of the church of San Pietro at Rome, and alluding to Pope Clement: in this part of the work are the architect Bramante and Giuliano Lemi, ‡ the latter

* For which reason Mengs accuses Giulio Romano of having a naturally cold and hard taste.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-3.

† The chiari-scuri of this hall, as well as the other frescoes, were admirably engraved by Pietro Santi Bartoli.

‡ Or Leno, named by Vasari in the Lives of Bramante and Marcantonio. The execution of this work is attributed by some authorities to Il Fattore.

holding the ground-plan of the church in his hand; an exceedingly meritorious picture.

On the fourth wall, and over the mantel-piece of the said Hall, is a view in perspective of San Pietro at Rome, with the canopy of the Pope, exactly as it appears when the holy father in his pontificals reads mass, the circle of Cardinals and all the other prelates in their robes; the whole court in short, with the chapel of choristers and singers, the Pope himself being seated and depicted as San Silvestro with Constantine kneeling at his feet. The Emperor presents a golden figure of Rome to the Pontiff, made after the manner of those on the ancient medals, and intended to signify the dowry, wherewith Constantine had invested the Roman church. In this picture there are many women regarding the ceremony in a kneeling position, they are exceedingly beautiful, as is likewise a child playing with a dog. A Beggar imploring alms is also very fine, and the Lancers of the guard, compelling the people to stand back and make place, as is customary, are figures full of spirit. Among the many portraits from the life which are to be found in this work, is one of the painter Giulio Romano himself, with that of his intimate friend Count Baldassare Castiglione, author of "the Cortigiano,"* and those of Pontano, Murallo, and others, men of letters as well as courtiers. Around the Hall and between the windows, Giulio painted various devices and fantasies of very pleasing and graceful character, and the Pope, who was much pleased with every thing that he had done, rewarded him very liberally for his labours.

While this Hall was in process of execution, Giulio and Giovan Francesco, who were not able to satisfy the demands of their friends even in part, undertook to paint a picture of the Assumption of the Madonna for Perugia, to which city the work was despatched on its completion, being there placed in the convent of the nuns of Monteluci.† This was a picture of great beauty. Having then withdrawn himself entirely apart from Il Fattore, Giulio painted by himself a figure of Our Lady with a cat near her, and this animal was

* *Il Cortigiano*, or the Courtier, was the title of a book whereby Castiglione proposed to teach the true method of becoming a perfect courtier, "useful to your prince, and worthy of the imitation of all other persons."

† Now in the Vatican.

so life-like that the picture is always called the painting of the Cat.* In another picture, which was of large size, our artist depicted Christ bound to the column and scourged; this was placed on the altar of the church of Santa Prassedia, at Rome.† No long time after the completion of this work, Messer Giovan Matteo Giberti, who was at that time Datary to Pope Clement, and afterwards became bishop of Verona, caused Giulio, who was his frequent associate and intimate friend, to prepare a design for certain apartments which were built of brick, in the immediate vicinity of the papal palace: they looked on the Piazza di San Pietro, being intended for the reception of the trumpeters, who sound the trumpets while the cardinals are proceeding to the concistory, and are furnished with a very commodious means of ascent, a stair namely, which could be mounted on horseback as well as on foot.‡

For the same Messer Giovan Matteo, Giulio likewise painted a picture of the Stoning of St. Stephen; this work Messer Giovan Matteo sent to a benefice which he had at Genoa, and which was called St. Stephen. The invention and composition of this painting are alike beautiful and graceful, the young man Saul is seen seated by the garments, while the Jews are engaged in the martyrdom of the saint. Giulio Romano never executed a more admirable painting than this, the fierce attitudes and expression of the persecutors are rendered equally well with the patience of the martyr, whose look, which is turned upward, is such, that he truly appears to see the Saviour Christ seated at the right hand of the Father, in a Heaven which is indeed most divinely painted. This picture, with the benefice to which it was sent, Messer Giovan Matteo presented to the monks of Monte Oliveto, who have turned the latter into a monastery.§

* The work is in the Museo Borbonico at Naples. It has been engraved in outline by the younger Lasinio, in the publication which describes the above-mentioned gallery.

† Now in the Sacristy of the Church of St. Praxida.

‡ These rooms were demolished for the construction of the new buildings.—*Bottari.*

§ This was among the pictures taken to Paris, and would of itself suffice to establish the fame of Giulio Romano. It was struck by a canon ball during the Revolution, and the mouth of the saint received considerable

For the German, Jacob Fugger, the same artist painted an exceedingly beautiful picture in oil, to be placed in a chapel of the church of Santa Maria dell' Anima in Rome. The subject of the work is Our Lady with Sant' Anna, San Giuseppe, San Jacopo, San Giovanni as a child, and San Marco Evangelista, kneeling with a lion at his feet: the animal is holding a book and the hair on his body is turned in accordance with the position he has taken, a very difficult and well-considered thing; he has besides wings on his shoulders, and the plumage of these wings is so downy and soft, that one scarcely comprehends how it is possible for the hand of the artist to produce so close an imitation of nature. There is likewise a building of a circular form and decorated in the manner of a theatre, with statues so beautiful in themselves and so well arranged, that nothing better could be seen. There is a woman moreover who is spinning, and is at the same time looking at a hen with her chickens; nothing can be more natural than this figure. Above Our Lady, are hovering, angels in the form of children, they hold a canopy over her head and are exceedingly graceful and beautiful. This picture also, having been too heavily loaded with dark tints has become excessively dark, but for which it would be indeed most admirable.* The black has however caused the labour of the master to be almost entirely lost, for although it has been covered with varnish, this black nevertheless destroys the best qualities of the work, having in it a consuming dryness, whether it be from charcoal, burnt ivory, lamp-black, or burnt paper.

Giulio had many disciples during the time that he was employed in the labours above described, and among them were Bartolommeo da Castiglione, Tommaso Paparello of

injury, but the painting was afterwards carefully restored. It is now in the Church of San Stefano at Genoa. The Cartoon for this picture, formerly in the Vallicella Library in Rome, but afterwards transferred to the Vatican, has been engraved in outline by Guattani, and will be found in the collection of the most celebrated pictures of that Palace, which was published at Rome in 1820. See Tav. XIX.

* Now at the High Altar of the Church of Santa Maria dell' Anima. Bottari tells us that the lower part of this picture was injured by an inundation of the Tiber, but that injuries still more cruel were inflicted on it by the cleaning and varnishes.

Cortona,* and Benedetto Pagni of Pescia,† but those of whose services the master most frequently availed himself, were Giovanni da Lione and Raffaello dal Colle of Borgo-a-San Sepolcro, both of whom assisted him in the execution of the pictures in the Hall of Constantine as well as in that of many of the other works whereof there has been discourse. Wherefore, I do not think it well to omit mentioning, that being very skilful in painting, and close imitators of the manner of Giulio in the execution of all which he confided to them, these two artists painted an Escutcheón of the arms of Pope Clement, at the Old Mint in the Banchi, each painting the half namely after the design of Giulio, with two figures in the manner of Termini. Raffaello dal Colle moreover no long time after, having terminated his share of this work, depicted a fresco, from a Cartoon designed by Giulio, within the door of the palace which belongs to the Cardinal della Valle. This work which is in a lunette, represents Our Lady covering the divine Child, who is sleeping, with a mantle: on one side is St. Andrew the apostle, and on the other St. Nicholas, the picture was with justice considered an exceedingly fine one.

Giulio himself meanwhile, living on very intimate terms with Messer Baldassare Turini of Pescia, received from him the commission to prepare a design and model for a palace to be constructed on the mount Janiculum, where there are certain vineyards which have a most beautiful view. This building was erected with the utmost care, and was a very graceful structure; it was furnished with all the conveniences which could possibly be desired to enhance the pleasantness of that site, of which it was entirely worthy, and more than that could not be said. The rooms moreover were adorned not only with stucco-work, but also with paintings, Giulio having painted with his own hand stories from the life of Numa Pompilius, who had been buried there.‡ In the bath of this palace Giulio painted pictures of Venus and Cupid.

* Förster affirms that "no independent work by these artists is to be found."

† This artist was also invited to Mantua by Giulio Romano.

‡ This villa now belongs to the Borghese family.

and of Apollo and Hyacinth, all of which are published in engravings.*

After Giulio had separated himself entirely from Giovan-Francesco, he undertook various architectural works in Rome, as for example, the design for the house of the Alberini in Banchi, although some believe that the plan of this work is due to Raphael himself. Giulio likewise designed a Palace which is on the piazza of the Dogana in Rome, and this, being considered very beautiful, has, for that reason, been engraved. He also built a house for himself at one corner of the Macello de' Corbi, where stood that in which he was born. The principal range of windows is very beautiful, and, however small this building, it is, nevertheless, a very graceful one. The excellent qualities of Giulio causing him to be esteemed the best artist in Italy, after the death of Raphael, the Count Baldassare Castiglione, who was then in Rome as ambassador from Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, and was the intimate friend of Giulio, as we have said, did his utmost, by prayers and promises, to prevail on that master to accompany him to Mantua, Baldassare having been commanded by the Marquis, his master, to send him an architect,† of whose services he might avail himself, whether for his own palace or the necessities of the city, and having moreover observed that it would be particularly agreeable to him if he could have Giulio. The latter, thereupon, declared at length that he would certainly go, provided they could obtain the permission of the Pope; and the desired licence being secured, Baldassare, who was returning to Mantua, thence to proceed as ambassador from the Pope to the Emperor, took Giulio with him to that city.

Arrived in Mantua, he was presented by Castiglione to the Marquis, who, after a most amicable reception, caused him to be given a dwelling very honourably appointed, with a liberal stipend‡ and a table, not for himself only, but for

* In the Life of Marcantonio it has already been stated that the pictures of Apollo were engraved by that artist.

† Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d' Artisti*, gives the letter written on this subject, by the Marquis to Castiglione, with the Count's reply; the first bears date 29th August, 1524; the second 5th Sept. of that year.

‡ From the books of the *Massaria Vecchia*, as cited by Bottari in a subsequent note, we find that this was not less than 500 gold ducats; a large sum for the period.

his disciple, Benedetto Pagni, and for another youth, who likewise served him;* nay, what is more, the Marquis sent him several yards of silk, velvet, and other cloths for pieces of clothing; and being informed that Giulio possessed no horse, he caused a favourite horse of his own, called Ruggieri, to be brought, which he immediately presented to the painter. Thus, mounted on this new gift, our artist then rode forth in company with the Marquis himself, by whom he was conducted to a place without the walls, and at about a bow-shot from the gate of San Bastiano, where his Excellency had a place with some stables, called the T,† situated in the midst of meadows, and where he kept his breeding stud. Arrived here, the Marquis observed, that without destroying the old walls he would be glad to have a little space arranged to which he could occasionally resort for amusement, and to take a dinner or supper for his recreation.

Having heard the will of the Marquis, Giulio examined the whole place, and taking a plan of the site, set hand to the work. He availed himself of the old walls, and in the principal extent of the space at his disposal, erected the first hall which is seen on entering, with the series of apartments to be observed on each side thereof: and as there is no stone on the place, nor any quarries whence materials for carved ornaments or hewn stone could be excavated, such as are used in masonry by all who can obtain them, our artist contented himself with bricks and similar substitutes for stone, which he afterwards covered with stucco, and from these materials he made columns, bases, capitals, cornices, doors, windows, and other requisites to a finished fabric, all with the most beautiful proportions and decorations, in a new and fanciful manner, more particularly as

* Two years after his arrival in Mantua, Giulio Romano received the rights of citizenship in that city. This honour was followed by that of elevation to the degree of a noble, and his appointment by the Marquis to the office of *Vicario di Corte;* and in 1529 we find him solemnizing his marriage with Helena, a daughter of the noble house of Guazzo-Landi, who brought him a dowry of 700 gold ducats.—Gaye, *Beiträgen zur deutschen Uebersetzung des Vasari, Kunstblatt,* 1838, No. 71.

† Many affirm this palace to be so called, because the ground-plan is in the form of a T, but this letter is more probably the initial of the name only, as Tejetto, or Theyeto, since we find it sometimes written as *Te*, sometimes as *The.*—*Ed. Flor.*,1832-8.

regarded the vaultings. The distribution also was remarkably good, and the vestibules were very richly adorned; all which induced the Marquis to change his purpose, and from a small beginning, he determined that the whole edifice should be arranged after the manner of a great palace.

Giulio thereupon constructed a most beautiful model, the outer walls, as also the interior towards the court-yard, being in the rustic manner, all which pleased the Marquis so greatly, that having ordered a good provision of money to be made, and numerous builders being assembled by Giulio, the work was brought to a conclusion with great promptitude, and the form of that structure was on this wise:* The building is a rectangle with an open court in the centre, which is rather like a meadow or public square, into which open four ways in the form of a cross; one conducts into a very wide and extensive Loggia, whence another entrance leads into the gardens, while two others open into various apartments, all which are decorated with stucco-work and paintings. In the hall to which the first of these doors gives entrance, is a ceiling divided into numerous compartments, and the walls are adorned with portraits of all the most beautiful and most valued blood-horses of the Marquis, with those of his dogs also; the latter being of the same colour and having the same marks with the horses,† and each having his name depicted with his portrait. All these portraits were designed by Giulio, and painted in fresco on the plaster by Benedetto Pagni‡ and Rinaldo of Mantua,§ both painters who were his disciples; and these animals are in truth so well portrayed that they seem to be alive.

* Richardson gives a plan of this palace, but a very inaccurate one; a more satisfactory plan, with two elevations, one of the principal front, and one of a lateral portion of the building, will be found in a little work by the painter Carlo Bottari, "*disteso dall' Avv. Volta,*" and entitled, *Descrizione Storica delle Pitture del Regio-Ducale Palazzo del Te fuori della porta di Mantova detta Pusterla,* Mantua, 1783, printed by Gius. Braglia, at the sign of the Virgil.

† The portraits of these dogs, so curiously described as *matching the horses in colour and marks,* are not now to be found in these paintings. Vasari must therefore have merely seen the sketches of Giulio Romano, or if these dogs ever were thus depicted, they have since been cancelled, and the spaces covered with other subjects.

‡ There are works of merit by this artist in his native city of Pescia.

§ This artist died young, but there are works by his hand in Mantua.

From this hall we proceed to a room which forms an angle of the palace, and the vaulting of which is beautifully divided into compartments by stucco-work; the cornices also are beautifully varied, and in some places are heightened with gold. The whole surface is divided by these compartments into four octangular spaces which surround a painting occupying the highest part of the vaulted ceiling and representing the Marriage of Cupid and Psyche in the presence of all the gods, Jupiter himself being seen in the summit of the picture seated in a dazzling splendour of celestial light. This story is such that it would not be possible to discover anything more admirably designed, or executed in a more graceful manner: the foreshortenings of those figures in particular have been managed with so much judgment that although some of them are scarcely a braccio in length, they have nevertheless the appearance as seen, from the floor below, of being three braccia high, they are indeed executed with marvellous art and ingenuity, the master having found means to produce such effect that they seem to be alive (so much relief has he given them), and with the truthfulness of their appearance they pleasantly deceive the eye that regards them.

In the octangles are the principal events in the history of Psyche,* with the sufferings which she endured from the anger of Venus, all executed with the same beauty and perfection: the angles of the windows exhibit numerous Loves, which are distributed according to the space at the disposal of the artist; the whole ceiling being painted in oil by the above-named Benedetto and Rinaldo. The remainder of the pictures from the history of Psyche are on the walls beneath and are painted in fresco, they are much larger than those on the ceiling. In one of these stories is Psyche in the Bath; she is surrounded by the Loves who are gracefully laving her beautiful limbs; near this is another picture, where, with gestures equally graceful, the Loves are drying the delicate form.† In another part of the work is

* Many of these pictures were engraved by Diana Ghisi, of Mantua, and by Antonio Veneziano.

† For more minute details see Cadioli, *Descrizione di Mantova e dei suoi Contorni*, Mantua, 1763. See also Bottari, *Descrizione Storica*, 1783, with *Le Pitture di Giulio Romano nel Palazzo del T, fuori di Mantova*, Mantua, 1831.

Mercury preparing the banquet, while Psyche takes her bath; the Bacchantes are sounding musical instruments, and the Graces are busied in the decoration of the table, which they adorn with flowers. Silenus is sustained upon his ass by Satyrs, and near him is a Goat suckling two children; Bacchus is also present with two Tigers at his feet; he is leaning on the credenza or beaufet with one arm, and on one side of this table is a Camel, on the other an Elephant: the decorations of the credenza, which is of a coved shape, and forms a half-circle, being of festoons, foliage, and fruits intertwined; it is furthermore covered with vines laden with grapes, which throw their leaves and tendrils over three ranges of fancifully-shaped vases, goblets, beakers, and cups of the most fantastic and varied forms, all shining in such a manner that they appear to be of veritable silver and gold; the imitation being nevertheless effected by means of a simple yellow and some other colours only, but so admirably done that they bear ample testimony to the genius, talent, and art of Giulio, who proved himself in this part of the work to be gifted with the richest powers of invention and the most varied resources in art.

At no great distance from this picture is seen Psyche in the midst of a group of women, who serve, attend, and present her; * and here we have Phœbus in the distance, rising from between the hills † in his solar chariot, which is drawn by four horses, while Zephyr lies nude amidst fleecy clouds, breathing soft airs from a cornicle, which he has in his mouth, and wherewith he renders the atmosphere around the form of Psyche cheering and agreeable. These stories were engraved not many years since after the designs of Battista Franco of Venice, who copied them exactly as they had been painted by Benedetto of Pescia and by Rinaldo of Mantua, who followed the great cartoons of Giulio, and by whom all the stories were executed, with the exception of the Bacchus, the Silenus, and the Two Children suckled by the Goat. It is true, that the work was afterwards almost wholly retouched by Giulio, whence it is very much as it might have

* Engraved by Diana of Mantua, and dedicated to Claudio Gonzaga, in 1575.

† In the engraving of Diana Ghisi above named, the car of the sun rises from the sea, and not from behind the hills.—*Bottari.*

been had it been entirely executed with his own hand. And this mode of proceeding, which he had derived from Raphael his master, is exceedingly advantageous to the disciple, who obtains much practice thereby, and thus becomes in his turn a good master. It is true, that the student sometimes persuades himself to believe his own powers superior to those of him by whom he should be guided, but if perchance he should lose this guidance, and be deprived too early of the design and direction of the master, before he has attained the due end of his labours, and has acquired firmness in design, and facility in execution, such disciple too often finds that he has been wasting his efforts, and has but involved himself in a sea of errors, amidst the infinite vastness of which he wanders as do the blind.

But let us return to the apartments of the T. From this room of the Psyche we pass into another, with double friezes, and decorated with figures in basso-rilievo, executed in stucco after the designs of Giulio, by Francesco Primaticcio of Bologna,* who was then but a youth; and by Giovanni Battista of Mantua.† In these friezes are seen all the variously clothed and armed bands of the Soldiers on the column of Trajan at Rome, faithfully copied and executed in a very beautiful manner.‡ Among the decorations of the ceiling in one of the ante-rooms, is a painting in oil, representing Icarus§ instructed by his father Dædalus in the art of flying, but who, after he has seen the sign of the crab and the chariot of the sun drawn by four horses, which are finely foreshortened—when he is approaching the sign of the lion, that is to say—is left without his wings, the heat of the sun having melted the wax wherewith they were fastened; near this is another picture, in which he is seen again, but now plunging down from the heights, and with so

* Who repaired to Mantua for the purpose of studying under Giulio, in the year 1525, remaining there until 1531, when he became the disciple of Francia.

† Mentioned in the Life of Marcantonio, see vol. iii. p. 511, *et seq.*

‡ These friezes represent the triumphs of the Emperor Sigismund, by whom the grandfather of the then Marquis Federigo, Gio-Francesco Gonzaga namely, was declared Marquis of Mantua, in the year 1433. They are engraved by Pietro Santi Bartoli.

§ Bottari, *Descrizione Storica*, &c., calls this the fall of Phaeton.

precipitous a descent, that to the spectator below he appears to be on the very point of falling upon him. The face of Icarus is pale as that of a corpse, and the whole composition is so admirably worked out, that it appears to be the reality itself; the effect of the sun's heat, as it destroys the wings of the unhappy youth, is rendered palpable to sight; the kindling fire is seen to give out smoke, one almost hears the crackling of the burning plumes, and while the agony of death appears upon the face of Icarus; the suffering and grievous sorrow of Dædalus are written in characters equally legible on his countenance. In our book we have the design of this most beautiful picture by Giulio's own hand.

In the same place our artist painted stories characteristic of the twelve months of the year, describing in all the occupations in which men most frequently employ themselves during each; a work which is no less remarkable and pleasing for the beautiful and fanciful invention displayed therein than for the judgment and care of its execution. Having passed the great Loggia with its decorations in stucco, the numerous arms and other fanciful ornaments, with which it is adorned, we arrive in apartments so rich in a thousand various fantasies that the mind is overwhelmed and becomes confounded amidst them. Original and ingenious as he was, Giulio desired here to display all his resources; and in a part of the palace which forms an angle corresponding with that wherein is the above-described room of the Psyche, he determined to construct an apartment, of which the masonry should be accommodated to the requirements of the painting, thereby the more effectually to deceive the eye of the spectator. Having first secured this angle, therefore, which was on a marshy soil, by means of double foundations of great depth, he caused a large circular chamber to be erected; giving extraordinary thickness to the walls, to the end that the four external angles of the same might have all the strength required for the support of a double vaulting, which he proposed to make in a round form, like that of an oven or furnace. This done, he caused the doors, windows, and mantelpiece of the room to be formed in rustic masonry, purposely constructed so much out of square, and set together in so disjointed and distorted a fashion, that they really appeared to be leaning on one side,

and seemed as if they must of necessity fall into the room. The apartment being thus constructed in a manner so unusual, Giulio set himself to paint therein the most extraordinary inventions that he could possibly devise; the subject chosen was Jupiter launching his thunderbolts at the Giants, and having depicted the Olympian Heaven in the highest part of the vaulting, he there placed the Throne of Jove, foreshortened, as seen from below; showing also the front and interior of a round temple, with columns of the Ionic order: the God has a canopy midway over his seat, and his eagle is beside him, all which the master displayed as borne on the clouds. Lower down he has depicted Jupiter in anger hurling his thunder-bolts at the Giants, with Juno still further down, who is assisting him. Around them are the Winds, represented by the most extraordinary visages, blowing towards the earth, while the Goddess Ops turns away with her Lions at the terrible clamour of the thunders, as do the other gods and goddesses, more particularly Venus, who is beside Mars, and Momus, who, with his arms cast wide apart, appears to be expecting that heaven itself shall fall asunder, but stands nevertheless immoveable, awaiting the result.*

The Graces are seen in like manner equally filled with dread, and all the gods in short, seized with terror, take to flight, each in his chariot. The Moon, Saturn, and Janus turn towards that part of the heavens which is least involved in darkness, as if to remove themselves as far as possible from that horrible tumult and terror, as does Neptune, who, with his dolphins, appears trying to maintain himself on his trident, while Pallas, with the nine muses, stands watching the fearful event that is taking place before them, as questioning what so dreadful an occurrence may portend. Pan embraces, with supporting arms, a nymph who is trembling with fear, he seems anxious to shelter her from those lightning-flashes and that conflagration with which the

* Algarotti, *Saggio sopra la Pittura*, compares this work to a magic-lanthorn, but he had little admiration for Giulio Romano as a painter. Lanzi, on the contrary, considers that master to have rivalled Michael Angelo in the boldness of his design, and laments that this work has been so little respected by the audacious pencils of those who have pretended to restore it.

heavens are filled. Bacchus and Silenus, with the Satyrs and Nymphs, betray the utmost horror and anxiety; Vulcan with his ponderous hammer on his shoulder is turning his looks towards Hercules, who is speaking with Mercury of the passing event: near these is Pomona with a terror-struck aspect, a similar appearance is presented by Vertumnus and the other gods, who are dispersed over heaven. But whether in those who fly or those who stay, all the effects of fear are rendered with so much force, that it is not possible, I do not say to see, but to imagine, a more admirable composition in painting than this is.

In the lower part, on the walls that is to say, are the Giants, some of whom, those namely who are nearest to Jupiter, have mountains and enormous rocks on their backs, these they support on their powerful shoulders, proposing to make a pile wherewith to scale the heavens, where their ruin is preparing, where Jupiter is thundering, where all the denizens of heaven are kindled with anger against them, and where the whole assembly appears not only to have a sense of terror at the rash presumption of those giants on whom it is casting mountains, but as if apprehensive that the whole world was in uproar and coming to an end. In this lower part of the painting, Giulio has also depicted Briareus in a dark cavern almost covered with enormous masses of rock, with other giants lying crushed and some dead beneath the ruins of the mountains. Through the cleft of another dark cave in the distance, moreover, and which is managed with infinite judgment, there are seen other giants in full flight, struck by the thunderbolts of Jove, they seem also on the point of being crushed, as are the others, beneath the ruins of the mountains. In another part of the picture also, are still more giants, on whom are falling temples, columns, and other fragments of buildings, making an immense slaughter and destruction of those proud assailants of the gods.* It is amidst these falling ruins that the fire-place of the apartment is placed, and when fire is lighted therein the giants are seen as if burning amidst the flames. Here the master has depicted Pluto in his chariot; drawn by meagre bare-boned horses, and, accompanied by the Furies, he is

* The part of this work containing the Battle of the Giants was engraved by Cornelius Bos.

flying towards the centre: the artist never departing from the purpose he had proposed to himself in any portion of the picture; by this invention of the fire for example, he gave an appropriate as well as beautiful character to his chimney-piece; and the same may be said of every other part of the painting.*

To render his work still more fearful and terrible, Giulio has exhibited many of the giants, who are of the most extraordinary forms, as well as of immense stature, in the act of falling to the earth, some backwards, others on their faces, as they are differently struck and wounded by the lightnings and thunder-bolts; some are already dead, others writhing with their wounds, and still more lying crushed and partially covered by the mountains and edifices which have fallen upon them. Wherefore let none believe that he could ever behold any work of the pencil better calculated to awaken fear and horror, or more truly natural and life-like, than that before us; nay, whosoever enters that chamber and sees all the doors, windows, and other parts, constructed as they are awry, and as it were on the point of falling with the buildings, and even the mountains tumbling around in ruin, cannot fail to be in doubt whether all be not about to topple down upon him, and the rather as he sees the very gods in heaven, some rushing here, and others there, but all taking to flight.†

Another circumstance remarkable in this work is the fact, that it has neither beginning nor end; the whole is nevertheless well connected in all its parts, and continued throughout unbroken by division or the intervention of frame-work or decorations, so that all the objects which are near the buildings appear to be of great size, while those at a distance and scattered about the landscapes‡ seem to diminish gradually,

* The chimney was closed up, the fires made in it doing injury, by the smoke they threw out, to the pictures above. These were cleaned towards the year 1786 by the painter Carlo Bottani, the author of the *Descrizione Storica*, before cited.

† Pietro Santi Bartoli gives eight engravings of the pictures in this room, but would seem to have copied from the Cartoons of Giulio Romano, since the engravings do not strictly follow the paintings, in which the master is known to have made several changes from the original designs.

‡ According to Gaye, the Landscape in this work is by Fermo of Caravaggio

until they become lost amidst infinite space. Whence this apartment, which is not more than fifteen braccia long, has rather the appearance of a wide tract of country. The flooring also is formed of small round stones, the similitude of which is continued in painting on the commencement of the upright walls, so that the separation of the floor and walls is not too apparent; there are no sharp angles, and the level of the country there represented is thus made to seem of great extent; all this was put into execution and finished with the most profound art and the highest perfection of judgment, by the master, to whom all those who are occupied with our arts owe much gratitude for these singular inventions.*

By the practice obtained in this work, the above-named Rinaldo Mantovano was rendered a distinguished painter, since it was by him that the whole was conducted and brought to completion† after the cartoons of Giulio Romano.‡ He worked in the other apartments also, and if this artist had not been so early taken from the world, he would doubtless have obtained honour for himself after the death of Giulio, as he did honour to the instructions of that master while he lived.

After having completed the palace of the T, in which Giulio executed many other works, all worthy of commendation, but respecting which I remain silent, desiring to avoid too much prolixity;—after completing this structure, I say, this master reconstructed from the ground up many apartments in the palace which the Duke inhabited at Mantua, erecting two very broad spiral staircases also, and adorning numerous chambers with rich decorations in stucco.

* Faciuoli of Mantua has sought to prove his countryman Rinaldo the author of these paintings, in a book entitled *La Sala de' Giganti dimostrata invenzione ed opera di Rinaldo Mantovano;* but Gaye, *Carteggio inedito,* has combated this opinion, the propriety of which he further questions in the *Kunstblatt* for 1838, No. 71.

† The account of expenditure in the household of the Marquis for this period has the following item:—"1st March, 1532, to the painter Rinaldo, for the painting of a great chamber, which he undertook by command of our illustrious Lord, and also by that of the much to be honoured Giulio Romano, eight gold crowns, for his monthly payment."

‡ It will be remembered that in the document cited in the preceding note there is no word of the part taken by Giulio in the work, but in

In one of the halls of the palace in Mantua* moreover, this artist painted the whole history and events of the Trojan War;† and in one of the ante-chambers he painted twelve stories in oil, beneath the twelve heads of the Emperors which had previously been depicted there by Titian of Vecelli, works which were held in the highest estimation.‡

At Marmiruolo likewise, a place distant about five miles from Mantua, there was a very commodious building erected after the design and under the direction of Giulio, and which was adorned by him with large pictures,§ no less beautiful than are those of the palace in Mantua and that of the T. The same master furthermore depicted a figure of Our Lady in a painting in oil executed for the chapel of the Signora Isabella Buschetta, in the church of Sant' Andrea in Mantua: the Madonna is in the act of adoring the Infant Jesus, who is lying on the earth, Joseph with the Ass and an Ox are seen near the manger, which is close by, and on one side is San Giovanni Evangelista, with San Longinus on the other. Both these figures are of the size of life.‖ On the walls of the same chapel, Giulio further caused Rinaldo to paint two very beautiful pictures after his own designs; one of these represents the Crucifixion of Our Saviour Christ, with the Two Thieves; in the air above are Angels, and beneath are the Executioners, with the Maries and many Horses, in which Giulio always delighted greatly, and which he rendered admirably well, making them beautiful to a marvel: there are numerous Soldiers also in finely varied attitudes. The second picture executed in this chapel by Rinaldo, after Giulio's design, is that Discovery of the Blood of Christ

another place we find him observing that he had made the Cartoon for the painter, "to the intent that the latter might not lose time with the decorations."

* Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'Artisti*, gives letters written on the subject of this work from Giulio Romano to the Marquis.

† These works are in tolerable preservation.

‡ The paintings of Giulio, as well as the Cæsars by Titian, disappeared in the deplorable sack of Mantua, which took place in 1630. In one Hall of the Palace there are nevertheless still to be seen paintings attributed to this master; they represent the goddess Diana in various scenes or her history.

§ This palace has been destroyed.

‖ This work is now in the Louvre. It has been engraved by Louis Desplaces.

which was made in the time of the Countess Matilda, and this picture also is a very beautiful work.*

For the Duke Federigo, Giulio painted a picture with his own hand, the subject is Our Lady washing the Infant Christ, who stands upright in a basin, while San Giovanni, also a child, is pouring water from a vase; these two figures, which are of the size of life, are both very beautiful.† In the distance are seen small figures representing Women who are approaching to visit the Madonna. This picture was afterwards presented by the Duke to the Signora Isabella Buschetta, whose portrait, which is a very beautiful one, was taken by Giulio in a little picture not more than a braccio high, which is now in the possession of the Signor Vespasiano Gonzaga, with another, presented to him by the Duke Federigo and also by the hand of Giulio, representing a Youth affectionately caressing a maiden, while an old woman is secretly observing them from behind a door; the figures in this work are somewhat less than the size of life, and are very gracefully depicted.‡ Another and most admirable picture by Giulio, in possession of the same person, is a figure of San Jeronimo, and is one of extraordinary beauty and merit. A picture of Alexander the Great, holding the figure of Victory in his hand, and very finely painted by Giulio Romano, is now in the possession of the Count Niccolò Maffei; the figure is of the size of life, it is copied from an ancient medal, and is very beautiful.

After the completion of these works, Giulio painted a fresco over a chimney-piece for his friend Messer Girolamo, the Organist of the cathedral at Mantua. The subject of this work is Vulcan working his bellows with one hand, while with the other he holds between a pair of tongs the iron of an arrow which he is forging; Venus is near him, and is tempering in a vase the arrows already formed, which she then places in the quiver of Cupid.§ This is one of the

* These frescoes are well preserved, and retain their place.

† This fine work of the master is in the Royal Gallery of Dresden.

‡ According to Förster this picture is now in the Royal Collection of Berlin, but he considers it to be entirely undeserving of the praise bestowed on it.

§ There is a picture on this subject by Giulio Romano in the Louvre, which is among those engraved by Marco di Ravenna.

most beautiful works ever executed by Giulio, from whose hand there are indeed but few paintings in fresco to be found.* In a picture, painted by commission for Messer Ludovico da Fermo and intended for the church of San Domenico, Giulio represented the Saviour Christ dead, and about to be prepared for the tomb by Joseph and Nicodemus; near them is the Virgin Mother, with the other Maries, and San Giovanni Evangelista. Another small picture, wherein our artist likewise depicted the Dead Christ, is now at Venice in the house of the Florentine Tommaso da Empoli.

Now, it happened about the time when Giulio was occupied with these and other pictures that the Signor Giovanni de' Medici, having been wounded by a musket ball, was carried to Mantua, where he died. Then Messer Pietro of Arezzo, who had been a most devoted servant of that Signor and was a fast friend of Giulio's, desired that, thus dead as he was, the latter would make his portrait. Our artist took a cast from the face accordingly, and from this he executed a likeness which remained for many years in the possession of the above-named Messer Pietro.†

When the Emperor Charles V. arrived in Mantua,‡ Giulio made many magnificent preparations for his reception by order of the Duke: these consisted of arches, perspective scenes for dramatic representations, and various matters of similar kind, in the invention of which Giulio Romano never had his equal, for never was there any man who, in the arrangement of masquerades, or the preparation of extraordinary habiliments for jousts, festivals, and tournaments, displayed fancy and variety of resource such as he possessed: this was acknowledged with astonishment and admiration at the time by the Emperor Charles, and by as many other persons as were present. Besides all these things Giulio Romano prepared numerous designs at different periods for the city of Mantua: chapels, houses, fronts of palaces,§ gardens, all were

* The Count D'Arco, *Vita di Giulio Romano*, affirms that no trace of this fresco is now to be found in Mantua.

† The fate of this work is not known.

‡ In the year 1530.

§ That of the Marchese Torelli for example, which he decorated with mythological paintings in fresco, many of which still exist, although the palace has been rebuilt. A description of these frescoes, with plates, was published in the year 1832.

constructed and arranged by his hand, and so much pleasure did he find in adorning and embellishing that city, that whereas he had first found it buried in mud, with the streets full of fœtid water, and even the houses sometimes scarcely habitable from the same cause, he brought the whole to such a condition that it is now dry, healthy, and agreeable; all which is attributable to the labours of Giulio Romano.

While our artist was thus in the service of the Duke of Mantua, it happened in a certain year, that the river Po burst its bounds and inundated the city to such a degree that in the lower parts of the town the waters attained the height of nearly four braccia, so that, in those places frogs were found almost all the year round for a very long time. Giulio thereupon set himself to consider how this evil was to be remedied; and first of all he took measures whereby the river was forced back within its original bounds; next, and to the end that no such event should occur again, he caused the streets at that quarter of the town to be raised, by command of the Duke, until their height surpassed that of the river, and the houses then erected in that district were thus elevated above the reach of the waters. There had previously been nothing more than small, slightly built, and unimportant dwellings in those parts, but the Duke now commanded that the whole should be brought into better order; and demolishing these houses to raise the level of the streets, he caused much larger and more commodious buildings to be erected on the site, thereby increasing the beauty and contributing to the convenience of the city. It is true that many opposed themselves to this measure, complaining to the Duke that Giulio was making too much destruction, but Federigo would not hear any of these men; on the contrary, he appointed Giulio inspector of roads, and gave orders that no building should be erected in the city without his consent and advice.

Enraged at this, many repeated their complaints, while some threatened the master with violence; but this coming to the ears of the Duke, he used such words in speaking of Giulio that all perceived his favour to be very great, and became aware of the fact that whatever might be done to his injury or displeasure would be reputed as done to Federigo himself, and recompensed accordingly. The Duke was indeed

so well disposed towards Giulio, for the sake of his abilities, that he was unwilling to lose sight of him; and the master, on his part, returned that favour with so much reverence towards the Duke, that words could not sufficiently describe it. Wherefore Giulio never requested a favour either for himself or others, that he did not obtain it, and it was found at his death that the amount he had received from that Prince had made an income of not less than a thousand ducats.

Giulio Romano built a house for himself in Mantua, and opposite to the church of San Barnaba, the front of this he adorned with a fantastic decoration of coloured stuccoes, causing it at the same time to be painted and adorned with stucco-work within; here he arranged the numerous antiquities which he had brought from Rome, with others which he had received from the Duke, to whom he gave many of his own instead.

This artist produced so many designs both in Mantua and for other places, that their amount appears incredible, but, as we have said, there could be no palace or other building of importance erected, more especially within the city of Mantua, unless it were constructed after a design from him. He rebuilt the church of San Benedetto in Mantua, a very large and rich edifice belonging to the Black Friars, situate on the old walls, and near the river Po: after his designs also was the whole church embellished and adorned with beautiful pictures and fine paintings in fresco.

The works of Giulio Romano were in very high repute throughout Lombardy likewise, insomuch that the bishop of Verona, Giovanni Matteo Giberti, desired to have the tribune of the cathedral of that city decorated entirely after designs prepared by that master, and painted by the Veronese artist Il Moro, as we have related elsewhere.* For the Duke of Ferrara, Giulio likewise made designs for tapestry and cloth of arras, these were afterwards executed in silk and gold by the Flemings, Maestro Niccolo and Giovan Battista Rosso: copper-plate engravings from them being also published by Giovanni Battista of Mantua, by whom a large number of the works produced by Giulio were engraved. Among others were three battle-pieces which were likewise engraved by other artists, with a picture of a physician, who is applying

* In the additions to the Life of Fra Giocondo and Liberale, vol. iii.

cupping-glasses to the shoulders of a woman, and the flight of Our Lady into Egypt, with Joseph leading the Ass by the bridle, and angels bending down the branches of a date-tree, thereby enabling the Divine Child to gather the fruits thereof.

The same engraver executed other works after the designs of Giulio Romano, the Wolf namely suckling Romulus and Remus on the shores of the Tiber, with four stories of Pluto, Jupiter, and Neptune, who are dividing the heavens, the earth, and the sea among them by lot. Giovan Battista likewise engraved the picture of the Goat Alfea,* which is held by Melissa, and gives nourishment to the Infant Jupiter, as he did also a very large plate representing men in prison, and who are subjected to various kinds of torments. The plate which represents Scipio and Hannibal addressing their armies on the shore of the river, was in like manner engraved after a design by Giulio, as was also the birth of San Giovanni Battista, which was engraved by Sebastiano del Reggio, with many others engraved and published in Italy. In Flanders also and in France many plates have been engraved from the designs of Giulio, but of these, however beautiful they may be, it does not need that we should now make mention, nor would it be easy to enumerate all his designs, seeing that he produced them, so to speak, in loads; let it suffice to say that he had such extraordinary facility in all works of art, but more particularly in design, that there is no memorial of any artist who has performed more numerous works than himself.

Giulio Romano was a man of very extensive cultivation, he spoke well on all subjects, but more particularly was he acquainted with all that related to medals, for which, and in the acquirement of knowledge respecting them, he expended large sums of money as well as much time. He was almost always occupied with some great and important work; but would nevertheless not refuse to set his hand to the most trifling matter, when the object was to do service to his lord or give pleasure to his friends; and the speaker had scarcely opened his mouth to express the wish formed or the thought conceived, before Giulio had comprehended his purpose, nay,

* Jupiter suckled by the Goat Amalthea was engraved by Pietro Santi Bartoli.

had designed the object desired. Among the many valuable things which he had in his house was the likeness of Albert Dürer, drawn from the life on exceedingly fine linen by the hand of Albert himself, by whom it was sent, as we have before related, as a gift to Raphael. This portrait was a very extraordinary work painted in water colours with extreme care, and Albert had finished it without the use of any white, having used the white of the linen itself for the high lights; and in the exceedingly fine and subtle threads of this texture, he had so delicately rendered the hairs of the beard, that it was a thing which cannot even be fully imagined, much less imitated, and being held up to the light it shone through, and was seen on both sides. This portrait, which was held as a most precious possession by Giulio, was shown to me by himself as a kind of miracle, when I once went during his life-time for my affairs to the city of Mantua.

When the Duke Federigo died, Giulio Romano, who had been much favoured by that prince, nay, beloved by him more than words could express, was so deeply grieved that he would have left Mantua, if the Cardinal, the brother of the Duke, on whom the government of the state had devolved, because his children were very young, had not retained him in that city; persuading him to abide where he had a wife and children, and possessed houses and villas, with every other means of enjoyment that needs to be demanded by the richest nobleman. And to this the Cardinal was induced by the wish he felt to avail himself of the counsels and aid of Giulio Romano in the project which he was then meditating of restoring, nay, almost of rebuilding the whole fabric of the cathedral of Mantua. The master accordingly consented to set hand to that work in which he made considerable progress, imparting a very beautiful form to the fabric.*

About the same time Giorgio Vasari, who was on the most friendly terms with Giulio, although they knew each other by fame and letters only—Giorgio Vasari, I say, being on his way to Venice, took the road by Mantua, for the purpose of there visiting Giulio and seeing his works. Arrived there,

* The building commenced by Giulio was continued and completed some years after by the Mantuan architect, Gio-Battista Bertani, who adhered closely to the plans of his predecessor.

the above-named Giorgio went to seek the friend whom he had never yet seen, but the moment they met, these two knew each other no less or otherwise than they might have done if they had associated personally a thousand times before. And herein Giulio found so much pleasure and enjoyment, that for four days he never separated himself from Giorgio, to whom he showed all his works, but more especially the ground-plans of all the ancient edifices in Rome, Naples, Pozzuolo, the Campagna, and every other example of the most noble antiquities of which there is knowledge, part of which were made by himself and part by others. He then opened an immense press or wardrobe, and laid before his guest all the plans of the various buildings which had been erected after his own designs, and under his direction, not in Mantua and Rome only, but in various places throughout all Lombardy; and these were so beautiful that, for my own part, I do not believe it would be possible to imagine buildings that should display more originality of invention, greater convenience in the arrangement, or a richer fancy in decoration.

The Cardinal afterwards inquired of Giorgio what he thought of Giulio's works, when Giorgio replied, Giulio being present, that he thought them such as to be of opinion that the artist had deserved to see a statue of himself erected at every corner of the city. It is indeed certain, that since Giulio had renewed the very existence of that place, and restored a large portion of it to a state of splendour, even this would not have sufficed adequately to reward him for his cares and labours. To Giorgio's remark the Cardinal replied, that Giulio was in fact more completely master of that state than he was himself. This master was of a most obliging disposition, more particularly towards his friends; there was no mark of kindness, and even of affection, which Giorgio did not receive at his hands; and Vasari, on his part, having departed from Mantua, and proceeding to Venice, had thence returned to Rome exactly at the time when Michelagnolo had uncovered his Last Judgment in the chapel, sent Giulio three plates of the Seven Mortal Sins, taken from the above-named Last Judgment of Michelagnolo.*

* Bottari conjectures that these plates represented groups of souls condemned for the sins in question.

These were conveyed to Giulio by Messer Nino Nini of Cortona, Secretary to the above-mentioned Cardinal of Mantua, and were beyond measure welcome to the artist, not only for themselves, and as being what they were, but also because he had at that time to paint a chapel in the palace for the aforesaid Cardinal, and these works served to awaken in his mind the idea of greater and higher things than he had before conceived the thought of producing. Giving all his powers, therefore, to the preparation of the cartoon, and using the utmost diligence, for that work he composed a very finely-imagined picture of Peter and Andrew called by Christ from their nets, and preparing to follow him, to the end that they might no longer be seekers of fishes, but might become fishers of men. This cartoon, which proved to be the most beautiful one ever prepared by Giulio, was afterwards executed by the painter Fermo Gusoni, then the disciple of Giulio, and now an excellent master.*

No long time after these things, the superintendents to the building of San Petronio in Bologna, desiring to commence the principal front of that church, contrived, after great efforts, to prevail on Giulio Romano to repair thither, and the master went accordingly, in company with a Milanese architect, called Tofano Lombardino, a man greatly esteemed at that time in Lombardy, for the many buildings there to be seen from his hand. These masters, therefore, having made numerous designs, those of the Sienese Baldassare Peruzzi having been lost; one among them, which had been prepared by Giulio, was found to be so beautiful and well-ordered that it received, as it well merited, the highest commendations from that people, and the master received very liberal presents on his return to Mantua.

Now in those days the architect Antonio Sangallo died in Rome, and the superintendents of San Pietro found themselves in no small embarrassment, not knowing towards whom to turn themselves, or on what master they might devolve

* Of this picture, which afterwards passed into the cathedral of Mantua, there is now a modern copy only, by Felice Canapi, in that church. The original was taken to Paris in 1797, and has never been returned. A diminished copy made during Giulio's life is now in the possession of the Signor Gaetano Susani of Mantua.—Count D'Arco, *Vita di Giulio Romano*

the charge of conducting so great a fabric to its conclusion, after the manner already commenced. None appeared to them better fitted for that office than Giulio Romano, with whose admirable qualifications they were all acquainted, and who, as they believed, would accept the charge more than willingly, for the purpose of honourably reinstating himself in his own country, and that with a large income. They consequently caused him to be questioned on the subject by several of his friends, but in vain, for although he would himself have agreed to this proposal with the utmost readiness, two things withheld him from doing so—the opposition of the Cardinal, who would on no account permit him to leave Mantua, and that of his wife with her kindred and friends, who discouraged the idea of his removal by all the means in their power.

It is true, that neither of these two obstacles might have been sufficient to restrain him, had he been in perfect health, seeing that his conviction of the great advantage that must needs be secured to himself and his children from the acceptance of so honourable an appointment, had fully disposed him to accept it; he was indeed prepared to make every effort that might induce the Cardinal to refrain from offering impediments to his purpose, when his malady began to give evidence of aggravation. It was in fact decreed from on high, that he was no more to visit Rome, and that this was to be the final termination of his days: thus, between vexation and sickness, his life departed, and he died after the lapse of a few days, in Mantua, which city might, nevertheless, have permitted that, as he had embellished her, so he might also have adorned and done honour to his own native city of Rome.

Giulio died in his fifty-fourth year,* leaving one male child only, to whom he had given the name of Raphael, for the love which he bore to the memory of his master. But

* Gaye, *Kunstblatt* for 1838, No. 73, cites a document from a public office in Mantua, whence it appears that there died "on the first of November, 1546, Il sior Julio romano di Pipi, superior de le Fabriche Ducale, de febra, infirmo giorno 15, morto di anni 47."—"Julio Pippi of Rome, Intendant of the Ducal buildings, died after illness from fever of fifteen days, at the age of forty-seven." The Abate Zani remarks with justice that the age has here been most probably given after some inaccurate report; all the probabilities being in favour of the more advanced age assigned by Vasari.

this youth had scarcely acquired the first principles of art, in which he gave promise of becoming an able master, when he also died :* this happened not many years after the death of his father, as did also the decease of his mother, the consort of Giulio. There then remained of the artist no other descendant than a daughter called Virginia, who is now the wife of Ercole Malatesta, and still abiding in Mantua.

The death of Giulio Romano caused infinite grief to all who had known him ; he received the rites of sepulture in San Barnaba, where it was intended that some honourable monument should be erected to his memory, but the wife and children deferring the execution of this purpose from day to day, have themselves for the most part departed from life, without having proceeded further in the matter. It is meanwhile to be regretted that in a city which he so richly adorned, there has been found no one to take count of his deserts, except at such times as they required his services, when they were ready enough to think of him : but the art from which he obtained so much honour in life has raised him a monument in his works which neither time nor the years shall have power to consume.

Giulio Romano was neither tall nor short of stature, was rather firmly than slightly built, had black hair, a pleasing countenance, the eyes dark and cheerful, of a kindly disposition and graceful deportment, regular in his life, frugal in eating, but fond of dressing and living in an honourable manner. He had a considerable number of disciples, but the most distinguished among them were Gian dal Lione, Raffaellino dal Colle of Borgo, Benedetto Pagni of Pescia, Figurino of Faenza,† Rinaldo and Giovan-Battista of Mantua, and Fermo Guisoni, who is still living in Mantua, and does honour to his master, seeing that he is an excellent painter.‡ The same may be said of Benedetto of Pescia, who has produced many works in his native city, with a

* According to Lanzi, whose authority was Camillo Volta, prefect of the Mantuan Museum, Raphael Pippi, the son of Giulio, attained his thirtieth year.

† Figurino of Faenza, or Marc Antonio Rocchetti. Giulio Tonduzzi of Faenza may also be added to the list of Giulio's disciples.

‡ For details respecting these and other Mantuan painters, see the *Monumenti Mantovani* of Carlo D'Arco.

picture for the Cathedral of Pisa, which is now in the house of the Wardens of works. Benedetto has likewise painted a picture of the Madonna, and this work gives proof of a truly poetical invention; the artist having represented a figure of Florence, who is presenting the dignitaries of the house of Medici to the protection of the Virgin. This work is now in the possession of the Signor Mondragone, a Spaniard, very highly favoured by the most illustrious Signor, the Prince of Florence.

Giulio died on the day of All Saints, in the year 1546, and over his tomb * were placed the following lines:—

Romanus moriens secum tres Julius Arteis,
Abstulit (haud mirum) quattuor unus erat.†

THE PAINTER, FRA SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO OF VENICE.

[BORN 1485—DIED 1547.]

THE first profession of Sebastiano,‡ as many affirm, was not painting, but music; for, besides that he was a singer, he delighted to perform on various instruments, but more especially on the lute, that being an instrument which permits the player to take all the parts himself, without requiring any one to accompany him. His accomplishments in this matter rendered him for a time exceedingly acceptable to the

* In the re-construction of the Church of San Barnaba all trace of this distinguished artist's tomb has disappeared. The history of Giulio Romano is perhaps unique, observes Lanzi, for where besides will be found the man who after having erected so many grandiose and beautiful buildings, has then painted and adorned them with his own hands? See *History of Painting* (English edition), vol. ii. p. 331.

† In the first edition this distich is preceded by the following inscription:—

"*Videbat Juppiter corpora sculpta pictaque*
Spirare, et ædes mortalium æquarier Cœlo
Julii virtute Romani; tunc iratus
Concilio divorum omnium vocato
Illum e terris sustulit; quod pati nequiret,
Vinci aut æquari ab homine terrigina."

‡ This painter's family name was *Luciani*. Federici, in his *Memorie Trevigiane*, affirms Fra Sebastiano del Piombo and Fra Marco Pensaben to be one and the same person, but Lanzi and Zani have proved Federici to be in error.

nobles of Venice, with whom, as a man of ability, he ever lived in confidential intercourse. The wish to devote himself to painting having been conceived by Sebastiano while he was still young, he acquired the first principles of his art from Giovan-Bellini, then an old man; but when Giorgione da Castel Franco brought into Venice the newer manner, with its superior harmony and increased vividness of colouring, Sebastiano left Bellini to place himself with Giorgione.

With the last-named artist, Sebastiano remained so long that he acquired his manner to a considerable degree. He executed numerous portraits from the life in Venice, which were reputed to be excellent likenesses; among others, that of the Frenchman Verdelotto, an accomplished musician, who was then chapel-master (*Maestro di Capella*) in San Marco, and in the same picture Sebastiano painted the portrait of the singer Uberto, the associate of Verdelotto. This work was brought to Florence by Verdelotto, when the latter repaired to that city as Maestro di Capella at San Giovanni. It is now in the possession of the sculptor, Francesco Sangallo. About the same time, Sebastiano painted a picture in the Church of San Giovanni Grisostomo at Venice, with figures which have so much of the manner of Giorgione, that they have sometimes been taken by persons who have not much acquaintance with matters of art, to be by the hand of Giorgione himself. The work is a very beautiful one, and has a manner of colouring which secures great relief to the picture.*

By this work the reputation of the artist was much extended, and Agostino Chigi, a very rich merchant of Siena, who had frequent communications with Venice, hearing him much extolled in Rome, made efforts to attract him thither, the abilities of Sebastiano in playing on the lute being equally pleasing to Agostino with his acquirements as a painter; and the latter was furthermore incited by the agreeable conversation of Sebastiano, which was also much commended. No great labour was required to lead Sebas-

* This picture, which represents the Madonna with St. Chrysostom and other saints, is on the High Altar of the above named-church. It was restored some years since by Bernardino Corniani degli Algarotti. There are works of this master in the Church of San Bartolommeo at Venice. These also have been re-touched.—*Venetian Edition of Vasari.*

tiano to Rome; nay, knowing how helpful and favourable that city, as the common country of all distinguished men, had ever proved herself towards such, he went thither more than willingly. Having arrived in Rome accordingly, Agostino set him instantly to work, and the first thing which he did was to paint the small arches above the Loggia, which looks into the garden of Agostino's palace in the Trastevere, where the whole of the vaulting had been decorated by Baldassare of Siena. In these arches, Sebastiano painted many poesies,* or fanciful subjects, in the manner which he had brought with him from Venice, and which were very different from the works usually produced in Rome by the distinguished painters of that time.

After this work, Raffaello having executed a story of Galatea in that place, Agostino desired that Sebastiano should paint a Polyphemus in fresco beside it;† and here, impelled by a spirit of rivalry with Baldassare of Siena, and afterwards with Raphael, he did his very utmost to distinguish himself. He likewise executed certain works in oil, and of these, seeing that he had obtained from Giorgione a certain mode of colouring which was tolerably soft, much account was made at Rome. While Sebastiano was thus producing these pictures in Rome, Raffaello da Urbino had risen into great credit as a painter, and his friends and adherents maintained that his works were more strictly in accordance with the rules of art than those of Michael Agnolo, affirming that they were graceful in colouring, of beautiful invention, admirable in expression, and of characteristic design; while those of Michael Agnolo, it was averred, had none of these qualities with the exception of the design. For these reasons, Raphael was judged by those who thus opined, to be fully equal, if not superior, to Michelagnolo in painting generally, and was considered by the same to be decidedly superior to him as regarded colouring in particular. These ideas, promulgated by many

* As our author calls every work having an historical character, a *story*, so he calls those taken from the poets or works of pure fancy, a *poesy*.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† The Polyphemus of Fra Sebastiano has perished, and another has been fabricated in its place by some painter who was but "one of a dozen."—*Bottari.*

artists, were very widely diffused, and found favour among those who preferred the grace of Raphael to the profundity of Michelagnolo, and who showed themselves on many occasions to be more favourable to Raphael in their judgment, than to Buonarroti.

But not so Sebastiano, he was not among the followers of these extreme opinions ; possessing an exquisite judgment, he fully and exactly appreciated the value of both these masters ; the mind of Buonarroti was thereby disposed towards him, and being greatly pleased with the grace and beauty of his colouring, he took him into his protection, thinking also that by assisting Sebastiano in design, he might succeed without doing anything himself, in confounding those who held the above-described opinions, while he, under the shadow of a third person, might appear as judge between the two, Raphael or Sebastiano, deciding which of them was the best.*

Things being at this point, and the works of Sebastiano having been exalted to great, or rather, infinite reputation by the praises lavished on them by Michelagnolo, to say nothing of the fact that they were in themselves beautiful and commendable, there was a certain Messer, I know not who, from Viterbo, who stood in high favour with the Pope, and who commissioned Sebastiano to paint a Dead Christ, with Our Lady weeping over him, for a certain chapel which he had caused to be erected in the Church of San Francesco at Viterbo ; but although the work was finished with infinite care and zeal by Sebastiano, who executed a twilight Landscape therein, yet the invention was Michelagnolo's and the cartoon was prepared by his hand. † The picture

* Of the many opinions expressed by various authorities respecting this passage, we can make but slight mention here. Some ask if it be probable that Michael Angelo would resort to the plan here alluded to for the purpose described, others descant on the increase of glory which results to Raphael from the confession of inferiority implied by the admission that the union of two artists was required to produce works that should equal those by his hand ; and others again, proceed to question the truth of the motive here assigned by Vasari as that by which his master was actuated, even while they admit that the proceeding attributed to him may be authenticated.

† There is a picture on this subject painted in oil by Sebastiano del Piombo, after the design of Michael Angelo, in the Bridgewater Collection,

was esteemed a truly beautiful one by all who beheld it, and acquired a great increase of reputation for Sebastiano, confirming the opinions of those by whom he was favoured;* then the Florentine merchant, Pier Francesco Borgherini, having obtained possession of a chapel in San Pietro-in-Montorio, on the right of the entrance into that church, commissioned Sebastiano to paint the same; induced thereto by the favour shown to Sebastiano by Michelagnolo, and thinking moreover that the latter would himself execute the drawing of the whole work, which, as the matter happened, was in fact the truth.

Having commenced the paintings, accordingly, Sebastiano set hand to the work with such perfect goodwill, and completed it with so much care and study, that it is indeed a most beautiful picture; and as, from the small design prepared by Michelagnolo, Sebastiano made several others of larger size for his own convenience, one among them, very beautifully executed by his hand, is now to be found in our book, Sebastiano was convinced that he had discovered the true method of painting in oil on the wall, he therefore covered the plaster of the chapel in San Pietro-in-Montorio with a preparation for the intonaco, which appeared to him to be properly suited for that purpose, and on this he executed the part whereon is the representation of Christ scourged at the Column, entirely in oil.† Nor will I conceal, that many believe Michelagnolo to have made, not the small design for this work only, but even the outline of that figure of Christ scourged at the Column, seeing that there is a great difference in the degree of excellence to be perceived in the figure here in question, and that of all the others. But had Sebastiano never executed any work excepting this one he would have

but it has unhappily suffered greatly. The work, which was obtained from the Orleans Gallery, has been engraved by De Launay.

* Waagen maintains that in the Holy Family by Sebastiano, now in the collection of the Baring family, the spirit of Michael Angelo is equally manifest, and the same, according to this authority, may be affirmed of the Holy Family in Lord Radnor's Collection, as well as in the large picture of the Visitation in the Louvre, which last bears the inscription, *Sebastianus Venetus faciebat, Romæ*, MDXXXI.

† The Flagellation has much darkened; experience has indeed proved that oil painting on the wall does not retain its beauty, whatever may be the precautions used to secure it.—*Bottari.*

well deserved eternal fame for this alone; the heads are admirably well done, many of the hands and feet are most beautiful, and although his manner was a little hard, an effect of the great pains which he took in the copying of the objects depicted, he may nevertheless be justly enumerated among the good and praiseworthy artists of his time.

Above this story Sebastiano painted two Prophets in fresco, with a Transfiguration in the vaulted ceiling, and there are besides two Saints standing one on each side of the lowermost picture, San Piero, and San Francesco namely, which are figures of great force and animation.* It is true that Sebstiano laboured for six years over this small undertaking, but when works are well executed, one ought not to inquire whether they have been finished more or less expeditiously, although there is no doubt that he who executes his works rapidly, and yet completes them well, does merit to be the more highly extolled; still, if, when the work does not give satisfaction, the painter seeks to excuse himself by alleging the rapidity of the execution, this allegation is so far from presenting an excuse for the defect, that it is, on the contrary, a further accusation against himself, unless indeed he has been compelled to such haste. But when this work of Sebastiano's was uncovered, it was found to be a good one; wherefore, although he had toiled wearily over it, yet, as he had done well, the evil tongues were silenced, and there were few who presumed to censure him.

When, some time afterwards, Raphael painted for the Cardinal de' Medici that picture which was to be sent into France, but which after the death of the master was placed on the high altar of San Pietro in Montorio, the Transfiguration namely, Sebastiano executed one at the same time and of the same size, almost as in rivalry of Raphael, the subject being a Resurrection of Lazarus, after he had been in the grave four days. This also was painted with the most earnest care, under the direction, and in some parts with the design, of Michael Angelo. These pictures being finished, were publicly displayed together in the Hall of the Consistory; they were both very highly extolled, and, although the works of Raphael had no equal for their extraordinary grace and

* The Transfiguration has maintained itself better. Here also the bold manner of Michael Angelo is clearly apparent.—*Bottari.*

beauty, the labours of Sebastiano, nevertheless, found honourable acknowledgment and were commended by all. One of these pictures* was sent by the Cardinal de' Medici to his episcopal residence at Narbonne in France,† the other was placed in the Chancery, where it remained until it had received the frame prepared for it by Giovanni Barile,‡ when it was taken to San Pietro in Montorio. Having performed good service by this work in the estimation of the Cardinal, Sebastiano was much favoured and very liberally rewarded during the pontificate of the same.§

No long time afterwards, and when, Raphael having died, the first place in painting was universally accorded to Sebastiano, in consequence of the favour which the latter received from Michelagnolo, Giulio Romano, Giovan Francesco of Florence, Perino del Vaga, Polidoro Maturino, Baldassare of Siena, and the rest were compelled to give way ;‖ wherefore Agostino Chigi, who had caused his chapel and tomb in Santa Maria del Popolo to be constructed under the direction of Raphael, agreed with Sebastiano that the latter should execute the whole of the painting, and he having erected his enclosure accordingly, the chapel remained thus concealed without ever being seen by any one, until the year 1554, at which time Luigi the son of Agostino, resolved that although his father had not been permitted to see that work finished, yet he would himself behold the completion thereof. He, therefore, commissioned Francesco Salviati to paint the Altar-piece and the chapel, when the last-mentioned artist brought the work in a short time to that perfection which would never have been given to it by the tardiness and irresolution of Sebastiano, who, so far as can be ascertained, had done but little thereto, although he had received from the liberality of Agostino and his heirs a much larger sum than would have been due to him even had he completed the whole. But this was what Sebastiano did not do, whether because he had become weary of the labours of art, or

* That of Sebastiano namely.

† The manner in which this picture finally became incorporated with our own "National Galley" is too well known to need repetition here.

‡ A celebrated Sienese carver in wood, mentioned in the Life of Raphael.

§ The Cardinal Giulio de' Medici was afterwards Pope Clement VII.

‖ Lanzi remarks that he knows not what to think of a fact that, if true,

because he was too busily occupied with the interests and pleasures of the world.* In the same manner he treated Messer Filippo of Siena, Clerk of the Chamber, for whom he commenced a story in oil on the wall, above the high altar of the church of Santa Maria della Pace in Rome, and never finished it at all, insomuch that the monks, when they had fallen quite into despair respecting it, were compelled to remove the scaffolding, which they found to encumber their church and impede the services, having no further resource but that of taking patience, and permitting the part to remain covered with a cloth, as it continued to be during all the remainder of Sebastiano's life, but when he was dead, and the monks uncovered the picture so that what he had done could be seen, the portion that had been accomplished was acknowledged to be an exceedingly beautiful work.† There are many female heads for example, in that painting (which shows Our Lady visiting Sant' Elizabetta) that are singularly pleasing and display the most attractive grace, but here also there is evidence that this man performed all that he did with infinite difficulty and most laborious pains-taking, and that no part of his work was effected with that facility with which Nature and study will sometimes reward those who delight in their vocation and are perpetually occupied therewith.

A proof of what is here affirmed may be found in this same church of the Pace, and in the chapel of Agostino Chigi, where Raphael had painted the Sybils and the Prophets; for Sebastiano, in the hope of surpassing Raphael, undertook to paint something of his own in the niches beneath these sybils and prophets, proposing to execute his work on the stone, and covering it to that end with peperigno, the interstices being filled in with stucco under the action of fire, but he spent so much time in consideration of the matter that he

does Michael Angelo so little credit, but which yet he dares not disbelieve, in the fear of doing wrong to Vasari.

* "And this man," remarks a compatriot of our author, "this man, with his slowness of intellect, his idle and self-indulgent disposition, this man was the lance with which Michael Angelo intended to lift the Urbinese from his saddle!"

† Of the works which Vasari reports Fra Sebastiano to have commenced in the Church of the Pace, no trace now remains.—*Bottari.*

left the work after all in a state of preparation only, seeing that when it had been ten years in that condition Sebastiano died.

It is true that there was no difficulty in obtaining some portrait taken from the life from Sebastiano: this he did with tolerable ease and promptitude, but with anything appertaining to stories or other figures, it was altogether the reverse. Nay, to tell the truth, portrait painting was the proper vocation of Sebastiano; and of this we have some evidence in the likeness of Marcantonio Colonna, which is so well done that it seems to be alive, as well as in those of Ferdinando, Marquis of Pescara, and of the Signora Vittoria Colonna,* which are most beautiful. This master likewise took the portrait of Pope Adrian VI., when he first arrived in Rome, as he did also that of the Cardinal Hinchfort. This prelate afterwards desired that Sebastiano should paint a chapel for him in the church of Santa Maria dell' Anima in Rome, but the artist put him off "from to-day to to-morrow," in such a manner that the Cardinal at length caused his chapel to be painted by the Flemish painter Michele,† his compatriot, who there depicted stories in fresco from the life of Santa Barbara, imitating our Italian manner exceedingly well. He painted the portrait of the above-named Cardinal also in this work.

But to return to Sebastiano: he also painted the likeness of the Signor Federigo da Bozzolo, with that of some captain, I know not whom, wearing armour: this last is in the possession of Giulio de' Nobili in Florence; and in the house of Luca Torrigiani, there is a Woman in the Roman habit, by the hand of this artist. Giovanni Battista Cavalcanti has also a head painted by him, but this is not entirely finished; Sebastiano furthermore executed a picture of Our Lady, covering the Divine Child with a veil, an admirable work, now in the Guardaroba of the Cardinal Farnese. Our artist also sketched, but did not finish, a very fine picture of San Michele, standing over the prostrate form of the Devil, a figure of colossal proportions, and this was intended for the

* The portrait of Victoria Colonna was engraved by Holler.

† Michael Cocceis, or Coxis, of Mechlin. His works in this Chapel have suffered greatly.—*Bottari.*

King of France, who had previously received a picture by the hand of the same artist.*

When Giulio Cardinal de' Medici was created supreme Pontiff, and took the name of Clement VII. he caused Sebastiano to understand, by means of the Bishop of Vasona, that the time was come when his Holiness could be of service to him, a circumstance of which he (Sebastiano) should not fail to have proof when the occasion might present itself. Sebastiano meanwhile, being excellent at the taking of portraits as we have said, painted many from the life while he was entertaining the hope thus awakened, and among others was that of Pope Clement himself, who did not then wear his beard; of this portrait Sebastiano made a replica, the original being for the Bishop of Vasona: the repetition, which was of larger size, a half-length figure seated, is now in the possession of Sebastiano's family.† He likewise portrayed the Florentine Anton Francesco degli Albizzi, who was then in Rome for certain of his affairs; a work of such merit that it does not seem to be painted but living: wherefore Anton Francesco, esteeming it as he might have done some precious jewel, despatched it to his home in Florence. The head and hands of this portrait are indeed a sort of miracle, to say nothing of the admirable manner in which the artist has depicted the velvets, linings, satins, and other portions of the picture. Sebastiano did certainly surpass all others in the painting of portraits; in that branch of art no one has ever equalled the delicacy and excellence of his work, and all Florence was amazed at this portrait of Anton Francesco.

About the same time our artist painted the likeness of Messer Pietro Aretino, and this also he executed in such a manner, that, not to mention the resemblance, which is nevertheless most exact, the picture is wonderful, if it were only for the difference which the painter has made so clearly

* There is now in the Louvre no other work by Sebastiano than the Visitation and the portrait of the sculptor Baccio Bandinelli.

† In the Museo Borbonico at Naples there is a portrait called that of Pope Alexander VI., but since that Pontiff died long before the period of Sebastiano's artistic activity, it has been conjectured, and with reasons of some weight, the grounds for which cannot be given here, that this is the portrait now in question, and should be called Clement VII.

obvious in the various kinds of blacks, not less than five or six, to be seen therein; velvet, satin, silk of Mantua, damask, and cloth namely all black, with a very black beard, finely distinguished on this sable clothing, and all so well executed that life itself could scarcely be more life-like. In the hand this portrait holds a branch of laurel with a scroll, whereon there is written the name of Clement VII.; two masks lie before him, one beautiful, to intimate Virtue, the other hideous to represent Vice. This picture was presented by Messer Pietro to his native city, and the people of Arezzo have placed it in the public hall of their council,* thus doing honour to the memory of their ingenious fellow citizen, and receiving no less from his fame.† At a later period Sebastiano painted the likeness of Andrea Doria‡ which was also an admirable work, with the head of the Florentine Baccio Valori; a painting the beauty and excellence of which it would not be possible adequately to describe.

Now it happened about this time, that Mariano Fetti Frate del Piombo § died, and Sebastiano, remembering the promises made to him by the above-named Bishop of Vasona, master of the household to his Holiness, made interest to obtain the office of the seal, thus vacated; wherefore, although that office was in like manner sought by Giovanni da Udine, who had also been in the service of the Pope *in minoribus*, and was still serving him, yet the Pontiff, moved by the prayers of the Bishop, and also by his conviction that the abilities of Sebastiano merited that favour, bestowed the desired office on Sebastiano, but commanded that he should pay three hundred scudi per annum out of the same, as a pension to Giovanni da Udine.

Thereupon Sebastiano assumed the habit of a monk: when it soon appeared as if he felt his very soul changed thereby, for perceiving that he had now the means of satisfying his desires without stroke of pencil, he gave himself up to his repose, and indemnified himself, by the enjoyments which his income supplied, for all the painful nights and laborious days

* It is still in the public Palace of Arezzo.

† There is a portrait of Pietro Aretino by Sebastiano, in the Gallery of Berlin.

‡ Now in the Doria Gallery at Rome.

§ Mentioned in the Life of Fra Bartolommeo. See vol. ii. p. 454.

which he had previously spent: or if on any occasion he felt obliged to execute a painting, he went to his work with such manifest reluctance that he might have been supposed to be rather going to his death. And from this we may perceive how poorly we are conducted by our own wisdom and by human prudence, for how frequently, nay, rather most commonly, do we covet that which we should least seek and do least require: supposing, as the Tuscan proverb goes, that we are about to cross ourselves with the finger, we plunge it into the eye instead. It is the common belief, for example, that by rewards and honours the minds of mortals are stimulated to increased exertion in the study of those arts which they perceive to be well remunerated, and that, on the contrary, the perception that they who have the power to reward exertion, neglect and disregard those who distinguish themselves thereby, has the effect of causing such men to become discouraged and to abandon their vocation. Thinking thus, both ancients and moderns have ever censured, with all the force of expression which they can find, such princes as have failed to protect talents of all kinds, and have withheld from those who labour conscientiously the honours and rewards which are so justly their due. But although this rule does, for the most part, hold good, we have nevertheless occasion sometimes to remark that the liberality of just and magnanimous princes has, in certain instances, produced a contrary effect, seeing that there are many who are more disposed to contribute to the advantage and utility of the world, while in depressed and moderate condition, than when exalted to greatness and possessing an abundance of all things. And here we have a case in point. The magnificence and liberality of Clement VII., by too largely rewarding Sebastiano, who had previously served him as an excellent painter, was a temptation to that master, from the careful and pains-taking artist that he had been, to become most idle and negligent; and whereas while the struggle between himself and Raphael da Urbino continued, and Sebastiano lived in a poor condition, he was labouring continually, he had no sooner obtained what sufficed to his wants, than he passed his time in a totally different manner.

But be this as it may, and leaving to the judgment of

prudent princes to consider how, when, towards whom, in what manner, by what rule, and in what measure, they are to exercise their liberality in the case of artists and other men of distinction, I return to Sebastiano, and say that he executed with much delay (for he had then been made Frate del Piombo), a commission which he had received from the Patriarch of Aquileia ; the subject of the work being Our Saviour Christ, a half-length figure painted on stone. This picture was much commended, more particularly for the head and hands, parts in which Sebastiano was indeed truly excellent. No long time after this, the niece of the Pope, who afterwards became and still is Queen of France, * arrived in Rome, when Fra Sebastiano began to paint her portrait, but never having completed the same, the unfinished work has remained in the Guardaroba of the Pontiff.

About the same time, the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici fell in love with the Signora Giulia Gonzaga, who then dwelt at Fondi ; the said Cardinal therefore sent Sebastiano with four swift horses to that place, for the purpose of taking her portrait, and in about a month, the artist completed the likeness, when, what with the celestial beauties of that lady, and what with the able hand of so accomplished a master, the picture proved to be a most divine one.† Having brought his work to Rome, he received a rich reward from the Cardinal, who acknowledged, as was the case, that this portrait greatly surpassed all that Sebastiano had ever before accomplished. The work was afterwards presented to Francis, king of France, who placed it in his palace of Fontainebleau.

This painter having discovered a new method of painting on stone, very greatly pleased the people thereby, since it appeared that by this means pictures might be rendered eternal, seeing that neither fire nor the worm could injure them. Thereupon Sebastiano began to execute various works in this manner, surrounding them with ornaments made of other stones, varied in colour, and which being polished formed a most beautiful decoration to the same. It

* Catherine de' Medici, wife of Henry II.

† The portrait called that of Giulia Gonzaga in our National Gallery is supposed, but not admitted by all authorities, to be the work here in question.

is true that when they were finished, these paintings, both on account of their own weight and that of their decorations, were incapable of being moved, but with the utmost pains and difficulty. Yet, many persons, attracted by the novelty of the work and the beauty of the art, gave earnest-money to the painter, to the end that he might execute such for them ; but Sebastiano, who found more pleasure in talking of these pictures than in making them, put off and delayed all these things from day to day. He did, nevertheless, complete a Dead Christ, with the Madonna in stone, for Don Ferrante Gonzaga, by whom it was sent into Spain. This work had a frame or ornament, also in stone ; it was considered to be an exceedingly beautiful one, and Sebastiano was paid five hundred scudi for the same by Messer Niccolò da Cortona, agent in Rome for the Cardinal of Mantua.

There was one thing wherein Sebastiano merited considerable praise, for whereas Domenico, his compatriot, who was the first to attempt painting in oil on stone, could never find the means of preventing the works which he executed in that manner from becoming black and looking prematurely faded, nor could Andrea dal Castagno, Antonio, and Piero del Pollaiuolo, or any other of the masters who followed him succeed better in that quest, yet Sebastiano discovered the desired method effectually,* and the figure of Christ scourged at the Column, which he executed for the Church of San Pietro-in-Montorio, has never changed as yet, but retains its freshness and animation unimpaired as on the first day.† Sebastiano used very great and many precautions in his preparations for these works,‡ forming his intonaco with mastic and pitch from the pine, all mixed carefully over the fire, and laid on the wall, where it was laid smoothly with a trowel, and covered with a surface of plaster, brought glowing from the fire. By this process his works have been enabled to resist the effects of damp and escape all evil consequences from humidity, insomuch that they preserve their colours admirably well and without

* There is a picture on stone by this master in the Berlin Gallery, which is in excellent preservation ; it represents Our Saviour on the Cross.

† This work had blackened considerably in Bottari's time (1798).

‡ In the *Spedale de' Sacerdoti* (Hospital of the Priests), in Palermo, there is a Pieta on stone by Sebastiano, which is in very good preservation

suffering any change. With the same mixture, Sebastiano worked on peperigno marbles of different kinds, vari-coloured stones, porphyries, and other very hard surfaces, paintings which may without doubt be expected to endure for a vast period of time. He has besides hereby taught us how we may paint on silver, copper, brass, and other metals.

This man had so much pleasure in gossipping and gabbling that he would waste whole days therein, or if at length he proceeded to his work, it was easy to perceive that he was subjecting himself to infinite suffering, and this may perhaps have been one cause of an opinion which he held, which was that his works could not be adequately paid for, whatever the price he received for them. For the Cardinal of Aragona Sebastiano painted a picture, wherein he depicted an exceedingly beautiful figure of Sant' Agatha, naked, and subjected to the frightful tortures of her martyrdom.* This picture, which is indeed a most admirable work, is now in the Guadaroba of the Signor Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino,† and is in no respect inferior to the many other beautiful paintings by the hand of Raffaello da Urbino, of Titian, and of other masters, which are in the same place. Sebastiano likewise executed a portrait from life of the Signor Piero Gonzaga; this was painted in oil on stone, and was a most beautiful and admirable likeness, but the artist laboured over it for three entire years before he finished it.

Now in the time of Pope Clement, and when Michelagnolo was in Florence, employed about the new Sacristy of San Lorenzo, Giuliano Bugiardini was commissioned to execute a painting for Baccio Valori, the work to represent the likeness of the Pope, with that of Baccio himself, while in another he was to depict his Holiness, with the Archbishop of Capua, this last picture being to be painted for Messer Ottaviano de' Medici. Michelagnolo therefore had recourse to Fra Sebastiano, whom he requested to send him from Rome the head of the Pontiff painted in oil; this Sebastiano executed, and sent him accordingly, having succeeded in his

* The reader who may desire to see the details of this martyr's sufferings is referred to the *Sacred and Legendary Art* of Mrs. Jameson, vol. ii. p. 229, *et seq.*

† Now in the Pitti Palace. This picture was among those taken to Paris, but was restored to Italy in 1814.

work to perfection. When Giuliano had used the head for that purpose therefore, and had finished his pictures, Michelagnolo, who was a gossip of the said Messer Ottaviano, made the latter a present thereof; and certainly, among the many portraits painted by Sebastiano, this is one of the most beautiful. It is besides an exceedingly faithful resemblance, as may be seen in the house of the heirs of Messer Ottaviano, where it now is. This master likewise painted the portrait of Pope Paul, who had been Cardinal Farnese, so soon as he was raised to the Pontificate, and commenced that of the Duke of Castro, son of his Holiness, but left it unfinished, as he did so many of the other works of which he had made a beginning.

Fra Sebastiano had a tolerably good house which he had built for himself near the Porta del Popolo at Rome, and there he lived in the utmost content, without troubling himself further about painting or working in any way. "It is a great fatigue," he would often remark, "to expose one's self in age to the necessity of restraining those ardours which artists are induced to excite in themselves by the desire for honour, by emulation, and by the love of gain, although this might be endured in youth;" and he would add that it was quite as prudent to seek the quiet of life as to consume one's days in labour and discomfort, in the hope of leaving a name after one's death, seeing that the labours thus endured, with the works which were the result of them, would alike come to an end at some time, sooner or later, be they what they might. And as he would say these things, so also would he practise and put them in execution to the utmost of his power, seeking the best wines and the most inviting meats that could be found for his table, and ever thinking more of the enjoyments of life than of art.

A friend to all distinguished men, Fra Sebastiano frequently invited Molza* and Messer Gandolfo† to sup with him, when he would make them right good cheer. The Florentine, Messer Francesco Berni, was also his very intimate friend, and wrote a poem to him; whereunto Sebastiano replied by another, which was not without merit, for,

* A poet of Modena.

† This is the Messer Gandolfo Porrini, to whom Casa addressed his poem on the name of Giovanni.—*Bottari.*

being a man of varied acquirements, he knew, among other things, how to write Tuscan verse in a jesting humour. Being reproached by certain persons, who declared it to be a shameful thing that he would no longer work, because he had sufficient to live on, Fra Sebastiano replied in this manner: "Nay, since I have enough to support me, I will not work; there are geniuses now in the world who do more in two months than I used to do in two years; I think, indeed, that if I live much longer I shall find that every thing has been painted which it is possible to paint, and since these good people are doing so much, it is upon the whole well that there is one who is content to do nothing, to the end that they may have all the more to do." With these and other pleasantries, Fra Sebastiano was ever ready to reply, always facetious and amusing as he was; a better or more agreeable companion than himself, of a truth, there never lived. Sebastiano, as we have said, was much beloved by Michelagnolo, but it is also true that when that part of the chapel whereon is executed the Last Judgment of Buonarroti had to be painted, there did arise some anger between them; Sebastiano having persuaded the Pope to make Michelagnolo execute the work in oil, while the latter would do it in no other manner than fresco. But Michelagnolo saying neither yes nor no, the wall was prepared after the fashion of Fra Sebastiano, and Buonarroti suffered it to remain thus for several months, without doing anything to the work. At length, and when pressed on the subject, he declared that he would only do it in fresco, "oil-painting being an art only fit for women, or idle and leisurely people like Fra Bastiano." The preparations made by Sebastiano were therefore removed, and everything being made ready for the painting in fresco, Michelagnolo then set hand to the work, but he never forgot the affront which it appeared to him that he had received from Fra Sebastiano, and maintained a feeling of hatred against him almost to the Frate's death.

Being finally brought to a state wherein he would neither work nor do any other thing but just attend to his office as Frate del Piombo,* and give himself good cheer, Fra

* The reader who may desire an explanation of the nature of this office, will find it in the Life of Fra Bartolommeo, vol. ii. of the present work, p. 452, *note*.

Sebastiano fell sick of a most violent fever, and being of very full habit, the disease attained to such a height that in a very few days he resigned his soul to God. Having made a will, he commanded that his remains should be carried to the tomb without any ceremony of priests or friars, nor would he have any expenses incurred for lights, but ordered that the amount which would have been thus expended should be distributed to the poor, for the love of God: and so was it done. Fra Sebastiano was buried in the Church of the Popolo, in the month of June of the year 1547.

The death of this master could scarcely be considered a great loss to Art, since from the moment that he had assumed the habit of a monk, he might very justly have been accounted among the departed. It is true that his pleasant qualities in conversation did cause many of his friends to lament his death, and indeed, many artists also. Young men, in some considerable number, resorted to Sebastiano at divers times, for the purpose of studying their art, but they rarely made any great profit. since from his example, they could learn little beside the art of good living. But from this remark we must except Tommaso Laurati,* a Sicilian, who, besides many other works, has executed in Bologna an exceedingly graceful picture of Venus, embracing and kissing her son Cupid. This work is in the house of Messer Francesco Bolognetti. He has likewise painted the portrait of the Signor Bernardino Savelli, which is highly commended; with other pictures, of which there is no need to make further mention.

THE FLORENTINE PAINTER, PERINO DEL VAGA.

[BORN 1500—DIED 1547.]

VERY great, without doubt, is the value of art, which, far from having regard to the favours of fortune, the possession of power, or the nobility of blood, is much more frequently found to bless, to sustain, nay, rather to exalt above the earth, some child of poverty, than one cradled amidst the luxuries of wealth. And this is so decreed by Heaven for

* The name of this artist was Laureti. The beautiful fountain on the Piazza of Bologna is after his design.

the purpose of teaching us how effectual is the influence of the stars and constellations, distributing as they do, to one more, to another less, of the celestial favours; for these influences are, for the most part, the cause wherefore some of us are born with dispositions more or less energetic or slothful, more or less weak or powerful, impetuous or gentle, fortunate or unfortunate, gifted with genius or destitute of ability; and he who shall in any manner doubt the truth of this doctrine, will find himself undeceived by the life of the excellent and very ingenious painter, Perino* del Vaga.†

Born of indigent parents and abandoned by his kindred in his earliest youth, Perino was guided and governed by art alone—art, which he always acknowledged as his true mother, and ever honoured as such. With so much zeal accordingly did he devote himself to the study of painting, and such was the success of his unremitting endeavours to attain perfection, that he became capable of executing those most admirable and justly renowned works, by which in his day the glory of Genoa and the fame of the Prince Doria were so largely increased.‡ Safely, and without hesitation may we believe therefore, that by Heaven alone are men of a condition so lowly conducted from the infinite depression in which they were born, to the summit of greatness whither they are seen to ascend, when, by the works they produce, and by the persistence of their endeavours in the vocation they have chosen, these men prove themselves to be true and earnest followers of knowledge. It was thus and with no inferior degree of zeal and truthfulness that Perino del Vaga, while in his youth, pursued, as he had adopted, the art of design, wherein he attained the highest distinction, and gave early evidence of the grace and perfection of manner which he afterwards acquired. This artist moreover, not only equalled the ancients in stucco-work, but

* Pietro that is to say; Perino or Pierino being the diminutive of Piero, the Florentine form of Pietro.

† The reproaches with which our good Giorgio has been assailed for this his dictum, by more than one of his compatriots, shall suffice, if you so please, O reader, for his castigation: you and I will e'en content ourselves with taking leave to dissent from his opinion.

‡ Vasari here alludes to the works executed in the beautiful Palace of the Doria family, outside the gate of San Tommaso, and of which he speaks at greater length in a subsequent page.

proved himself to possess every advantage exhibited by the best modern artists in the whole domain of painting; nay, all that can be desired from human genius, or from him who shall aspire to make manifest, by the beauty of colouring and the attraction of ornament, the difficulties, the excellence, and the grace which exist in the regions of that art; all, I say, were combined in Perino.

But let us speak more particularly concerning the origin of this artist. In the city of Florence there lived a man called Giovanni Buonaccorso, who distinguished himself greatly in the wars of Charles VIII., king of France. Youthful, courageous, and liberal, Giovanni dissipated his patrimony in gaming and in the duties of the field, until he had spent all that he possessed in the service of that prince wherein he finally lost his life also.* To this man was born a son whom he named Piero, and whose mother having died of the plague when he was but two months old, he was suckled by a goat, and brought up in the utmost poverty at a farm-house, while his father, having departed to Bologna, there took a second wife. This woman, who had lost her previous husband and her children in the plague, completed, with her pest-infected milk, the nursing of the infant Piero, whom they called Pierino by way of *nom de caresse*, as is for the most part the custom with respect to little children, and this name he retained ever afterwards.†

Being taken to Florence by his father, the little Piero was there left with certain kinsfolk of Giovanni, while the latter returned to France, but these relations, either not having the will to encumber themselves with the charge left to them, or not possessing the means to support the child and have him taught some ingenious occupation, apprenticed him to the apothecary of the Pinadoro,‡ to the intent that the boy should acquire his vocation; but Piero found no pleasure therein,

* Charles VIII. died in 1498, and as Perino was not born until the year 1500, his father could not have lost his life under Charles, whom he may nevertheless have served, probably during the expedition to Naples in 1495.

† "Our Pierino," observes a Florentine annotator, "lived afterwards in places where this form of his name is not used, and is consequently better known as Perino."

‡ So called from the sign of his shop, which was a gilded fir-cone (Pina d'oro).

and was then taken as shop-boy by the painter Andrea de' Ceri, who was pleased with the appearance and manners of the child, and who thought he perceived in him a certain something indicative of a lively genius, whence it might be hoped that with time some good result would proceed from the cultivation of his abilities.

Andrea was not a distinguished artist; on the contrary, he was an ordinary painter, one of those who stand openly in their shops, working at every kind of mechanical operation for the public; he was moreover accustomed to paint a certain number of wax lights every year (on the festival of San Giovanni namely), which were then, and indeed still are,* sent with the other tributes of the city; for this reason the painter was called Andrea de' Ceri,† and from that name Perino was for some time called Perino de' Ceri.

When Andrea had kept the child some years, teaching him the first principles of the art in the best manner that he was able, he was compelled to seek for him a better master than he could himself pretend to be. This happened when the boy had attained his eleventh year, and Andrea being on terms of strict intimacy with Ridolfo, the son of Domenico Ghirlandajo, who, as we shall relate hereafter, was held to be a very good and able painter,—Andrea I say, placed Perino with Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, to the end that by him the child might be properly instructed, and might labour under his direction, with all the zeal and love that he could command, to acquire the needful attainments in the art, towards which his genius appeared so strongly to dispose him. Pursuing his studies accordingly, among the many other young people whom Ridolfo had in his bottega to learn their calling, Perino displayed a degree of care and attention which caused him very soon to surpass all the rest. Among others was one called Toto del Nunziata, in whom Perino found a spur by which he was perpetually impelled to exertion, and who also attained in time to a place among the most distinguished artists. But Toto left Florence at a subsequent period, with certain Florentine merchants and repaired to England, where all his works were performed, seeing that he entered the service of the king of that country, for whom he executed

* This practice is now discontinued.—*Masselli.*

† Ceri, wax-lights.

numerous works; some of these were in architecture, more especially the principal palace of that monarch,* by whom he was very largely remunerated.

This Toto and Perino, thus labouring in emulation of each other, devoted themselves to their studies with so much zeal that no long time had elapsed before they both became excellent in their art. Perino, moreover, drawing with other young people, Florentines and strangers alike, after the cartoon of Michelagnolo, acquired and maintained the first place among them all, thereby awakening those expectations which the admirable works, afterwards executed by him with so much art and excellence, so amply fulfilled.

Now at that time it happened that the Florentine painter Vaga made a visit to his native city of Florence. He was no very distinguished artist, and was executing coarse kinds of work at Toscanella, in the States of the Church; but he was overwhelmed with commissions, and requiring assistance, was disposed to take with him from Florence some youth, who might supply him with aid in design, wherein he felt himself to be wanting, as well as in other matters connected with his art; he also desired to find a shop-boy whom he might in like manner take with him. Vaga chanced to see Perino drawing with other young men in the bottega of Ridolfo, and was greatly astonished at the extent of that ability by which he perceived him to surpass all those around him. Nay, what is still more, this Vaga was equally pleased with the aspect and manners of Perino, who was a very beautiful youth, courteous, modest, and pleasing in his deportment, his whole person, in short, corresponding externally with the endowments of his mind: Vaga was indeed so greatly charmed with Perino, that he inquired at once if he would go with him to Rome, declaring moreover, that he would do all that he possibly could to secure his advancement in his studies, would confer on him all the benefits in his power, and would make such conditions with him as he should demand.

The desire of Perino for the attainment of perfection in his art was so powerful, that he no sooner heard the name of

* Lanzi speaks of this artist as "but little known amongst us (the Italians) though considered by the English to be the best of the Italian artists who have visited their island during that century." See *History of Painting* (English Edition), vol. i. p. 165.

Rome mentioned, than he was instantly moved to a great degree, but told Vaga that he must speak respecting the matter with Andrea de' Ceri, who had been his aid and support to that time, and whom he would not leave without first having obtained his consent. Ultimately, Vaga found means to prevail on Ridolfo, Perino's master, as well as on Andrea de' Ceri, with whom the youth still had his abode, to permit his departure, when the latter, with a companion whom Vaga had also engaged, set off with him to Toscanella. Here they all began to work, and not only completed the undertaking with which Vaga was then occupied, but also many others, which he commenced afterwards. But the promises, with which Perino had been allured into the Roman states, not being fulfilled; the advantage and profit which Vaga derived from the services of Perino, causing him to defer the expected visit to Rome; the youth determined to proceed thither alone, whereupon Vaga left all his works unfinished, and himself conducted the young artist to that city. Arrived in Rome, Perino returned, with all his wonted love of art, to his drawing, and after having been thus occupied for many weeks, the zeal with which he devoted himself thereto seemed daily to become more fervid ; but Vaga was anxious to return to Toscanella, and therefore made Perino known to many of the ordinary painters, recommending him, as one belonging to himself, to the kindness and good offices of all the friends that he had in Rome, whom he entreated to assist and favour the youth in his absence; from this circumstance he was ever afterwards called Perino del Vaga.

Thus left in Rome, and beholding the ancient works in sculpture, and the most admirable structure of the buildings, now for the most part in ruins, he stood lost in astonishment at the power and greatness of those exalted and illustrious men by whom such works had been performed, and his love of art becoming ever more and more inflamed, he was perpetually glowing with the desire of attaining in some manner to a certain vicinity with those noble masters, and in his turn to win a name for himself as well as do service to the world by means of his works, as had been done by the men who had awakened so profound a sense of admiration within him, as he gazed on their beautiful productions. But while he

was thus contemplating the features of these his idols, from the depths of his infinite lowliness and poverty; comparing the debasement of the last with the elevation of the first, and conscious that he had nothing but the force of his will to assist him in his purpose of attaining to the eminence whereon they shone; he reflected that there was none to aid or minister to him for the support of his life. He was thus compelled, if he would possess the means of existence, to work, now for this painter and then for another, in any shop that might be open to him, precisely in the manner of a labourer who delves for his daily hire. But the grief with which he reflected on the impediments offered to his studies by this mode of life was very bitter, nor could he fail to remark, that the progress he made was but small as compared with that to which his love of art, his desire for improvement, and his potent necessities were all alike impelling him.

He therefore resolved to make an equal division of his time, giving the one half of the week to working at day-work, and reserving the other half for his labours in design: to this second portion he added all the festivals and a great part of the nights, stealing time from Time as it were, in the hope of one day becoming famous, and for the present purpose of escaping so far as was possible from dependence on others.

Having carried this determination into practice, Perino began to draw in the chapel of Pope Julius, wherein Michelagnolo had depicted the ceiling, but imitating the manner and modes of proceeding of Raffaello da Urbino. He then proceeded to design the antiquities in marble, and to copy the grottesche which he found in the subterranean portions of the Roman edifices, being pleased with the originality and varied power of invention displayed therein. He acquired the methods of working in stucco likewise, earning with toilsome labour his scanty crust meanwhile, and enduring every extreme of poverty and wretchedness in the hope of rendering himself excellent in his vocation.

Nor did any great length of time elapse before he became the best and most accomplished designer of all the many who then studied drawing in Rome, seeing that he had a more exact knowledge of the muscular development, and

was perhaps more profoundly conversant with the difficulties presented by the nude form, than many who were at that time accounted among the best masters; nay, at length he began to be known for what he was, not only to the men of his own profession, but to many prelates and nobles also. It chanced moreover, that Giulio Romano and Giovan Francesco, called Il Fattore, the disciples of Raffaello da Urbino, extolled him not a little to their master, inspiring the latter with a wish to become acquainted with Perino, and to see his works in design, when having done so, he was greatly pleased, and not only with his productions but with his character, deportment, and mode of life, predicting that, among the many aspirants to distinction whom he had known, this would be the one who would attain to the highest perfection in art.

The papal Loggie, the construction of which had been commanded by Pope Leo X., had meanwhile been completed by Raphael of Urbino, and by the same Pontiff it was furthermore commanded that Raphael should cause that fabric to be decorated with stucco-work, as well as painted and gilded, as it should seem best to his judgment. Giovanni da Udine was therefore appointed chief of the work by Raphael, for the grottesche and stuccoes that is to say, Giovanni being most distinguished, nay, unique in these operations, but principally as respected animals, fruits, and other minute portions of the work. There had likewise been collected from distant parts, as well as chosen from among the artists in Rome, a large number of the most able masters, insomuch that there was a company of eminent men assembled, some working in stucco, some remarkable for the execution of grottesche, others for historical representations, some for foliage, or festoons, or other matters, but all distinguished for excellence in one department or another.

As each of the persons thus employed made progress and improved, so was he brought forward by the master, and obtained increased remuneration; a mode of proceeding by which there was so much emulation awakened among the younger artists, that by means of this work many of them were brought to a high degree of perfection, and afterwards became truly excellent in their various departments. In this company Perino, among others, was consigned by Raphael to Giovanni da Udine, for the purpose of painting stories and

grottesche, being given to understand at the same time, that accordingly as he should acquit himself so would he be employed by Giovanni. Incited by emulation therefore, and working to give proof of what he could do, many months had not elapsed before Perino was accounted the first among all who were there employed, whether for design or colouring; the best in short, the most graceful in manner, and most delicate in finish, executing both figures and grottesche with more facility and animation than any other artist. And that this was indeed the fact is amply proved in the stories, festoons, and grottesche by his hand, which appear in this work, and which not only surpass all the rest, but are moreover much more faithful to the designs and sketches which were prepared for them by Raphael.* This may be clearly seen from a certain portion of the stories which are on the centre of the vaulting in that Loggia wherein are depicted the Hebrews crossing the river Jordan with the Ark of the Covenant, as also in that picture wherein the Jews are seen to be compassing about the walls of Jericho, those walls being in the very act of falling as they proceed, and in the representations which follow, one of which exhibits Joshua, when, in conflict with the Amorites, he commands the sun to stand still.

The best figures among those painted to imitate bronze in the basement, are in like manner by Perino, that of Abraham about to sacrifice his son Isaac for example, Jacob wrestling with the Angel, Joseph receiving his Brethren, the Fire which descends from heaven to consume the sons of Levi, and many others which I do not further enumerate, because their number is too great, and also because they are readily to be distinguished from the rest without this enumeration. Near the entrance of the loggia likewise, and where the stories from the New Testament are depicted, Perino executed the Birth of our Lord, with his Baptism and the Last Supper, all which are exceedingly beautiful,† as are also the paintings

* These grottesche and works in stucco have been engraved in part by Pietro Santi Bartoli.—*Bottari.*

† Bottari remarks that this passage proves the opinion entertained of Raphael's having himself painted this part of the Loggia to be false, and adds that his not having done so may also be perceived by the manner, which is not that of Raphael.

beneath the windows, which are coloured to represent bronze, and which are the best stories of that kind in the whole work.* Perino's productions in this Loggia are in effect of such excellence, that they cause amazement in all who behold them, and not the paintings only, but the many works in stucco also which were there executed by his hand. The colouring of his works, moreover, is much more pleasing and more highly finished than that of any one among the other artists.

These labours caused Perino to be extolled beyond all belief, but the praises he heard lavished on him did not set him to sleep; on the contrary, as ability commended will ever increase, they served to stimulate his exertions, and incite him to still more zealous study, inspiring him meanwhile with the firm conviction that if he continued his endeavours he should one day find himself in possession of those honours and advantages of which he daily beheld Raphael and Michelagnolo to be in the full enjoyment. He laboured all the more readily also, because he perceived that he was held in much account by Giovanni da Udine and by Raphael, who very frequently employed him in works of importance. Towards Raphael he ever displayed the most perfect respect, and obedience the most unbounded, conducting himself as respected the master in such a manner that he was beloved by Raphael as a son.

Now at that time the ceiling of the Hall of the Pontiffs,† whence you pass by the Loggie into the apartments of Pope Alexander VI., which had previously been adorned with paintings by Pinturicchio, was about to be painted by command of Pope Leo, and that commission was executed by Giovanni da Udine, and by Perino, who completed the works in stucco, with all the animals, grottesche, and ornaments of various kinds, there depicted, in company, as they did the beautiful and varied inventions exhibited in the compartments, which they had divided into spaces of a circular and oval form. And herein they delineated the seven planets of heaven, drawn by their appropriate animals;‡ Jupiter by his

* These chiari-scuri are entirely spoiled.—*Bottari*

† Now called the Hall of the Borgia Apartment. It is that beneath the Hall of Constantine namely.—*Ibid.*

‡ Many believe, and not without good show of reason, that these are by the hand of Raphael.—*Förster.*

Eagles, for example; Venus by her Doves,* the Moon by Women, Mars by Wolves,† Mercury by Cocks, the Sun by Horses, and Saturn‡ by Serpents. There are besides the twelve Signs of the Zodiac, and forty-eight figures of the Constellations; as, for example, the Great Bear, the Dog-star, and many others, as we have said, but which we pass over, and do not recount them in their order, to avoid needless prolixity, and because the works are themselves to be seen. Almost all these figures are by the hand of Perino.

In the centre of the ceiling is a circular compartment, within which are four figures, representing Victory, and holding the triple crown of the Pontiffs, with the keys of St. Peter; the figures are fore-shortened, and executed with the most perfect mastery, displaying great knowledge of art and wonderful judgment; the draperies also are exceedingly light and graceful, the nude forms being veiled only with textures so nearly transparent that the form of the lower limbs and arms is discovered through them; without doubt a most graceful beauty. This work was held at the time and is still considered to be highly honourable to the artists, rich and elaborate in its character, cheerful in its effect, and of most pleasing aspect; at a word, this performance is entirely worthy of that Pontiff, who did not fail to reward the artists for their pains, which were fully worthy, without doubt, of very large remuneration.

Perino next undertook to execute a façade in chiaro-scuro, a method then brought into use by Polidoro and Maturino. The building which he thus decorated is opposite to the house of the Marchesa di Massa, and near that of Maestro Pasquino,§ and the work was executed by Perino with infinite boldness of design, and much care in the treatment.

In the third year of his pontificate, Pope Leo X. repaired to Florence, and as on the occasion of his visit many festive preparations were made, and arches of triumph, &c., erected, Perino, partly for the purpose of beholding those pomps,

* This figure is totally spoiled.

† Not by wolves, but by horses.

‡ The figure of Saturn is destroyed; all besides, with the exception of Venus, are in good preservation.

§ See *ante*, vol. iv. p. 4.

and partly for the pleasure of once again visiting his native place, proceeded to Florence, where he arrived a short time before the court had reached that city. He then received a commission to prepare a figure seven braccia high for the Arch erected at Santa Trinità, another of equal size being confided at the same time to Toto del Nunziata, who had been his rival in childhood, and who now executed that figure in competition with him.

But to Pietro every hour seemed a thousand years till he could get back to Rome, seeing that the degrees and modes of proceeding among the Florentine artists appeared to him something very different from what he had been accustomed to in Rome. He departed from Florence therefore, and returned to Rome accordingly, where he resumed his usual course of life and habits of occupation. In Sant' Eustachio della Dogana, Perino then painted a figure of San Pietro in fresco ;* this is a work which exhibits extraordinary relief, the draperies are particularly simple in their folds, the drawing is admirable, and the execution singularly judicious.

Now at that time it chanced that the Archbishop of Cyprus, a man who greatly delighted in art, but more especially in painting, was in Rome, and he, having a house near the Chiavica, around which he had laid out a small garden adorned with a few statues and other antiquities, all being certainly arranged with infinite beauty and decorum ; having these statues, I say, the Archbishop desired to add to them some appropriate ornament in painting, wherefore he caused Perino, who was his very intimate friend, to be summoned, and having consulted together, they determined that there should be various stories depicted around the walls of the garden, exhibiting Bacchantes, Satyrs, Furies, and wild animals, all having some reference or allusion to a certain antique statue of Bacchus, seated, with a tiger beside him, which the Archbishop had there ; and thus they adorned the place accordingly with divers poesies. They constructed a Loggia likewise, which they decorated with small figures, grottesche, and numerous pictures, landscapes among others, and these are painted with so much grace, and in so careful a

* Destroyed in the reparation of the church, as were the works of Baldassare Peruzzi and Pelegrino Tibaldi.—*Bottari.*

manner, that the work has ever been and ever will be held by artists in the highest estimation.

This performance caused the master to become known to the Fugger family, merchants of Germany, who having seen that work of Perino, and being greatly pleased with the same, commissioned him to paint the Court and Loggia of a house, which they had built near the Banchi, on the road leading to the Church of the Florentines. Here Perino executed numerous figures, which merit commendation quite as much as do the other works of his hand, giving evidence of a very beautiful manner, and displaying a most attractive grace. At the same time, Messer Marchionne Baldassini had caused a house to be constructed near Sant' Agostino, and which had been completed with very great ability by Antonio da San Gallo, as we have related in the life of that architect; Messer Marchionne then wished to have a Hall, which Antonio had erected therein, painted all over in fresco, and having talked with many of the young artists who were then exercising their vocation in Rome, on the subject, seeing that he much desired to have the work well and handsomely done, he finally, and after speaking with several others, as we have said, determined to confide it to Perino. Having agreed respecting the price, that artist set hand to the work accordingly, nor did he suffer himself to be interrupted in this undertaking by any others, until he had brought the fresco to a most satisfactory conclusion.

The Hall was divided by Perino into compartments, by painted columns, and in the intercolumniations he depicted niches, some large and some small; in the former he placed figures of philosophers, two in some of the niches, and one standing alone in others; the smaller recesses were occupied by figures of children, some nude, others partially draped by means of veils, and over these smaller niches are female heads, painted to imitate busts of marble. Above the cornice, which forms the completion of the columns, there followed a second range of pictures, consisting of stories, the figures of which are not large, and the subjects whereof are taken from Roman history, commencing with Romulus and ending with Numa Pompilius. There are besides numerous ornaments painted to imitate marbles of various kinds, and above the chimney-piece, which is in stone and of very

beautiful workmanship, there is a figure of Peace, who is burning the arms and trophies of war. This work was held in the highest estimation by all men during the life of Messer Marchionne, and still continues to be equally so considered by all who labour in our vocation, as well as by many others who are not of our calling, but who nevertheless commend this work most highly.

In the Convent which belongs to the Nuns of Sant' Anna, Perino painted a chapel in fresco, depicting various figures therein with his accustomed care. In San Stefano del Cacco, likewise, he painted a fresco on an altar,* the subject being a Dead Christ in the lap of Our Lady. That work was executed by command of a Roman lady, whose portrait, taken from life, he also painted, and this is so natural that it seems to be alive; the whole painting is indeed depicted with the most evident mastery, and is very beautiful.

About this time, Antonio da San Gallo had erected a Tabernacle at the angle of a house which is known as that of the *Imagine di Ponte*, and in this Tabernacle, which is constructed in travertine richly adorned, and is a very handsome fabric,† it was from the first intended to place paintings of merit and value. To this end Antonio had received command from the owner of the house to select some artist who should appear to him likely to execute suitable pictures therein, whereupon the architect, who knew Perino to be the best of the young painters then in Rome, made over that work to his care. The latter set hand thereto accordingly, and delineated in the Tabernacle Our Saviour Christ in the act of crowning the Madonna. The ground he represented as a splendour of glory, with a choir of Seraphim and Angels, draped in partially transparent clothing, and scattering flowers; there were, besides, other figures of children in beautiful and varied attitudes, and on each side of the Tabernacle is a figure; that of San Sebastiano occupying the one side, and that of Sant' Antonio the other: a beautiful and admirable work, of character similar to that of all the other productions of Piero, which ever were and are lovely and graceful.

Now, a certain protonotary had erected a marble chapel

* Still in existence, but in a very deplorable condition.

† This Tabernacle is no longer in existence.—*Bottari.*

on four columns in the Church of the Minerva, and as he desired to add a picture, even though but a small one, thereby to leave a further memorial of himself; so the protonotary agreed with Perino, with whose fame he was acquainted, and caused him to paint the same in oil. The owner of the work furthermore desired that the subject thereof should be a Deposition of Christ from the Cross, which Perino at once set himself to execute with all his accustomed thought and care. The Saviour is represented as already laid on the earth, with the weeping Maries around him; and on the faces and in the attitudes of these women there is the expression of a most bitter grief, as well as the deepest compassion: there are besides, the Nicodemuses,* and other figures all singularly beautiful, and all giving evidence of the sadness and affliction with which they regard the spotless Saviour, lying dead before them.

But a part of this work which is indeed divinely treated, is that wherein are the bodies of the two thieves, which remain fixed to the cross, and in which, to say nothing of the truth and reality of their appearance, which is indeed that of dead corpses, there is a fine development of the muscles and display of the nerves, for which this subject offered the master a favourable occasion. Wherefore, these figures appear before the eyes of him who regards them, with their members truly drawn and distorted by that violent death; the contraction of the nerves and muscles beneath the pressure of those cords and nails being clearly manifest. There is, besides, a landscape, the country represented as lying amid the darkness of the Crucifixion; this also is rendered with infinite discretion, and displays a profound knowledge of art. If it had not been for that inundation of the Tiber which followed on the plunder of Rome, and by which this work was damaged up to the half of its height, the excellence of the same would be manifest to all; but the water has so grievously softened the *gesso*, and has caused the panel to swell so much, that the work has peeled off to a degree which greatly detracts from the enjoyment of the beholder, nay, rather, which turns his pleasure into regret,

* Bottari remarks that here and elsewhere Vasari thus designates all the men who appear in the paintings of the Deposition from the Cross, as he calls all the women of the same pictures *Maries.—Roman Edition*, 1759.

and even sorrow, since but for that misfortune it is manifest that herein we should have had one of the most precious possessions of which Rome can boast.*

About this time, † the Church of San Marcello in Rome, which is a Monastery of the Servite Monks, was in process of re-construction by Jacopo Sansovino, a work which still remains unfinished ;‡ but the walls of some few of the chapels had been erected, and the roofs of these having been raised, the Monks gave a commission to Perino, whom they ordered to paint two figures, one in each of two niches, which are formed on the right and left of a Madonna (the object of peculiar devotion in that church), San Giuseppe namely, with San Filippo, who had been a Brother of the Servites, and the Founder of their order.§ That work being finished, Perino painted several most beautiful figures of boys above it, and in the centre of that side of the chapel he placed one standing upright on a square pedestal, and bearing on his shoulders the ends of two festoons, which he directs towards the corners of the chapel, where there are two other boys who support the same ; these children are seated with the legs crossed, in an attitude of infantine grace, which is very pleasing : the boys here described are indeed painted in so fine a manner, they display so much art, they are so graceful, and the tint of the soft and fresh-looking limbs is so perfect, that they look rather like the living flesh than a thing painted, and may of a truth be considered the best and most admirable work ever executed by any artist in fresco. And the cause of that superiority is as follows : in these figures the glance of the eyes has life, in the attitudes there is movement, and the mouth shows itself to be on the point of speaking, as if it would declare that Art has therein surpassed Nature, or rather, that the latter confesses herself unable to do more than is there done by Art.

This work was considered to be of such remarkable excellence in the opinion of all who understood the matter,

* The work has now perished entirely.

† Towards the year 1519.

‡ It was finished at a subsequent period.—*Bottari.*

§ "San Filippo Benizzi was a preacher and promoter of that Order, but not its founder," observes the learned churchman just quoted. See *Roman Edition of Vasari.*

that the master derived from it a very great increase of reputation; and although he had executed many works, and the world had certainly not then to learn what might be expected from that exalted genius in his vocation, wherewith Perino was endowed, yet he was from that time held in much greater account than had previously been the case. For this reason the Cardinal Santiquattro, Lorenzo Pucci, having made the acquisition of a chapel on the Santa Trinità,* which is a monastery of the Calabresi and Franciosi, who wear the habit of Francesco di Paolo, that Lorenzo, I say, having taken this chapel, which was beside the principal chapel, and to the left of the same, made it over to Perino, to the end that he might paint the life of Our Lady therein. The master commenced the work accordingly, and finished the whole of the ceiling, with that portion of the wall moreover, which is beneath the arch; on the outer side, and over an arch of the chapel, he painted two figures of Prophets, which were not less than four braccia and a half high. These figures represent Isaiah and Daniel, and in their grand proportions they display all that knowledge of art, that excellence in design, and beauty of colouring, which can only be found in their perfection in the pictures of a great artist. And this will be perceived by all who shall examine these figures, but more particularly the Isaiah; the prophet is reading, and the deep thought which he gives to the subject of his study, with the zealous earnestness of the researches in which he is engaged, and his desire for the attainment of increased knowledge, are all clearly manifest; his eyes are riveted to his book, and he leans his head on his hand in all the absorption of a man profoundly occupied with his subject. The attitude of Daniel is equally fine, his figure is immoveable, and with the head raised to heaven he seems lost in celestial contemplation, and in the effort to resolve the doubts of his people.

Between the Prophets are two Boys who support the escutcheon of the cardinal, the shield of these arms is of a singularly beautiful shape, and the children are not only

* Santa Trinità di Monte is here meant. This church, erected by Charles VIII. at the request of Francesco di Paolo, for the Order founded by that Saint, was barbarously devastated by the French troops, who were guartered therein during the first French Revolution.

painted in such a manner as to seem of the living flesh, but have the appearance of being in full relief. In the four angles of the cross by which the ceiling of that chapel is divided, there are moreover four stories; the Conception of Our Lady is in the first, in the second is her Birth, the third exhibits the Madonna as she ascends the steps of the Temple, and in the fourth is her Espousal with San Giuseppe.

On a wall which occupies the whole breadth of the arch, Perino then depicted the Visitation, a picture in which there are many very beautiful figures, but more especially are to be remarked some which have mounted on pedestals, the better to behold the ceremonies of that greeting; these have infinite animation in their attitudes, which are indeed most natural. The remaining figures and the buildings have in like manner something of good and beautiful in every part of them.* But Perino did not continue the work further, because he fell ill, and on his recovery the plague, by which Rome was so heavily scourged in the year 1523, broke out, and raged in such a manner that it became necessary for him to resolve on departing from the city if he had any intention of saving his life.

Now the goldsmith Piloto,† who was an intimate friend and constant companion of Perino, was at that time in Rome, and he also had a great wish to leave the city; one morning therefore, when they were breakfasting together, he persuaded Perino to set off at once and go to Florence, seeing that many years had then elapsed since he had been there, and considering also that it could not but be greatly to his honour to make himself known therein, and to leave some memorial of his excellence in that place. It is true that Andrea de' Ceri and his wife, by whom Perino had been brought up, were both dead, and he had no possessions of any kind in that district; still, having been there born, he had a love for the land: no long time afterwards therefore, he set off one morning with Piloto, and they proceeded together on the road to Florence. Arrived in that city, Perino found the utmost pleasure in revisiting the old works painted by

* The works of Perino here described have totally perished.

† The friend and scholar of Michael Angelo, who caused him to make the ball of seventy-two facettes for the cupola.—*Milanese Edition of Vasari.*

departed masters, and which had been the objects of his study in his childish years; nor did he neglect the works of the more renowned masters who were then living, and who were reputed the best artists of Florence, where, by the intervention of his friends, he did himself receive the commission for a picture, as will be related hereafter.

It happened one day that many artists being with him and having assembled to do him honour; painters, sculptors; architects, goldsmiths, carvers in marble, and carvers in wood, all met together according to the ancient custom, some to see, to hear, and to accompany Perino, others to observe the differences of practice existing between the artists of Rome and those of Florence, the greater number perchance for the purpose of hearing the censures and praises which artists are in the frequent habit of uttering in respect to each other: it happened, I say, that thus conversing together of one thing and another, in the course of their visits to different churches, where they examined the productions of the masters, ancient and modern, they came to that of the Carmine, with intent to see the chapel of Masaccio. All stood looking attentively at the paintings, and many were the praises of the master which were uttered in various phrase; every one expressing his surprise that he should have displayed so much judgment, and that, having at the time when he lived no other works to study than those of Giotto, his own productions should have so much of the modern manner in the design, the imitation of form, and in the colouring: some remarking further, that Masaccio had found means to exhibit all the niceties of art in the facility of his manner; nay, more, in respect of boldness, relief, and readiness in execution, there had even yet been no artist among all those who had laboured, of whom it could be affirmed that he had equalled Masaccio.

This sort of discourse pleased Perino well, and replying to all those artists who were thus speaking, he made answer in these words,—"I will not deny but that what you say may be true, nay, much besides might be said to the same effect; but that there is no master who can equal this manner, is what I must hesitate to admit now and always. Nay, furthermore, I must even aver, if it may be done with the permission of the company, not from contempt, but for the sake of truth, that I know many who have more boldness as

well as more grace, and whose works in painting are no less animated than these, rather, they are more beautiful; and I am sorry, give me leave to say, I, who am not the first in our vocation, that there is no vacant space in the immediate vicinity of these works, where I might have means to depict a figure, whereby, before my departure from Florence, I might, by way of trial, and beside one of these, prepare a painting, to be, like them, in fresco, from which you might judge whether it be or be not true that there is no one among the modern artists who may venture to compare himself with Masaccio."

Now among the persons thus assembled in the Carmine was one who had the reputation of being the first master of painting in Florence, and being curious to see a work by Perino, perhaps also wishing to pull down the pride of that artist, he replied with a thought of his own, which was this: "Although every part of the space here is filled (said he), yet as you have this desire, which is certainly a good and commendable one, and there is a San Paolo by the hand of Masaccio immediately opposite, which is no less beautiful and meritorious than any that could be chosen from this chapel, so may you very easily there proceed to show us what you have said (since there space may be found), by the execution of another apostle, either beside the San Pietro of Masolino or the San Paolo of Masaccio, whichever you may prefer."

But the San Pietro was nearer to the window than the San Paolo, and had more ample space beside it, as well as a better light, besides which the figure was no less beautiful than that of San Paolo; wherefore all encouraged Perino to do as he had said, since they would all greatly rejoice to see this manner of Rome, some adding the remark, that he would thus be the means of taking out of their heads the fancy which they had been nursing for so many tens of years, and declaring that if his work should prove to be the best, they would all hasten to adopt the new manner.

Thereupon, being persuaded by that master, who told him at last that he ought not to refuse the request and disappoint the expectation of so many distinguished men, seeing that it would only cost him fourteen days to paint a figure in fresco, whereas they on their part were prepared to spend

whole years in the praises of his work, Perino resolved to make the attempt, although he who thus persuaded him was in truth of a totally different opinion to that which he was expressing, and felt convinced that Perino would certainly not produce anything much better than was commonly displayed by such artists as were reputed to be of the best. Having thus determined, as I have said, the Prior of the convent, Messer Giovanni da Pisa, was requested to give his consent to the execution of the proposed work, and to permit the occupation of space required for the same; when he, very courteously complying with that request, the measure of the space accorded was taken in its length and breadth, and the assembled artists left the church.

A cartoon was then prepared by Perino, the subject chosen being the Apostle St. Andrew, and this figure having been completed with very great care, the artist was resolved to paint the fresco at once, and had caused the enclosure and scaffolding to be constructed for that purpose; but before he had found time to commence the work, he was called on to execute that commission for a fresco, of which I have already spoken, and which had been procured for him by the many friends who had seen his beautiful and excellent works in Rome, to the end that he might leave some memorial of his ability in Florence also, where they desired that he should make manifest the elevation of that excellent genius for painting wherewith he had been so largely endowed, and thus render himself fully known, when they hoped that those who were then governing might entrust some work of importance to his care.

There was at that time a number of men belonging to our arts, who had formed themselves into a society at the Camaldoli in Florence; calling their association the Brotherhood of the Martyrs: and among them there had for some time been a wish entertained to have a certain façade adorned with paintings, representing the History and Death of the Martyrs who were condemned to be crucified by two Roman emperors, after having been taken prisoners in battle, and who are accordingly affixed to crosses or suspended from the trees in the midst of a wood, wherein the scene in question is described to have taken place. This picture it was that Perino had to paint, and although the place was somewhat

inconvenient from its distance, and the price but small, he was yet so much attracted by the opportunity which the work presented for the exercise of inventive power, and by the extent of the façade to be placed at his disposal, that he was nevertheless inclined to undertake it, and the rather as he was much encouraged to do so by all who were really his friends ; they being persuaded that this work would secure to his abilities that place which they so well merited in the estimation of his fellow citizens and the artists of Florence, to whom those abilities had as yet been made known by reputation only.

Having accepted the commission therefore, Perino made a small design of the subject, and this drawing was at once declared to be divine ; he then prepared to make a cartoon of equal size with the work to be executed, and at this he laboured with his accustomed diligence, never ceasing from his attention thereto until all the principal figures were entirely finished. But this occupation caused the figure of the Apostle Andrew to be left out of view, and with that work Perino proceeded no further. The cartoon for the Martyrs he executed on white paper, the lights being left in the paper itself, and the whole duly shaded and exhibiting much harmony of colouring ; every part was indeed accomplished with admirable care. The two emperors, seated on the judgment-seat, condemn all the prisoners to death, and the figures of the captives are seen all turned towards the tribunal, some kneeling, some bending, others standing upright, but all nude and bound in different ways with fetters. The attitudes also are infinitely varied ; some are writhing in the extremity of their anguish, and in these the trembling of the limbs, as the soul is made to depart amidst the agonies of a death so bitter as that of crucifixion, has been rendered fully apparent. The constancy and faith of the older martyrs is likewise seen, with the dread of death endured by those of more tender years : in others, the torture they are suffering, and the pain they endure, from the strain of the cords on their back and limbs, is made as clearly manifest. The swelling of the muscles is also perceived, nay, the cold dews of death are even shown, in that design, to be stealing over the bodies of the martyred victims.

In the soldiers by whom the martyrs are conducted, there is the evidence of a most cruel and merciless spirit; fiercely dragging the prisoners along, they first present them before the tribunal to receive their sentence, and then lead them away to their death on the cross. As regards their vestments also, the emperors and soldiers wear cuirasses after the antique manner, with ornaments appropriate to the various conditions, but all very fanciful and beautiful; the helmets, the shields, the buskins, and every part of the habiliments and arms are all adorned with that amplitude and variety of rich ornaments whereby the artist successfully imitates, nay, surpasses the antique, and all these things were depicted with that love and care, and perfection of mastery, which results from the highest powers in Art well applied to their due ends. When this cartoon was seen therefore, it was declared by all the artists, as well as by every one acquainted with Art, that equal beauty and excellence in design had not been seen since the Cartoon made in Florence by Michelagnolo, for the Hall of the council; wherefore Perino was at once exalted to the highest summit of reputation in his calling.

While occupied with the completion of this cartoon, Perino amused himself with the preparations for a small picture which he proposed to paint for his friend the goldsmith Piloto, causing oil colours to be ground and made ready for the same, of which he executed also something more than the half.

Now Perino had been for many years acquainted with a certain priest, Ser Raffaello di Sandro namely, a chaplain of San Lorenzo, who was always a great admirer and friend of the artists in design. This Ser Raffaello proposed to Perino that he should go to take up his quarters with him, seeing that the painter had no one to cook for him, none to look after his comforts or to attend to him in any way, but had gone about from one friend to another during the whole of his stay in Florence; abiding now with one and now with another: Perino accompanied the priest to his dwelling accordingly, and there he stayed several weeks. Meanwhile, the plague began to make its appearance in different parts of Florence, and Perino, fearing lest he should take the infection, resolved to depart from the city: but first he wished to remunerate Ser Raffaello for the many days during which the

latter had entertained him in his house. The priest would hear of no such proceeding however, but said, "I should be largely paid by a scrap of paper from thy hand, Perino."

Finding Ser Raffaello determined on that point, Perino then took a thick cloth, about four braccia in extent, and having caused it to be fixed to the wall between two doors, which were in the parlour of the priest, he there painted a picture, in colours to imitate bronze, the whole of which was executed in a day and a night. On this canvas, which was to serve as a screen, Perino delineated the whole history of Moses, passing the Red Sea, as also the submersion of Pharaoh, with his horses and chariots, when he attempted to follow: the master has exhibited the figures which he has depicted in this work in the most beautiful attitudes; some are in armour, others nude, many are swimming, and among these are some with their beards and hair streaming with the waters, who are seeking to support themselves on the necks of their horses, others are crying aloud in their fear of death, and some again are struggling with the most violent efforts, and using all their endeavours to escape the fate which threatens them. On the other side of the sea are seen Moses, Aaron, and all the rest of the Hebrews, men and women, offering thanks to God for their safety; and here the artist has painted a number of vases, with vestments and other riches, of which the Hebrews have despoiled the people of Egypt: the habiliments of the Hebrew women in this part of the picture are also very beautiful and of admirably varied forms, as are the head-dresses of the same.

This work being completed, Perino left it as a mark of his affection for Ser Raffaello; to whom it was so dear and so welcome a gift, that he could scarcely have been more delighted had he received the priorate of San Lorenzo. The painting was ever held in great estimation and was highly commended; it remained in the possession of Ser Raffaello until his death, when it passed, with all that he had besides, into the hands of his brother, the bacon seller, Domenico di Sandro.

Departing thus hastily from Florence, Perino was compelled to abandon the picture of the Martyrs, which caused him very great regret, nay, it is certain that he would not have done so, and would have stayed to finish it, if the work

had been in any other place than the Camaldoli; but when he considered that the officers of health had appointed that very monastery as the receptacle of those afflicted with the plague, he thought it better to save his life than to risk it to such a degree for the sake of acquiring fame in Florence: wherefore he resolved to let the proofs of his ability, which he had given in the design of that work, suffice him. The cartoon, with other things of Perino's, was left to his friend the goldsmith Giovanni di Goro, but he dying in that pestilence, the work then fell into the hands of Piloto. By the latter it was set up and displayed in his house for many years, the goldsmith willingly showing it to every ingenious person desiring to examine the same, as the most admirable of works, which it truly merited to be esteemed; but what became of it after the death of Piloto, I am not able to say.

Flying from place to place in the hope of escaping from the pestilence, Perino passed several months in different abodes, but not on that account did he spend his time in vain; on the contrary, he was perpetually engaged in drawing, and in the study of all that appertained to his art. On the disappearance of the plague he repaired to Rome, where he gave his attention for some time to the execution of small pictures, respecting which I do not propose to say anything more.

But in the year 1523, Pope Clement was elected to fill the pontifical chair, a circumstance which proved to be a great and much needed restoration and refreshment to the arts of painting and sculpture, which had been brought to a very low condition during the lifetime of Pope Adrian VI.; for not only were the professors thereof refused all opportunity of doing anything for himself, but also, he taking no pleasure in those matters, nay, rather having them in hatred, caused others also to refrain from seeking any enjoyment from works of art, and prevented every one from spending money therein, so that none would give commissions to any artist, as I have before said in more places than one; but on the election of the new pontiff, Perino, as well as others, received commissions for many works.

Now it had been resolved that Giulio Romano and Giovan Francesco, called *il Fattore*, should be chosen to serve as *Capo dell' arte* in the place of Raphael, who was then dead, to the end that they might make distribution of the works to the artists.

as had been previously the custom; but Perino had acquitted himself so admirably in the execution of an escutcheon of the papal arms, which he had painted over the door of the Cardinal Cesarino, after a cartoon by Giulio Romano, that the last-named artist and Giovan Francesco both doubted whether Perino would not be preferred to themselves. For although they had the name of Raphael's disciples, and had inherited the objects connected with art which he had left behind him, yet they had not also inherited the whole of that power and grace which he was accustomed to impart to his works. They therefore determined to attach Perino to their interests, and during the holy year of the jubilee, in 1525 namely, they gave him Caterina, the sister of Giovan Francesco to wife, to the end that the perfect friendship which had for so long a period subsisted between them, might be changed into relationship. Perino then continued his usual avocations, and no long time after his marriage, the praises which were bestowed on the first work performed by him in the church of San Marcello, determined the prior of that convent, with certain chiefs of the brotherhood of the Crocifisso (who have built a chapel in the church for the purpose of celebrating the solemnities of their company therein), to entrust him with the decoration of the chapel in question, which they desired to see painted, and they commissioned Perino to execute the work accordingly, hoping to receive some excellent production at his hands.

Having caused the proper scaffolding to be erected therefore, Perino commenced his work; and in the ceiling, which is coved, he painted the story of Eve, created by God from the rib taken out of the side of Adam. In this painting the nude figure of Adam, which is one of surprising beauty, and manifests the perfection of art in the master, is seen lying deeply sunk in the profound sleep into which he has been cast, while Eve is standing upright, a most animated figure, who, with folded hands, is receiving the blessing of her Creator. The figure of the Almighty himself is depicted with the most sublime and majestic aspect that can be conceived; grand, grave, and solemn, the erect form is wrapped in the folds of most ample draperies, by the extremities of which the nude figures before him are partially clothed. On the right of the Creator are the two Evangelists,

St. Mark and St. John, the first entirely finished by Perino, and the last completed also, with the exception of the head and one arm, which are nude. Between these Evangelists are two children, the arms of which are thrown around a chandelier, and their figures, which must certainly have been made of the living flesh, serve as the decorations thereof; the Evangelists also are exceedingly beautiful, whether as regards the heads, figures, or draperies, as is every other circumstance appertaining to those figures.*

While Perino was occupied with this work, he suffered frequent interruptions from sickness and other misfortunes, of daily occurrence to all who share this life; it is also affirmed that the men of the Company by whom he was commissioned, were in want of money, insomuch that the work was greatly delayed, and finally came that year of 1527, which brought the sack and ruin of Rome, when the city was given over to be plundered, many artists slain, and works of art in great numbers destroyed or carried away. Perino was in the midst of all these fearful disorders, he had a wife and a little daughter, and with the latter in his arms he long hurried about from one place to another in different parts of the city, in the hope of saving his child and himself, but having at length been miserably captured, he was compelled to pay so large a sum of money for his ransom, that he had well nigh lost his senses at the ruin which had befallen him, nay, even when the fury of the sack had at length abated, Perino found himself so grievously cast down with the miseries that he had endured and still feared to suffer, that all thought of his art was for the time abandoned; ultimately he did produce some pictures in water colour, and various fantasies for the Spanish soldiers, and having somewhat recovered himself, he contrived to live as others did, which was poorly enough. The only person who escaped in these tumults appeared to be that Baviera, in whose possession were the engravings of Raphael's works, and who did not lose much at that time; wherefore, moved by the friendship which he entertained for Perino, and desiring to give him occupation, he commissioned that master to design the Transformations of the Gods, which he then caused to be engraved in copper plate by Jacopo Caraglio, who was an excellent engraver of prints, and who

* These pictures are still in existence.

acquitted himself exceedingly well on this occasion: carefully observing the outlines and manner of Perino, and shading the work with extreme delicacy, he did his utmost to impart to the engraving that grace and facility which the master had displayed in his designs.

While Rome had thus been ruined and destroyed by the siege, very many of the inhabitants had departed. The Pope himself had retired to Orvieto, and few persons remained in the city, where there was absolutely no work of any kind in progress, when Niccolò Veneziano, a distinguished, nay, rather, unrivalled master in embroidery, and a servant of Prince Doria, arrived in Rome. There had long been much friendship between Niccolò and Perino, for which reason, and because he had always favoured and wished well to the men of our art, Niccolò persuaded Perino to depart from amidst that wretchedness, and set off to Genoa, promising to use in his favour the influence which he possessed with Prince Doria, who was a great lover of art, and, delighting more particularly in painting, would certainly employ him in the execution of important works. Niccolò remarked, moreover, that his Excellency had frequently spoken with him respecting a wish he had to cause a range of rooms in his palace to be richly adorned; wherefore, Perino, not requiring much persuasion, oppressed as he was by want, and feeling besides the most earnest desire to leave Rome, Perino, I say, determined to accompany Niccolò: having then placed his wife and little girl where they would be well cared for by their connections in Rome, and arranged all his affairs, he departed accordingly, and proceeded to Genoa.

Arrived in that city, he was instantly made known to the Prince by means of Niccolò, when it was found that nothing could have been more welcome to that sovereign than such an arrival, whom it pleased more than anything of a similar kind that had ever happened to him in his life. Having been received with the most gracious cordiality therefore, and with many marks of favour, much discourse and many conversations ensued, when Perino was at length commissioned to begin his labours. The work with which they finally determined to commence, was the erection of a palace, to be adorned with stucco-work, pictures in fresco, paintings in oil, and decorations of every other kind, which

I will now attempt to describe as briefly as I am able; and this I will do, taking the rooms themselves in due succession, without pausing to point out by what work it was that Perino commenced his labours in Genoa, to the end that I may not interrupt the account of this undertaking, which, of all the works performed by this master, is certainly the best.*

I begin, therefore, by remarking, that at the entrance to that Palace of Prince Doria there is a marble Portal of the Doric order, constructed according to the plans prepared by the hand of Perino, to whom its various divisions and decorations, its pedestals, bases, shafts, capitals, architrave, frieze, cornice, pediment, and tympan, are all due; as are also certain very beautiful figures of women, who support an escutcheon of arms: the stone cutting and carving were performed by Maestro Giovanni da Fiesole, and the figures were executed to perfection by the sculptor, Silvio da Fiesole,† a very bold and able artist.

Having passed within the door, the spectator finds a vestibule, the vaulting whereof is decorated with stucco work, grottesche, and stories of various character, the arches are exclusively occupied by battle-pieces, and scenes of carnage, some of the warriors fighting on foot, others on horseback, but all depicted with infinite care, and with a mastery of the art which is certainly most remarkable. To the left is the staircase, the decorations of which could not possibly be richer or more varied than they are. They consist of small grottesche, after the manner of the antique, and with these are mingled stories of different kinds, but all with figures that are very small: to the figures are added masks, animals, children, and innumerable fantasies, all giving evidence of those rich powers of invention and that extraordinary judgment, by which Perino's works are distinguished, those in this manner more particularly so, insomuch that they may be truly called divine.

* "There is no place," remarks Lanzi, "in which an acquaintance with Perino del Vaga can be made with better effect than in Genoa, where he copied Raphael, as did Giulio Romano in Mantua." But the arrival of Perino in Genoa was even more important than that of Giulio in Mantua, so far as the Art of Painting is concerned, since the old Genoese School was by this circumstance inoculated with the spirit of the Roman School.

† Silvio Cosini, of whom Vasari has made mention in the life of Andrea da Fiesole. See vol. i. of the present work.

The staircase having been ascended, we arrive in a most beautiful gallery, which has a very magnificent door in stone at each end thereof; and over each of these doors are depicted two figures, male and female, the attitude of the one being the contrary of that given to the other, since one presents the front view, the other that of the back; the vaulting is divided by five arches, and is most superbly decorated with stucco-work, between the various parts of which are paintings in oval compartments, and these consist of historical representations, executed with a perfection of beauty that could not be surpassed. The walls of this gallery, moreover, are adorned from the ceiling to the floor with figures of warriors in their armour; some of these are portraits from the life, and others are imaginary, but all are intended to present the various military leaders of the House of Doria, those of ancient as well as of modern times; above them, in large letters of gold, are the following words:—

Magni viri, maximi duces optima fecere pro patria.

In the first Hall, which is entered by one of the two doors of the gallery, that on the left hand namely, is a ceiling, the angles of which are very beautifully decorated with ornaments in stucco, and in the centre is a large picture representing the shipwreck of Æneas, with a vast number of nude figures, living and dead, in attitudes of infinite variety; there are likewise many ships and galleys, some of which are shattered by the tempest, some remain uninjured. Much thought and judgment are here made manifest in the figures of those who, still retaining life, are struggling to save themselves, while their faces express the horror they experience at the prospect of a speedy destruction amidst the raging waters, with all the other passions called into action by the perils to which life is exposed from the chances of the sea.*

This was the first historical representation, and is even said to have been the first work begun by Perino for Prince Doria, and some affirm that when he arrived in Genoa,

* "This work was painted on the wall in oil, and has therefore totally perished," remarks Piacenza, "but the fresco paintings have retained their beauty." Some of them have been engraved by Folo and Cozzi, and one by Longhi, but this last is from a sketch, and not from the painting.

Girolamo da Trevisi* had already appeared in that city, for the purpose of painting certain pictures whereof he was even then depicting some, on a façade which looks into the garden namely, while Perino was beginning to prepare the cartoon for the shipwreck described above. This he did much at his leisure, because frequently engaged in looking about him in Genoa and seeing the city, insomuch that he was seldom or never at the cartoon; a great part was nevertheless finished in time on different sheets, and after various manners, those nude figures of which we have spoken above being all designed, some in chiaro-scuro, some in charcoal, others in black chalk, some shaded, and some merely outlined, but many also with the high lights added, and somewhat carefully finished.

But while Perino was proceeding thus, and delayed to commence the execution of the work, Girolamo da Trevisi murmured against him, and exclaimed, "Cartoons, and nothing but cartoons! for my part, I carry my art at the point of my pencil." This remark, with others of similar character, at length reached the ears of Perino, who being much angered thereby, instantly caused the cartoon to be fixed to the ceiling, in the place where the painting was to be executed, and then commanded that the planks which formed the floor of his scaffolding should be withdrawn in several places, to the end that those who were in the gallery below might see the vaulting. That done, he opened the Hall, and the report of the circumstance had no sooner got about than all Genoa hurried to see the work, when, astonished at the grand design of Perino, they praised his painting to the skies. Among the rest went Girolamo da Trevisi, who, beholding more than ever he had expected to see from the hand of Perino, and alarmed by the beauty of the production before him, set off from Genoa, without asking permission from Prince Doria, and returned to his dwelling in Bologna.

Perino remained in the service of the Prince, and finished the decoration of that Hall, the walls of which he painted in oil, a work which has been ever held to be, as it certainly is, most extraordinary in its beauty, the ceiling being decorated entirely around, and even to the lunettes, with rich stucco works, as I have said. In the other Hall, which

* For the life of this master see vol. i.

is entered from the Loggia, but by the door to the right, Perino executed ornaments in stucco, in a manner nearly similar to those of the first Hall, with paintings in fresco, the subject of which is Jupiter hurling his thunderbolts at the Giants, and wherein the master has depicted a great number of figures, nude and larger than life, which are exceedingly beautiful. All the gods of the Olympian Heaven are seen in attitudes of infinite animation, and with expressions entirely appropriate to the circumstances and to the terrors awakened by those tremendous thunders, each deity comporting himself according to his nature. The stucco work also is executed with the utmost care, and the colouring of the fresco could not possibly be more beautiful than it is, seeing that Perino was a perfect master of that branch of art, and possessed extraordinary ability therein.

Four apartments were furthermore decorated by his hand, the ceilings being adorned with stucco-work and fresco paintings, and here we have the most beautiful and remarkable scenes from the fables of Ovid, depicted in such a manner that they seem to be real, nor would it be easy to imagine the beauty, extent, and variety which Perino has imparted to the large number of figures, animals, foliage, and grottesche, scattered with inexhaustible power of invention throughout this work. On the opposite side of the second Hall there were four other apartments, and these were likewise adorned by the disciples of Perino, under his guidance and direction, the master giving them all the designs for the ornaments in stucco, as well as for the stories, figures, and grottesche, having a large number of them at work, some being much employed, and some but little: Luzio Romano for example, performed numerous works in stucco, with many grottesche, as did several Lombard artists. But of this it shall now suffice me to say that there is not a room in the palace wherein Perino did not execute or direct some ornament, and which is not amply adorned, even to the ceiling, with compositions of various kinds. Figures of little children, fanciful masks, animals, and every other appropriate decoration, abound in a manner which causes the utmost astonishment as well as admiration; the writing-rooms, the antechambers, nay, even the very offices are all painted and made beautiful.

From the palace you proceed to the garden, and to a pavilion or detached building of which all the rooms are on the ground-floor, and every one is adorned even to the ceiling with exceedingly beautiful decorations; halls, chambers, anterooms, all have been richly embellished by the same hand.

In this work Pordenone also took some part, as I have related in his life, as did the most excellent Sienese painter, Domenico Beccafumi,* who there proved himself to be in nowise inferior to his brother artists, although it is in Siena that we must look for the best and most beautiful of all the numerous works performed by his hand.

But let us now return to Perino: after having completed his works in the palace of the prince, he executed a frieze for one of the rooms in the house of Giannetin Doria, adorning the same with exceedingly beautiful figures of women, and in different parts of the city he performed various labours both in fresco and oil-painting, for the houses of numerous gentlemen. He also painted a picture for the church of San Francesco, a singularly beautiful work, the drawing of which is very fine,† with one of like manner for the church called Santa Maria *de Consolatione*, which last Perino executed by commission from a gentlewoman of the Baciadonne family. The subject of the last-named picture is the Birth of Christ, and it has received high commendation, but has been placed in a position so obscure that, for want of light to examine it properly, the spectator is unable to appreciate the merits thereof, and all the more because Perino has intentionally painted the picture with somewhat darkened colouring, so that it requires and ought to have an especially good light.

Perino also prepared designs wherein were delineated the greater part of the Æneid, the history of Dido more particularly; works which were executed with the purpose of having cloth of arras woven from them. He made drawings for decorating the poops of the prince's galleys likewise, and these were then carved by the Florentine wood-carvers, Carota and Tasso, who gave proof therein of the admirable excellence to which they had attained in their art, and com-

* Whose life follows immediately after that we are now treating.

† The subject of this work, which is in *San Francesco di Castelletto*, is the Virgin Mother with numerous Saints. It has suffered much from time.

pleted the work to the utmost perfection. Perino furthermore gave designs for a vast number of banners to be used in the prince's galleys, and for standards of the largest size that could be made, all exceedingly beautiful.

For these things and for his many good qualities, our artist was so much beloved by Prince Doria, that his services would without doubt have been most liberally remunerated by that sovereign, had Perino been content to remain in Genoa; but while thus prosperously occupied in that city, the fancy took him of fetching his wife from Rome,* and as it chanced that he was much pleased with the aspect of Pisa, he determined to buy a house there, and did so, almost with the purpose of making his abode in that city when he should find age approaching.

Now at that time the Warden of the Cathedral was Messer Antonio di Urbano, who had the greatest desire to promote the embellishment of that temple, and had indeed caused a commencement to be made, by giving a commission to the practised and excellent carver in marbles, Stagio di Pietrasanta, who had received commands to prepare rich decorations in marble for the chapels of the church, and with these which Stagio finished in a very beautiful manner, he had replaced the old, rude, ill-proportioned figures which had formerly occupied the place. Having thus made a beginning, the Warden then thought of filling the spaces between those decorations in marble, with paintings executed in oil for the interior, and in fresco for the outer part, which he desired to have adorned with a mixture of paintings and ornaments in stucco. All this Antonio determined to have done by the best and most eminent masters that he could find, without suffering the extent of cost that might arise to be any impediment; and in this spirit he had already commenced the Sacristy, which he had caused to be constructed in the great apsis behind the high altar, the decorations in marble being completely finished, and many pictures having been painted for the same by the Florentine painter Giovan Antonio Sogliani: the remainder, with the chapels and paintings still

* The *fancy took him of fetching his wife;* alas, that you will say so, Giorgio of our hearts! woe is we that you will speak so irreverently, you who are in verity so loving and faithful a squire of Dames!

wanting, being executed many years after, under Messer Sebastiano della Seta, the then warden of that cathedral.

It was just then that Perino arrived in Pisa, on his return from Genoa, and having examined the commencement thus made, which he had been taken to see by that most ingenious master in perspective, inlaid work, and wood-carving, Battista Cervelliera, an excellent judge of art,—having seen all that was done, I say, Perino was then conducted to the Warden. Discoursing together thereupon respecting the works undertaken for the embellishment of the cathedral, Perino was requested by the Warden to paint a picture immediately within the ordinary door of entrance, where the frame-work for the same was already prepared, and over this work the artist was furthermore commissioned to execute another picture, the subject whereof was to be St. George slaying the Dragon, and liberating the daughter of the King. Perino accordingly made a very beautiful design, and between the two chapels which occupy that part of the building, he painted a number of children,* adding various decorations, among which were niches with figures of Prophets and historical representations of divers kinds.

This design pleasing the Warden exceedingly well, Perino then prepared the cartoon for one of the chapels, and began to paint the first, which is opposite to the before-mentioned portal; here he finished six boys, which are very well done, and was to have continued these figures entirely around the whole, which would certainly have constituted a rich and beautiful ornament. The entire work indeed would have proved without doubt a very admirable and honourable one, but the artist was seized with a wish to return to Genoa, to which place he was attracted by certain love affairs and other fantasies, whereunto his inclinations sometimes led him, with a force which he did not resist so effectually as he might have done. On his departure from Pisa, the master presented the nuns of San Matteo with a small picture in oil, which he had painted for them, and which they still retain in their convent.

Arrived in Genoa, he there remained several months, executing many works for the prince, in addition to those

* These paintings are still in existence, although somewhat injured in certain parts by the retouching which it has been found needful to give them.

which that sovereign already possessed from his hand. The departure of Perino from Pisa was exceedingly displeasing to the Warden, but still more the circumstance of this work having been left unfinished ; nor did he cease to write to the painter daily, exhorting him to return, inquiring also respecting him of his wife, whom Perino had left in Pisa. But finally perceiving that the delay threatened to be indefinitely prolonged, since the artist neither replied nor returned, the Warden ultimately made over the work to Gio Antonio Sogliani, who completed it and fixed it in its place.*

No long time had elapsed after this had been done before Perino returned to Pisa, when, seeing the work of Sogliani, he was extremely angry ; he would not finish the part which he had commenced, and declared that he would not suffer his paintings to be made the ornament of other masters ; so far as he was concerned therefore the work remained unfinished ; four of the remaining pictures were then completed by Giovan Antonio ; but these appearing to Sebastiano della Seta, the new Warden, to be all in one and the same manner, nay, furthermore, to be less beautiful than the first, he gave a commission to Domenico Beccafumi, who painted certain pictures, which are very finely done, around the sacristy by way ot proof, with the understanding that he was afterwards to execute a picture for the chapel. This Domenico did in Pisa accordingly; but the painting not giving so much satisfaction as the previous pictures had done, the two which remained were then given to the Aretine, Giorgio Vasari, and these were placed at the two doors which are near the angles of the wall in the principal front of the cathedral. Of these productions, or of others, large and small, dispersed through all Italy and in foreign parts, it does not become me to speak further ; I leave the judgment concerning them to be freely formed by such as have seen or may see them.

The loss of this work, for which he had already prepared the drawings, was a source of much vexation to Perino, and without doubt the completed paintings would have proved entirely worthy of his fame, those designs giving hope of a performance that could not have failed to increase the renown

* This work thus commenced by Perino, and finished by Sogliani, represents the Madonna with various Saints, and though re-touched, still forms one of the brightest ornaments of the Pisan Cathedral.—*Masselli.*

of that temple, already so rich in its antiquities, and to render the master himself immortal.

The many years of Perino's abode in Genoa had rendered that city wearisome to him, although he obtained both profit and pleasure there; bethinking himself of Rome therefore, as she was under the felicitous reign of Pope Leo, and remembering also the many offers he had received during the lifetime of the Cardinal Ippoliti de' Medici, to enter the service of that prelate, he would doubtless have disposed himself at once to revisit Rome, but the Cardinal Ippolito was then dead, for which cause he did not feel in so much haste to do so; things being at this point, and many of his friends desiring and urging his return, which he desired more than any of them, several letters were exchanged on the subject, and so it chanced that one morning, the whim coming into his head, he set off from Pisa without saying a word to any one, and repaired to Rome.

He very soon caused himself to be made known to the most reverend Cardinal Farnese, and was afterwards presented to Pope Paolo, but many months elapsed and he was still without any occupation, partly because he had been put off from day to day,* and partly because he was attacked by some disease in one of his arms, and this, to say nothing of the suffering, cost him several hundred crowns, before he could get himself cured of it. Having no one to administer to his wants in this conjuncture, and mortified by the slightness of the attention which he experienced from the Court, Perino was several times on the point of departing, but Molza and others of his friends, encouraged him to wait in patience, observing that Rome was no more what she had been, but seemed determined that now a man should become wearied and disheartened before she would consent to call him forth and make him her own, more particularly if he pursue the path of the fine arts.

About this time Messer Pietro de' Massimi bought a chapel in the church of the Santa Trinità, the ceiling and lunettes being already adorned with decorations in stucco, and the altar-piece having also been painted in oil by Giulio Romano and his brother-in-law Giovanni Francesco; wherefore Messer Pietro, desiring to see the chapel finished, commenced

* "D'oggi in domane,"—literally, "from to-day to to-morrow."

by having a miserable frame-work of stucco, by which the altar-piece and the lunettes were surrounded, replaced by a rich and beautiful one carved in wood and gilded, when he commissioned Perino to paint the walls of the chapel. In the lunettes above-named, there were already four pictures in fresco, the subjects being taken from the life of Santa Maria Maddalena; the altar-piece, which was in oil, as we have said, represented our Saviour Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen in the garden, and under the form of the gardener. Perino now caused the scaffolding and enclosure to be prepared for his work ; and that done, he set hand to the same, which, after several months of labour, he brought to its completion.

The pictures here executed were two, of no great size, and one on each wall; the divisions were formed by grottesche of the most fanciful beauty, partly in relief, partly painted; and the whole was surrounded by stucco-work of varied and graceful character. One of these pictures exhibits the Pool of Bethesda, with the sick and lame assembled around it, the angel who descends to move the waters, and a perspective view of the portico, the columns of which recede very finely into the distance. The attitudes and vestments of the priests also are singularly graceful, although the figures themselves are small, as I have said. The subject of the other picture is the resurrection of Lazarus after he has been dead four days, and in his re-awakening to life are still seen the paleness and the suffering of his death. Around the principal figure are others engaged in freeing him from the cerements of the tomb, with many more, all deeply moved with the event, but some appearing to be lost in astonishment at the miracle before them. There are besides certain small temples in the back ground, they are treated with infinite care and forethought, and as much may be said of all the works in stucco by which the paintings are surrounded.

Four small pictures, two on each wall, form the completion of the work, they are placed one on each side of the larger paintings, and the subject of the first is the Centurion imploring the Saviour to heal his son by the force of a word; the second exhibits Our Lord when he drives forth the traders from the temple: the Transfiguration of Christ occupies the third, and the fourth has a subject of similar character. Inside the chapel, and on the ressaults of the

piers, are four figures represented in the habiliments of Prophets, and of these it may be safely affirmed that the beauty and truth of proportion with which they are designed and finished could be surpassed by none; the whole work is indeed executed with so much care that its delicacy renders it more like a work in miniature than a painting in fresco. The colouring is exceedingly animated and pleasing, and the patience exercised throughout the whole work very remarkable, giving proof of that true and enduring love that should be entertained by every artist for his vocation. The painting of this work Perino did entirely with his own hand, but he caused a great part of the works in stucco to be executed after his designs by the Milanese Guglielmo,* who had before been with Perino in Genoa, and was much beloved by that master; the latter had at one time formed the design of giving Guglielmo his own daughter to wife; but this artist has now been made Frate del Piombo, in the place of Sebastiano Veneziano, and is engaged in the restoration of the antiquities belonging to the House of Farnese.

While speaking of the chapel of Santa Trinità, I will not omit to mention that on one of the walls thereof there was an exceedingly beautiful sepulchral monument, on the sarcophagus of which lay the figure of a woman represented as dead, and which had been admirably sculptured by the artist Bologna; on each side were two nude figures of boys, but the countenance of the dead woman was a portrait taken from that of a very famous courtezan of Rome, who had caused the tomb to be erected; the monks therefore had it removed, feeling scruples of conscience in respect to suffering a woman of such a character to be laid there with so much honour.

The paintings in the chapel of the Trinità, with many other designs of Perino, at length induced the most reverend Cardinal Farnese to confer a pension on our artist, and to employ him on various occasions. Pope Paul had caused a chimney-piece, which was in the apartment of the Conflagration, to be removed and carried thence to the chamber of the Segnatura,† wherein were the carvings in wood that were

* Guglielmo della Porta.

† The paintings executed by Perino del Vaga in this chapel are destroyed, as are those of the ceiling by Giovanni Francesco Penni; the *Noli me tangere* of Giulio Romano alone remains.

executed by the carver Fra Giovanni, for Pope Julius: both chambers had been painted by Raphael of Urbino, but it had now become necessary to restore the whole of the socle or basement in the chamber of the Segnatura, which is that wherein the mount Parnassus is depicted. Perino therefore designed a range of columns, painted to imitate marble, with decorations of busts, festoons, masks, and other ornaments. In certain spaces he represented historical scenes also, coloured in imitation of bronze, and for a work in fresco this is one of very great beauty. In these stories, were groups of figures discoursing on subjects in accordance with the paintings above them, as for example philosophers of philosophy, theologians of theology, and poets of poetry, and all were representations of facts belonging to the histories of the men most celebrated in their respective vocations.

It is true that Perino did not execute all these pictures with his own hand, but he retouched them *a secco* to such an extent, that when we consider the designs and the cartoons, which he finished entirely, to have been all by himself, we may truly affirm that they are little less than by his own hand: Perino was at that time suffering much from a catarrh, and could not therefore endure the labour required for the execution of the whole work. But now the Pope, who perceived that both on account of his age, and of his great deserts Perino well merited consideration, conferred on him a pension of twenty-five scudi per month, which sum he received until his death, and for this he had charge of the papal palace as well as of the Casa Farnese.

Michelagnolo Buonarroti had thrown open to view his picture of the Last Judgment, in the chapel of the Pope, and there now remained only to paint the lower part of the walls, whereon there was to be fixed a screen of arras, woven in silk and gold, as are those which decorate the Chapel. These hangings, according to the command of the Pope, were to be woven in Flanders, and Perino, with the consent of Michelagnolo, commenced the painting of a canvas of the same size, whereon he depicted women, children, and figures in half length, supporting festoons, all of extraordinary animation, and of the most fanciful character: this work was left unfinished in the Belvedere, at the death of Perino, and was certainly worthy of himself as well as of the magnificent

paintings of which it was to serve as a basement or kind of frame-work.*

Meanwhile the great hall of the kings† in the papal palace, which is that before the chapel of Sixtus IV., had been finished by Anton da Sangallo, when Perino painted an octagonal picture in the ceiling, with a cross, and several compartments of an oval form, some of which were in relief; this being done, Perino was furthermore commissioned to add decorations in stucco, with command to make those ornaments as rich and beautiful as could possibly be contrived with the utmost resources of art This work the master commenced accordingly, and in the octangles he executed roses and figures of children alternately, the four boys being in full relief, and having their feet directed to the centre; their arms are thrown out, and with these they form what may be truly called a very beautiful circle: the remainder of the space is filled with the various devices of the house of Farnese, and in the centre of the vaulting are the arms of the Pope. And of a truth this work in stucco may justly be affirmed to have surpassed all that has ever been done in that manner by the ancients or moderns, and to be entirely worthy of the head of the Christian religion.

It was after the designs of Perino moreover, that the glass windows of the same Hall were executed by Pastorino da Siena, who was a very able master of his calling, and beneath these Perino likewise caused exquisite decorations in stucco to be prepared, which were afterwards continued by the painter Daniello Ricciarelli,‡ of Volterra: this last-named artist, had death not opposed itself to his great designs, would have taught the world what is the boldness and heart of the moderns, and how their force suffices, not only to equal the works of the ancients, but perhaps even to surpass them.§

* The subsequent fate of this work is not known.—*Bottari.*

† This is the Sala Regia, well known to all who have visited Rome as that between the Pauline and Sistine Chapels. It was originally designed for the reception of Royal ambassadors, but is now always open to the public.

‡ Whose life follows.

§ The paintings in the Sala Regia are not by Perino nor by Daniel of Volterra, but by later artists, Taddeo Zucchero, Marco da Siena, Sicciolante da Sermoneta, Vasari, and others.

While the stucco-work for the ceiling of the Hall of Kings was in progress, and while Perino was considering the designs for the stories, the old wall of the church of San Pietro in Rome was in course of being demolished, to make way for the new walls of that fabric, when the masons came to a place where there was a Madonna and other pictures by the hand of Giotto, which being seen by Perino, who was in company with Messer Niccolò Acciaiuoli, a Florentine doctor and his very intimate friend, they were both impressed with so much respect at the sight of these paintings that they would not permit them to be destroyed. Nay, causing the wall around them to be sawed around, they then secured the painting with beams and clamps of iron, and had it carefully placed beneath the organ of San Pietro, in a position where there was neither an altar nor any other construction to be then erected. And before the wall around that Madonna was thrown down, Perino copied the figure of Orso dell' Anguillara, by whom it was that Messer Francesco Petrarca was crowned on the Capitol, and who was represented as standing at the foot of this Madonna. It was then resolved, to form various decorations in stucco and painting around that work of Giotto, placing there at the same time a monument to the memory of a certain Niccolò Acciaiuolo, who had formerly been a senator of Rome. Perino accordingly made the designs for the same, and instantly set hand to the work, when being aided by his assistants, and more especially by his disciple Marcello,* of Mantua, the work was completed very expeditiously and with great care.†

Now the sacrament did not hold a very honourable position in the church of San Pietro, so far as the masonry was concerned, wherefore certain deputies were selected by the Brotherhood of the Eucharist, to take charge of that matter, and these men commanded that a chapel should be constructed by Antonio da Sangallo in the centre of the old church, partly from the remains of ancient marbles and partly from marbles to be prepared for the purpose; the building to be further enriched by ornaments of marble,

* Marcello Venusti.

† The paintings by Giotto, with all the decorations here described, were destroyed in the re-building of the church.—*Bottari.*

bronze, and stucco: still more to adorn the same, they next placed a tabernacle by the hand of Donatello in the centre of the chapel, when Perino executed a most beautiful canopy to be placed over it, and this he adorned with many stories from the Old Testament, in very small figures, all the stories being intended to prefigure the Sacrament. In the centre of the chapel there was besides, a story somewhat larger than those above named, and the subject of this work was the Last Supper of Christ with his Apostles; beneath the picture were two Prophets standing one on each side of the body of the Saviour.*

The same artist painted a chapel in the church of San Giuseppo, which is near the Ripetta; he caused the work to be executed in fresco, by his disciples, that is to say, when Perino retouched it, and so finished it himself. He also had a chapel in the church of San Bartolommeo at Isola, painted in like manner after his designs, and that too he afterwards retouched. In San Salvadore del Lauro, certain stories were painted in like manner at the high altar, with numerous grottesche in the vaulting; there is besides, an Annunciation on the front of the church, but this last was executed by Girolamo Sermoneta, a disciple of Perino.† Now herein Perino del Vaga pursued the practice adopted by Raffaello da Urbino, in the latter years of his life; but this was done by Perino, partly because his health would no longer permit him to endure the labour of painting, and partly because it had become troublesome to him to exert himself to that effect, and he preferred designing works to executing them: but that this mode of proceeding is injurious and blameable, may be sufficiently proved from the works commenced by Raphael for the Chigi, and which have been executed by other hands; we have further testimony to the same, moreover, in those which Perino caused to be performed in like manner. Nor have the paintings which Giulio Romano suffered to be produced by the same means, and did not execute with his own hand, redounded very greatly to his honour, and although this method enables the master to do pleasure to princes, by giving them up the works commanded, complete in a very

* This tabernacle was replaced by one from the hand of Bernini, which was decorated with fresco paintings by Pietro da Cortona.

† All these paintings have been destroyed.

short time, and may perhaps also do service to the artists who labour under the direction of the master, yet if these last were the most able men to be found in the world, they can never have that regard and love to the works of the master which the master will feel towards them himself; nor, however well the cartoons may be designed, will they ever be imitated exactly and truly, as they might be by the hand of their author. Moreover, the latter, seeing his work go to ruin, is apt to become discouraged, and so let all take its chance, thus falling from bad to worse until the whole work is utterly spoiled: he who has a thirst for honourable distinction therefore, must execute his works with his own hand.* And this I can affirm from my own experience, for I had myself prepared the Cartoons for the Chancery in the palace of San Giorgio in Rome, and had executed them with the utmost care and study, but the work having to be completed within a very short period, one hundred days that is to say, I was compelled to entrust the colouring of the same to numerous painters, and by these the outlines and contours to which I had given so much attention, were departed from to such a degree that never have I suffered any one to lay hand on my works from that day to this. If, therefore, the master desire to secure his reputation and the duration of his labours, let him undertake fewer and execute all with his own hand; nay, this he must do, if he propose to obtain that honour and distinction to which the elevated genius constantly aspires.

But Perino, I repeat, beheld himself constrained, by the number of works committed to his care, to employ many assistants for his undertakings; he had more desire for gain than for honour, and thought he had been throwing his time

* Lanzi remarks that Raphael and Giulio Romano were so careful in their choice of assistants and in re-touching their works, that they do not merit the reproaches to which the avarice of Perino del Vaga caused him to lay himself open, as is manifest in numerous instances. The general truth of Vasari's observation is nevertheless indisputable, and a remark made by one of the German critics of our author, to the effect that Vasari has maintained the contrary of what he here asserts in the life of Giulio Romano, is wholly without foundation. Vasari was then speaking of the effect of the practice in question on the *disciple*, and lauded it accordingly. He is now describing the injury received from it by the works of the *master*, when he reprehends the practice, as he is fully justified in doing.

away, because he had laid by nothing in his youth. He was so much disturbed at the sight of young artists who seemed pressing to come forward, that he was anxious to have them all under his own command, to the end that they might not become an impediment to himself.

In the year 1546 there came to Rome the highly renowned Venetian painter, Tiziano da Cador,* his purpose being to make certain portraits in that city. Now Titian had taken the likeness of Pope Paul at an earlier period, when that pontiff had gone to Busseto† namely, but neither for that nor for some others which he had made for Cardinal Farnese,‡ and at Santa Fiore, had the Venetian master accepted any remuneration. He was now received most honourably by the Pope and Cardinal in the Belvedere, and a rumour was set about in the court, which instantly afterwards spread through the city, to the effect that Titian had come for the purpose of executing paintings with his own hand in the Hall of Kings; wherein Perino had himself been commissioned to display the resources of his art, and where he had already prepared the stucco-work. This arrival consequently displeased Perino greatly, and he complained of it to many of his friends, not that he feared to see Titian surpass himself in fresco, but because he desired to retain the interest and occupation of that work peacefully and honourably to the day of his death, and if he was to do it, he wished to proceed without any competitor, the rather as he had quite enough on his hands in the way of comparison, with the walls and ceiling of Michelagnolo, which were close beside him. This suspicion caused Perino constantly to avoid Titian during all the time of that master's stay in Rome, and the former was indeed very ill-disposed towards the Venetian artist even to the moment of his departure.

Now the Castellan of the Fortress Sant' Agnolo, Tiberio Crispo, who afterwards became a Cardinal, was a man who delighted much in our Arts, and he had formed the resolution

* Titian was in Rome the year previously, as we learn from a letter of Bembo's, bearing date Oct. 10 1545, and which appears in the *Lettere Pittoriche.*

† A place between Parma and Placenza.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

‡ In the Corsini Palace in Rome there is still to be seen a portrait of Cardinal Farnese, which is one of those here referred to. It has been engraved by Rossi.

of embellishing certain portions of the castle, to the end that his Holiness might thus be the more worthily received therein. Tiberio therefore caused loggie, halls, ante-rooms, and apartments of various kinds to be rebuilt or restored as the case might require. To this intent he had commissioned Raffaello da Montelupo to prepare several chambers, which were decorated accordingly after his designs and under his direction: Antonio da San Gallo had then constructed a loggia or gallery, which the same Raphael da Montelupo afterwards adorned with stucco-work, and the last-named artist likewise executed the Angel in marble, a figure six braccia high, which was placed on the summit of the principal and highest tower of the fortress. This loggia, which is that looking towards the meadows, Tiberio also caused to be painted by Girolamo Sermoneta, and that being finished, the remainder of the apartments were given, at first to Luzio Romano and finally to Perino, who was commissioned to adorn the halls and principal chambers, which he did, partly with his own hand, and partly by means of others, whom he employed to execute the cartoons which he had prepared.†

The principal hall of this series of buildings is an exceedingly beautiful one, being adorned with stucco-work intermingled with historical paintings, the subjects of which are taken from Roman history. These were painted for the most part by the disciples of Perino, but some were executed by Marco da Siena, the disciple of Domenico Beccafumi. In several of these apartments there are besides friezes, which are singularly beautiful.

Perino was always well content to avail himself of the services of clever young artists whenever he could find any such, but he never refused to accept the meanest and most mechanical works, wherewith to occupy these young men, and would frequently paint such things as the pennons for the trumpeters, the standards for the castle, or the banners used by the religious brotherhoods. He would also prepare canopies, copes, screens, and curtains for doors, or any

* This Angel was in Travertine, and was removed during the Pontificate of Benedict XIV., to make way for the bronze figure cast after a model by Verschaffelt, and still retaining its place.

† The paintings executed by Perino and his disciples still remain in the Castle of St. Angelo.

other thing, however inferior as a work of art, that came to his hands.

This master commenced the preparation of patterns on cloth, after which tapestry was then to be woven, for Prince Doria; and for the most reverend Cardinal Farnese, he decorated a chapel, as he did a writing chamber or study for the most excellent lady Madama Margherita of Austria. He made the ornamental frame around the Madonna at Santa Maria del Pianto; and in like manner it was by Perino that the frame-work about the Madonna in the Piazza Giudea was prepared, with many other works, of which, as they were very numerous, I will not now make any memorial, and the rather as it was his custom, as I have said, to accept the execution of whatever commission was offered to his hands. This disposition on the part of Perino, was perfectly well known to the officials of the palace, he had consequently some work always on hand for one or another of them, and served them very willingly, in the hope that by thus binding them to him he might obtain services from them in return, as to the payment of his pension and other matters.

Perino had obtained so great an extent of influence that nearly all the works undertaken in Rome were given to him, nay, it would almost appear to have been thought that these works were his of right, but this was partly occasioned by the fact that he would sometimes execute commissions at the lowest and vilest price, a practice whereby he did but little good, whether to himself or the art; nay, rather, on the contrary, it was the source of much evil, and that this is true as respects his own loss is proved by the certainty that he would have gained many hundreds of crowns had he taken it upon himself to paint the Hall of Kings with his own hand, and by the aid of his disciples; but the many artists employed therein having to be paid by the day, large sums were expended on the superintendents who had care of the work, and who took charge of such payments.

But Perino had in this matter undertaken a charge too great for his bodily powers, labours so fatiguing were found to be beyond his strength, seeing that he was suffering from catarrh and was very infirm. He had in fact to be drawing day and night, and was at every moment called on for something required at the palace; nor were these demands confined

to the more important works, he was continually required to produce designs for embroideries, carvings, and every other whimsey in the way of ornament, demanded by the caprices of Farnese, and of the other Cardinals and Signori. His time was in short incessantly occupied, and he was always surrounded by a crowd of painters, sculptors, masters in stucco, carvers of wood, gilders, embroiderers, seamsters, artists and workmen in a word, of every kind, by whom his mind was kept in a perpetual turmoil, insomuch that he never had an hour of repose. The only comfort and content that he found in this life was when he could occasionally sit down with some of his friends at the tavern, which was a place that Perino never failed to frequent, in whatsoever city he might be abiding; here then he would sit, that appearing to him to be the true beatitude of this world, the best happiness of life, and the only perfect repose from his labours. These last he was indeed incapable of supporting, worn out by his fatigues, and exhausted by the disorders of his life, the pleasures of the table and other indulgences, his constitution was ultimately destroyed, he was attacked by asthma which gradually consumed his strength until it terminated in consumption, and thus one evening, while speaking with a friend near his own house, an apoplectic affection suddenly seized him, and he fell dead to the ground, being then in the 47th year of his age.

This event caused much grief to many artists, who mourned the great loss which was without doubt thereby inflicted on the art of painting. It was in like manner much bewailed by Messer Joseffo Cincio, the physician of Madama, and son-in-law of Perino, from whom and from his wife the master received honourable sepulture in the chapel of St. Joseph, in the Rotonda at Rome, where the following epitaph was inscribed to his memory:—

Perino Bonaccursio Vagæ Florentino, qui ingenio et arte singulari egregios cum pictores permultos tum plastas facile omnes superavit, Catherina Perini coniugi, Lavinia Bonaccursia parenti, Josephus Cincius*

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* This must be Caterina Penni, since the wife of Perino was sister to Giovan-Francesco Penni, called Il Fattore, as we have read in a previous page. See *ante*, p. 100

socero charissimo et optimo facere. Vixit ann. 46, *Men.* 3, *Dies* 21. *Mortuus est* 14. *Calen. Novemb. Ann. Christ.* 1547.*

The place of Perino was at once occupied by Daniello of Volterra, who had worked much with the former; by him it was that the two Prophets still wanting to the chapel of the Crucifix, in San Marcello, were completed, and he has also very beautifully decorated with stucco-work and paintings, a chapel in the church of the Santa Trinità, receiving his commission for the same from the Signora Elena Orsina: Daniello executed many other works also, of which mention will be made in their due place.

Of Perino then, it may be asserted, from all that we have related, and from much beside that might have been said respecting him, that he was one of the most extensively endowed and versatile painters of our times. By him also, were artists taught to produce the most admirable works in stucco, he executed landscapes, animals, grottesche, and every other subject that can well be brought within the domain of the painter, and worked admirably well, whether in fresco, in oil, or in tempera,† wherefore it may even be affirmed that Perino was the father of these most noble arts, seeing that his gifts and endowments still survive in the many artists now pursuing his footsteps in all the honourable walks of art. After Perino's death many copper-plates appeared after drawings by his hand, Jove launching his thunderbolts at the Giants for example, from the palace at Genoa,‡ with eight stories from the life of San Pietro, taken from the Acts of the Apostles, and which Perino had designed for the embroideries of a pluvial to be worn by Pope Paul III. with many others which may be readily distinguished by the manner.

Perino availed himself of the assistance of numerous disciples, and taught his art to many young men, but the best of all these scholars, and the one of whose aid the

* In the first edition we have the following verses in addition:—

Certantem cum se, te quum natura videret
Nil mirum si te has abdidit in tenebras
Lux tamen, atque operum Lecuo immortale tuorum.
Te illustrem efficient, hoc etiam in tumulo.

† Lomazzo describes a peculiar invention in fresco painting by Perino. See *Trattato della Pittura*, lib. iii. c. 7.

‡ In the Doria Palace, as above described.

master made the most frequent use, was Girolamo Siciolante of Sermoneta, of whom we shall speak further in due season.* Another disciple of Perino was the Mantuan Marcello,† as we have before remarked; he painted a figure of the Virgin in fresco, with numerous Saints, from the designs and under the direction of Perino, at the entrance to the castle of Sant' Angelo, a very good and beautiful work; but of the labours of this artist also, we shall make further mention in another place.

Perino left many designs at his death, partly by his own hand, and partly by that of others; among the latter were all the drawings from the chapel by Michelagnolo, which had been made by Leonardo Cungi,‡ of the Borgo a San Sepolcro, and which was indeed a most excellent work. All these last mentioned designs, with many other things of various kinds, were sold by his heirs; and we have many drawings made with the pen by his hand, in our book, which are very fine.

THE SIENESE, DOMENICO BECCAFUMI, PAINTER AND MASTER OF CASTINGS IN METAL.

[BORN 1479—DIED 1549.]

THE same quality that we have already described as the pure gift of nature in Giotto and some others among the painters of whom we have been hitherto discoursing, was again perceived to manifest itself in the case of the Sienese painter, Domenico Beccafumi, seeing that while engaged in keeping a few sheep for Pacio his father§ who was a labourer of the Sienese citizen Lorenzo Beccafumi, he was frequently

* In the lives of the artists who were living when Vasari wrote, and which will be given in vol. v. of the present work.

† Marcello Venusti, who made a copy of the Last Judgment under the direction of Michael Angelo himself. It was a beautiful production, and passed from the Cardinal Farnese, to whom it was presented by Michael Angelo, into the possession of the King of Naples.—*Bottari.*

‡ Of this artist further mention is made in the life of Taddeo Zucchero. In the *Abbecedacio Pittorico* he is called Leonardo Cugini.

§ Della Valle tells us that the father of Domenico, a native of Ancajano, in the Sienese territory, had himself received the rights of citizenship in Siena, for his distinction as an artist.

observed to employ himself, child as he was, in drawing sometimes on the stones, sometimes on other substances.

Now it so chanced that Lorenzo Beccafumi one day remarked the child thus occupied; he had a pointed stick that is to say, wherewith he was drawing in the sand of a little stream, on the banks of which he was guarding his flock; Lorenzo thereupon requested the father to make over the boy to his care, intending that he should act as his servant, at the same time that he also received instruction. The child, who was then called Mecherino, was given up to Lorenzo by his father Pacio accordingly, and was conducted to Siena, where Lorenzo caused him for some time to spend whatever leisure remained to him from the duties of his service, in the workshop of a painter, not an artist of very great account, who was his neighbour. But what this painter did not know himself, he took care that Mecherino should acquire from certain drawings by eminent artists which he had in his possession, and of which he was in the habit of availing himself for his various necessities, as is the frequent habit of certain honest painters, who are not guilty of any very intimate acquaintance with design; Mecherino, pursuing his studies in this manner, soon gave evidence of the distinction which at a later period he was to acquire as a painter.

At that time Pietro Perugino, who was then a famous painter, arrived in Siena, where he executed two pictures as we have before related. His manner pleased Domenico exceedingly, wherefore, having set himself to study the same and to copy those two pictures, no long time had elapsed before he was found to have acquired the manner of Pietro to a very remarkable degree. Meanwhile, the chapel of Michelagnolo, and the works of Raphael in Rome, had been given to the world, and Domenico, whose sole desire was to learn, and who perceived that he was losing his time in Siena, took leave of Lorenzo Beccafumi, from whom he obtained his surname, and departed for Rome.

There he fixed himself with a painter who gave him his board and lodging, when Domenico executed numerous pictures in company with him, and at the same time employed himself in studying the works of Michelagnolo, Raphael, and other eminent masters, with the statues, buildings, and other admirable labours of antiquity. By these

means Domenico soon became bold in design, amply stored with power of invention, and a very pleasing colourist, but during his abode in Rome, which did not extend beyond the space of two years, he performed no work entitled to remembrance, with the exception of an escutcheon of the arms of Pope Julius II., which he painted in various colours on the front of a house in Borgo.

Now at this time Giovan Antonio da Vercelli,* then a young and able painter, had been invited to Siena by one of the Spannocchi family, who was a merchant, and being much encouraged by the gentlemen of that city (which was ever the friend and protectress of all distinguished men) he found considerable employment, more especially in the execution of portraits from the life. Domenico Beccafumi hearing this, and having an earnest wish to revisit his native city, soon returned thither accordingly, and perceiving that Giovan Antonio possessed great powers of design, in which he well knew the excellence of an artist to consist, he did not content himself with what he had acquired in Rome, but set himself studiously to follow in the footsteps of Giovan Antonio, devoting his time more especially to the study of anatomy, and to drawing the nude figure.

By all this Domenico profited to such an extent, that in a short time he began to be much esteemed in that most noble city. Nor was he less beloved for his rectitude and the purity of his life, than approved for his excellence in art; for whereas, Giovan Antonio, coarse, licentious, and eccentric as he was, had acquired the reputation of being one who wasted his time with infinite levity and with idle young men, and was even willing to accept that character; Domenico on the contrary, was most orderly and well conducted, lived as it beseemed a Christian man to do, and passed the greater part of his time alone. It will nevertheless sometimes happen that such as are called good fellows and merry companions, are more sought after than are the virtuous and upright, and so it happened in this case, as regarded the youth of Siena, who were for the most part great admirers of Giovan Antonio, extolling him as a very original person. And he was without doubt very fanciful, taking pains to please the

* Giovan-Antonio Razzi, whose life follows.

common herd, and always having his house full of parrots, apes, dwarfed asses, little horses from Elba, a raven that could speak, Barbary horses for running races, and other things of similar kind, wherewith he had made himself a name among the vulgar, who could talk of nothing else but of his follies.*

Giovan Antonio had painted the front of a house in fresco for Messer Agostino Bardi, while Domenico at the same time, and in competition with Giovan Antonio, adorned in like manner the front of a house belonging to the Borghese family, which is situate close to the column of Postierla and near the cathedral, a work to which he gave the most careful study. In a decoration which forms a kind of frieze immediately beneath the roof, our artist executed certain small figures in chiaro-scuro, which have been much extolled, and in the spaces between the three ranges of windows made in the stone called Travertine, which adorn that palace, he painted numerous figures of heathen deities and others, some coloured to imitate bronze, some in chiaro-scuro, and some painted in various colours. These also were more than tolerably well done, although the work of Giovan Antonio received more general commendation than that of Domenico. Both of these façades were painted in the year 1512.

For the church of San Benedetto, which is situate outside the gate of Tufi, and belongs to a monastery of the monks of Monte Oliveto, Domenico painted a picture, the subject of which is Santa Caterina receiving the Stigmata. The saint is represented within a building, and has St. Benedict standing on her right hand with St. Jerome, in his robes as a Cardinal, on the left; and this picture, having much harmony of colouring, with very great relief, has ever been and still is much extolled.† On the predella of this picture, the artist painted small historical representations in tempera, and these have indescribable animation and boldness; they are, moreover, executed with so much facility of design, that they could not possibly have more grace than we find displayed in them, and they yet appear to have been produced without the slightest effort in the world. In one of these stories

* For which cause he received the name of Mattaccio, the arch-fool or buffoon, by which discreditable epithet he was known to many.

† This work is now in the Academy or Institute of the Fine Arts at Siena.

is seen the Angel placing a part of the Host, consecrated by the priest, in the mouth of the above-named St. Catherine; in another is Jesus Christ in the act of espousing the same Saint; near this is St. Catherine receiving the religious habit from San Domenico, with other stories from the life of the same Santa Caterina.*

In the church of San Martino, Domenico Beccafumi painted a large picture, the subject of which is the Birth of Christ, with the Virgin Mother, St. Joseph, and the Shepherds, who are all in the act of adoring the Divine Child. Over the cabin or hut, wherein is the manger, there hovers a choir of Angels, which are most beautiful.† In this work, which is much commended by artists, Domenico began to make it obvious to all who understood the subject, that his works were executed on much more solid principles than could be found in those of Giovan-Antonio. He afterwards painted the Visitation of Our Lady to Sant' Elizabetta, and this fresco, which Domenico painted in the Great Hospital, is in a very pleasing manner, and entirely true to the life.‡ There is also a picture by this artist in the church of Santo Spirito; it represents Our Lady with the Divine Child in her arms; the latter espousing the above-named Santa Caterina da Siena; at the two sides are San Bernardino, San Francesco, San Girolamo, and the virgin martyr Santa Caterina; in the foreground are San Pietro and San Paolo; they are standing on a marble staircase, and the colour of their vestments is reflected from the lustrous surface of the polished marble, in a manner which is truly artistic.§ This work, executed with singular judgment, and showing admirable power of design, acquired much honour for the artist, as did likewise certain small figures on the Predella. These represent the following subjects: the Baptism of Our Saviour by St. John; a King, who causes the

* For minute details respecting the Virgin Martyr, St. Catherine, see Baillet, *Vie des Saints*. See also *Sacred and Legendary Art*, and the *Legendario Romano*, where a good epitome of St. Catherine's life will be found.

† This picture is still in the Church of San Martino.

‡ The only work by San Domenico which is now to be found in the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala.

§ Still in Siena, but now in the Saracini Palace, where there is also an Annunciation by the same master.

wife and children of St. Sigismond to be cast into a well; San Domenico burning the Books of the Heretics; Christ presenting to Santa Caterina of Siena two Crowns, the one of roses, the other of thorns; and San Bernardino of Siena preaching on the public Piazza of that city, to a vast multitude of people assembled there.

The fame which Domenico acquired by this work caused him to receive the commission for a picture to be placed in the church of the Carmine, the subject chosen being St. Michael conquering Lucifer; in this work the artist, as an ingenious and fanciful person, resolved to make manifest, by a certain originality of treatment, the extent of his inventive power, and the fine thoughts of which he was capable. By way of showing Lucifer and his followers, therefore, expelled, as they were from Heaven for their pride, he depicted a shower of nude figures, which is exceedingly beautiful, although it is true that the excessive pains which Domenico has taken with it have resulted in rendering the work somewhat confused. This picture being left unfinished at the death of the master, was then taken to the Great Hospital, and placed on the ascent of a staircase,* near the high altar, where it still remains, and is regarded with admiration by all beholders, on account of certain foreshortenings of the nude figures, which are exceedingly fine. In the church of the Carmine meanwhile, where the above-named picture was to have been placed, there has been appended another, in the upper part of which is the figure of the Almighty Father, beheld amidst the clouds, and surrounded by numerous angels, very gracefully depicted. In the middle of the picture is the Archangel Michael, wearing his armour, and pointing to Lucifer, whom he has driven to the centre of the earth; burning buildings, a fiery gulf, and a sea of flame, also make part of the picture, with angels in various attitudes, and the souls of the condemned, which are represented by nude figures, floating and struggling amidst the torments of that sea of fire. All this is delineated with infinite beauty of manner, and in that admirable work, which has ever been accounted a very extraordinary performance, the darkness appears to be illumined by the fire of the gulf.†

* Now in the Sienese Academy, or Institute of the Fine Arts.

† Still to be seen on one of the lateral Altars, and at no great distance

The Sienese painter, Baldassare Peruzzi, was never weary of extolling this picture, and one day, as I was looking at the same in company with him, on a certain occasion when I was passing through Siena, I stood myself amazed therewith, as I did also at five small stories, which are depicted on the Predella, and which are executed in tempera after a most judicious and beautiful manner. Domenico likewise undertook to paint a picture in the city of Siena, for the nuns of Ognissanti: in the upper part of this work is Our Saviour Christ seen amidst the clouds; he is crowning the glorified Virgin; and beneath them are San Gregorio, Sant' Antonio, Santa Maria Maddalena, and the virgin martyr St. Catherina. On the Predella are certain small figures in tempera, which are very beautiful.*

In the house of the Signor Marcello Agostini,† Domenico painted some very beautiful pictures on the ceiling of an apartment, which has three Lunettes on each side, and two at each end, with a frieze entirely around it. Two paintings occupy the centre of the ceiling.‡ In the first is the imitation of a silken arras, which appears to depend from the framework; and herein, as if woven in that tapestry, is the figure of Scipio Africanus, who restores the young wife uninjured to her husband. In the second is the renowned painter Zeuxis copying the several nude figures, from which he composed his picture for the Temple of Juno. In one of the Lunettes are small figures of not more than about half a braccia high, but exceedingly beautiful; they represent the two Roman Brothers, who, having been enemies, consent to become friends for the sake of the public welfare, and the good of their country.

In the following picture is Torquatus giving an example of obedience to the laws by permitting one of his own eyes to be put out, in order to save an eye for his son, who had been condemned to lose both his eyes, and who is, by this

from the High Altar. The Padre Della Valle considers the figures who are struggling amidst the flames to present too tranquil an aspect.

* They are now in the Sacristy of the Church of Santo Spirito.

† This is the House which now belongs to the Bindi Sergardi family.

‡ The description given by Vasari of this apartment has several inaccuracies, which the reader may correct by reference to Bottari.—*Roman Edition of Vasari.*

means, enabled to save one. In the next is the Petition of . . . . . ., who, after being compelled to listen to the enumeration of his crimes and treasons against his country, and the Roman people, which is read to him, is then put to death. In the picture beside this are seen the Roman People deliberating on the Expedition of Scipio into Africa; and in another Lunette is an ancient Sacrifice exhibiting a vast number of very beautiful figures, with a perspective view of a Temple, which has considerable relief, for in this respect Domenico was a truly excellent master. In the last of these pictures is Cato in the act of destroying himself, just as he is on the point of being overtaken by certain horsemen; the horses ridden by these cavaliers are beautifully painted.

In the spaces between the Lunettes are small historical representations, which are admirably finished,* and the excellence of the whole work having proved to those who then governed that Domenico was an excellent painter, he was appointed to decorate the ceiling of a hall in the palace of the Signoria, and to this work he gave all possible forethought, care, and labour; being impelled thereto by the wish to make his own abilities manifest, as well as by his desire to adorn that renowned building of his native place; a city by which he was himself so highly honoured. The ceiling of this hall,† which has double the length of its width, has no Lunettes, but is constructed with groined arches, for which cause Domenico thought it best to paint the frame-work of the compartments, adding friezes, which he also gilded, without any addition of stucco work, or other ornaments; and this he executed so perfectly and with so graceful an effect, that the work does veritably appear to be in relief

At each end of the above-named hall, Domenico then painted a large historical picture, and on both of the sides he executed two of like manner, between which is an octangle; thus there are six squares and two octangles, in each of which is a picture. At the edge of the ceiling and in the angles are circular compartments, which, being drawn half on the one side and half on the other, and being thus divided by the angles, present eight compartments, within

* Lanzi considers the peculiar excellence of Domenico to have consisted in his treatment of small figures. See the *History*, &c., as before cited.

† This Hall is that called the Consistory of the Signoria.

which are seated colossal figures, one in each of the eight divisions, and all representing men who have been remarkable for their services in the defence of the republic, or for their obedience to her laws. The centre, or highest part of the ceiling, is divided into three compartments, so that in the middle and immediately over the octangles there is a circle formed, while there are squares over each of those on the walls beneath.

In one of the octangles is the figure of a Woman surrounded by Children; she holds a heart in her hand, and represents Patriotism, or the Love of Country. The second octangle has also the figure of a Woman, with an equal number of Children, and this represents Civic Union; while in the circle between the two octangles is a figure of Justice with the Sword and Scales in her hand: this last is foreshortened with so much boldness as to be matter of admiration to all, whether we consider the drawing or the colouring. The latter commences darkly in the lower part, but from the knees upward it becomes gradually lighter, and, continuing to brighten towards the back, shoulders, and arms, attains to a celestial splendour at the head, and the figure appears to become lost, and to vanish by slow gradations into the air. It is not possible, I do not say to find, but to imagine, any figure more beautiful than this, nor is there one completed with finer judgment or more profound art, among all the number thus painted by various artists, to appear foreshortened, that is to say, when viewed from below.*

With respect to the stories themselves; in the first, which is that at the end of the hall and to the left of the entrance, is an historical representation, the subject of which is the Reconciliation of the Censors, Marcus Lepidus and Fulvius Flaccus, who being much at enmity with each other, had yet no sooner become associates and colleagues in the magistracy than, laying aside all thought of their private resentments in consideration of the public interest, they fulfilled the duties of their office in the strictest amity. They kneel together at the same altar, while around them stand numerous figures and behind all are magnificent temples and other buildings, of which we have perspective views of such extraordinary

* For certain remarks on what Vasari here affirms, see Lanzi, *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 297

excellence, and which are managed with so much ability that they amply suffice to show the extensive and exact acquaintance which Domenico possessed with the laws of perspective.

On the following or side-wall is a picture exhibiting the history of the Dictator, Posthumius Tiburtius, who, having committed the charge of the army to his only son, and made him his substitute, with command to do nothing further than watch the camp, caused him to be put to death for disobedience, inasmuch as that he, having found a fair occasion for making an assault upon the enemy, had done so, and had obtained the victory. In this work Domenico has shown us Posthumius, an old man with shaven beard, who stands with the right hand laid upon an axe, while he points with the left towards the body of his son, whom he displays to the army lying dead on the earth, the figure of the dead being foreshortened with admirable ability. Beneath this picture, which is a very beautiful one, is a highly appropriate inscription.

The octangle which follows has the story of Spurius Cassius, whom the senate, suspecting of a desire to make himself king, has caused to be decapitated, while they also command that his dwelling shall be razed to the ground. In this work, the head, which is beside the executioner, and the body, which is foreshortened on the earth, are exceedingly beautiful. In the next picture is the Tribune Publius Mutius, causing all his colleagues, who had aspired with Spurius Cassius to become the tyrants of their country, to be given over to the flames; and in this painting the fires, by which the bodies of those condemned persons are seen to be consumed, are treated admirably and executed with singular art.

At the opposite end of the hall is a picture wherein is the Athenian Codrus, who, having learned that the oracle had declared victory to the army whose king should be slain in the battle, laid down his regal vestments, entered unknown among the ranks of the enemy, and caused himself to be slain by their hands, thus giving victory to his people by means of the sacrifice of his own life. Domenico has depicted the Athenian seated amidst his nobles, who stand around him while he despoils himself of the royal robes; close at hand is a round temple of great beauty, and in the extreme

distance of the picture, Codrus is again seen lying dead; beneath is his name in an epitaph.

Proceeding next to the remaining side or long wall, which stands opposite to that whereof we have described the paintings, with the octangle between them, we find in like manner two pictures, in the first of which is the Prince Zaleucus, who, in obedience to the laws, is about to deprive his son of an eye, and to suffer the loss of one in his own person; around him stand numerous personages, entreating him to refrain from that cruelty to both himself and his son. In the distance is the youth, who had been accused of offering violence to a Locrian maiden, and beneath is the name of Zaleucus on an inscription. In the octangle which is beside this picture there follows the story of Marcus Manilius in the act of being thrown from the Capitol. The figure of Manilius, which is a very youthful one, is seen precipitated from a sort of balcony; it is admirably foreshortened, and this figure, which is shown with the head downwards, is executed to such perfection that it appears to be indeed alive, as do also certain other figures which are standing below.

In the next picture is Spurius Mœlius who is put to death by the Tribune Servilius because the people suspected that he was about to attempt making himself the tyrant of his country. Servilius, a seated figure, is surrounded by many others, one of whom, who is near the centre, points to the body of Spurius lying dead on the earth, and painted with infinite art.

In the circles above, and which occupy the angles of the ceiling as before described, are representations of different men, all distinguished for the zeal with which they had defended the country. In the first is the renowned Fabius Maximus, seated in his armour; and on the opposite portion is Speusippus Duke of the Tegetes, who, being persuaded by a friend to rid himself of his rival and adversary, declares that he will not be induced by considerations of private interest to deprive his country of such a citizen. The circle on the opposite angle exhibits on one part the Prætor Celius, who, having ventured on giving battle to the enemy in opposition to the Aruspices, is punished by the senate, although he had come off conqueror and had obtained an important victory. Beside the Prætor is Thrasybulus, who,

to liberate his country, and with the aid of certain among his friends, has valorously slain the thirty tyrants. Thrasybulus is an old man with shaven beard and hoary locks, he has his name inscribed beneath his feet, as have all the others.

Within one of the angles of the ceiling at the lower end of the Hall is further to be seen the Prætor Genutius Cippus, on whose head a bird had wonderfully alighted in such sort that its wings had the appearance of horns on the head; the oracle being consulted thereon, replied that Genutius would become king of the country, when the Prætor, although much advanced in years, determined to banish himself from his home rather than become instrumental to the subjugation of his native land, and departed into exile accordingly; this figure Domenico has therefore represented with a bird on his head. Beside Genutius is Charondas, who, having returned to his palace from his country house, has hastily repaired to the senate without having first divested himself of his armour, in contravention of a law which forbade the senators to enter into the senate armed, and who slays himself on becoming aware of the oversight which he has committed.

In the opposite angle, which is the last, is a circle exhibiting on one side Damon and Pythias, whose extraordinary friendship is known to all, and with whom is Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily. Beside these, and on the other side of the circle, is the seated figure of Brutus, who condemned his two sons to death because they had conspired to procure the return of the Tarquins to their country. This work, which was indeed a truly remarkable one, caused the Sienese to become fully aware of the art and ability of Domenico, who gave proof of a fine genius, extraordinary judgment, and singular knowledge of his vocation, in all that he did.

When the Emperor Charles V. arrived for the first time in Italy, it was expected that he would pay a visit to Siena, seeing that he had expressed an intention to that effect to the ambassadors of the Republic. Among other preparations therefore, which were made for the reception of so great an Emperor, Domenico was commissioned to make a Horse, eight braccia high and in full relief; this he formed of pasteboard, or rather a kind of *papier maché*, hollow within, and maintained in its place by a frame-work of iron. On this

horse was placed the statue of the Emperor, arrayed after the manner of the ancients, and with the sword in his hand. Beneath the horse were three colossal figures, as of men vanquished by his might; but these also assisted to support a part of the weight of the horse, which was represented in the act of rearing itself on its hind legs, and with its fore feet in the air; while they presented likewise the allegorical signification of three provinces, which had been conquered and subjugated by the power of that Emperor.

In this work Domenico proved himself to be no less able in sculpture than in painting; he had fixed the group above described on a platform of wood-work four braccia high, and within this had arranged a series of wheels, which, being worked by men concealed among them, caused the whole to move forward, the design of Domenico being that this horse, having been made to move as we have said, should accompany his Majesty on his entrance into the city, and having attended him even to the portal of the palace of the Signoria, should then halt and remain fixed in the centre of the Piazza. The horse having been thus brought to completion by Domenico, required nothing further than the gilding, but it remained in that unfinished state, for his Majesty did not after all repair at that time to Siena, but having been crowned at Bologna, had then departed from Italy; wherefore the work was left incomplete.

The art and ability of Domenico had nevertheless been rendered fully apparent by this group, the grandeur and excellence of which were much commended by every one. It was placed for that time in the office of works belonging to the cathedral; but when His Majesty, returning victorious from the expedition into Africa, had passed from Messina to Naples and Rome, and finally arrived at Siena, the above-described work of Domenico was fixed on the Piazza of the Cathedral, to his great honour.

The renown of this artist being thus bruited abroad, Prince Doria, who accompanied the Imperial Court, when he had seen all the works by his hand which were then in the city of Siena, proposed to Domenico that he should repair to the Doria Palace in Genoa, there to labour where Perino del

Vaga, Giovan-Antonio da Pordenone, and Girolamo da Trevisi had previously executed numerous works.* But Domenico could not promise the Prince to repair to Genoa in his service at that time, having just then a portion of the marble floor of the Cathedral on hand, and this, which had been formerly commenced by the Sienese painter Duccio,† in a new manner of work, Domenico Beccafumi was now compelled to finish; but he engaged to enter the service of Prince Doria at some future period.

The figures and historical representations wherewith the pavement above-mentioned was to be decorated, were already for the most part designed on the marble, the outlines being engraved with the chisel and then filled with a black mixture, when the whole was surrounded by ornaments of coloured marbles, with which the ground of the work was likewise adorned. But Domenico, with his admirable judgment, perceived that this mode of decoration might be sensibly ameliorated, to which end he took grey marbles, and with these, prepared by the chisel and added to the white, he produced the half shades, and found that by this method and by the use of the black and white marble as described, he could produce marble pictures in chiaro-scuro with the utmost perfection.‡ The portion which Domenico had taken in hand by way of trial, proved the attempt to have been entirely successful, whether we consider the beauty of the invention, the excellence of the design, which was most correct, or the rich variety of the figures; insomuch that this master may be said to have formed the commencement of the grandest, most beautiful, and most magnificent pavement that had ever then been achieved, and in the course of his life he gradually conducted the greater part of it to completion.§

* See *ante*, the lives of these masters.

† Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen*, vol. ii. p. 5, maintains that Duccio took no part in this work.

‡ The practice here attributed to Domenico Beccafumi did not in fact prevail until many years later, when it was first adopted by Michelagnolo Vanni, as we learn from the inscription on his tomb, which is still to be seen in the Church of San Giorgio at Siena.

§ The Cartoons made by Domenico for this work were long in the possession of the noble family of the Spannocchi, but were presented some years since to the Sienese Institute of the Fine Arts, by the members of that family. See Quatremere—*Dictionaire d' Architecture.*

Around the high altar in the same cathedral, Domenico also executed a decoration in the manner of a frieze; and to follow the order already commenced by Duccio, he delineated stories from Genesis; Adam and Eve that is to say, who, being driven from Paradise, are tilling the earth for their bread; with the Sacrifice of Abel and that of Melchizedech. Before the altar he placed a large picture representing Abraham on the point of sacrificing his son Isaac, and around this work is a bordering or decoration of half-length figures, bearing various animals which they appear about to present in sacrifice.* Descending the steps, another large picture is found, of character similar to that above-named, but the subject of which is Moses on Mount Sinai receiving the laws from the hands of the Almighty; and beneath this is the law-giver, who, finding the people engaged in the adoration of the Golden Calf, is seized with anger, and casting down the tables on which the law was engraved, has broken them to pieces.

Beneath this story and opposite to the pulpit, there is a frieze with a vast number of figures, and this passes entirely across the church; the work is composed with so much grace and exhibits such beauty of design, that words could not do justice to its excellence. The subject of the picture is Moses in the Wilderness, who, striking the rock with his rod, and causing the water to gush forth, gives drink to his thirsty people. Here Domenico has shown the water, flowing as a river throughout the whole length of the frieze, and from this the people are drinking in attitudes which are varied to infinity, exhibiting a vivacity and animation so pleasing and so life-like that no figures could possibly display more graceful, more beautiful, or more elegant movements than we find in this story. One has cast himself prone to the earth and drinks in that position, another kneels before the rock whence the water flows and drinks from the source, many are drawing the water in vases and vessels of various kinds, and some drink with the hand, while many others are leading their cattle to drink, to the great joy of the assembled people.

* The Sacrifice of Abraham and the Eve were engraved in wood in three plates, by the Mantuan Andrea Andreani in 1586. The Abel was engraved in like manner by Hugo da Carpi. They were afterwards engraved on copper by a Florentine called Gabuggiani.—*Masselli.*

But among all the admirable peculiarities which distinguish this picture, none are more remarkable than the figure of a boy, who, having taken up a little dog by the neck, is plunging its muzzle into the water, that it may drink; but the dog, having already drunk sufficiently, will not take any more, and shakes its head in a manner so natural that the animal seems to be alive. The whole of this work is in fact so beautiful, that no production of the kind could possibly exhibit finer qualities in art. The various shadows and reflections thrown by the different figures are rather to be called wonderful than merely beautiful; and although the whole of this performance is greatly admired for the originality of its character, yet these are considered to be the most remarkable features thereof.

Beneath the Cupola there is furthermore to be observed an hexagonal compartment, which is divided into seven hexagonal compartments, and six rhombs. Of these hexagons Domenico completed four previous to his death, delineating the History and Sacrifice of Elisha therein; and all this he did quite at his leisure, seeing that this work was as a kind of study and pastime to him, nor would he ever wholly give it up for any of his other undertakings. While thus occupied, therefore, sometimes with this, sometimes in other places, Domenico painted a large picture in oil in the church of San Francesco, and on the right hand on entering into the church. The subject chosen is Our Saviour Christ descending in his glory to the Limbo, or the entrance into Hell, to recall thence the souls of the holy fathers; and here, among many other nude figures, is one of Eve, which is most beautiful: the figure of one of the Thieves also, who is standing behind Our Saviour with the Cross, is in like manner exceedingly well conducted; and the caverns of the Limbo, with the demons and fires of that place, are all highly original.*

It was the opinion of Domenico that paintings in tempera maintain their beauty better than paintings in oil: to him, he would say, it appeared, that the works of Luca da Cortona, of the Pollaiuoli, and of other masters who have

* Still in the Church of San Francesco. It has been engraved by Filippo Tommasini, Giuliano Traballesi, Agostino Costa, and Pietro Jode. —*Guida della Città di Siena.*

painted in oil betrayed more striking evidences of age, than did those of Fra Giovanni, Fra Filippo, Benozzo, and the other artists whose works in tempera were executed at an earlier period. He therefore determined to paint a picture, which he was commissioned to execute by the Brotherhood of San Bernardino for their chapel on the Piazza di San Francesco, in tempera, and admirably well he completed it in that manner accordingly.* The Predella also is in tempera, and is very beautiful: the subjects depicted thereon are San Francesco receiving the Stigmata; Sant' Antonio of Padua, who, for the purpose of converting certain heretics, performs the miracle of the Ass, which makes its obeisance to the sacred Host; and San Bernardino of Siena, who is preaching to the people of his native city, on the Piazza of Siena. Domenico painted two stories in fresco on the walls of the same chapel: the subjects chosen being from the life of Our Lady; this he did in competition with Giovan-Antonio Razzi, who had painted several pictures in the same place. One of these frescoes exhibits the Visitation of Our Lady to Sant' Elizabetta, and in the other is the Assumption of the Virgin, who is surrounded by the Apostles. These pictures are both very highly extolled.†

At length, and after having been ong expected in Genoa by Prince Doria, Domenico determined on repairing to that city, but with much reluctance, being a man who was accustomed to a life of quiet, and contented himself with possessing what his necessities demanded, without requiring more; Domenico was besides but little accustomed to travelling; he had built himself a small house in Siena, and at about a mile from the city, outside the Gate of Camollia, he had a vineyard, which he had cultivated for his amusement after his own fashion: to this place he resorted often, but beyond that it was now a long time since he had left Siena.

Arrived in Genoa, Domenico painted a picture near that by Pordenone, and acquitted himself very well, but not in such a manner as to entitle this work to be numbered among his best. The mode of proceeding in the court of Genoa did not please him; accustomed to a life of freedom, he could

* This work also is still in its place.

† Still in existence, but by the *Guida di Siena* the Visitation is attributed to Giovan-Antonio Razzi.

not feel content or at his ease in the place; nay, rather it might be affirmed that he seemed in a manner stultified; wherefore, having completed the above-named work, he requested permission from the Prince to depart, and left Genoa accordingly to return to his home. In his way he passed by Pisa, for the purpose of seeing that city; and having there met with Battista della Cervelliara, was by him conducted to visit all the most remarkable objects in the city; more particularly the paintings of Sogliani, and the pictures which are in the apsis of the Cathedral, behind the high altar.

Meanwhile Sebastiano della Seta, Warden of the Cathedral of Pisa, having heard fromCervelliera of the rank held in art and the great abilities of Domenico Beccafumi, and being anxious to see an end put to the work which had been kept on hand so long by Giovan-Antonio Sogliani, commissioned Domenico to paint two of the pictures for the apsis of the cathedral, the works to be executed in Siena, and to be despatched thence to Pisa, which was accomplished accordingly. In one of these pictures is Moses, who, having found the people offering sacrifice to the golden calf, throws down the tables of the law and breaks them. Here Domenico has painted certain nude figures, which are most beautiful. The second picture is likewise from the history of Moses, and exhibits him at the moment when the earth opens to swallow up a part of the people, and in this work also are nude figures lying dead, after having been killed by the ligtnings of Heaven, which are beautiful to a marvel. When these pictures were taken to Pisa they caused Domenico to receive a commission for the execution of four more, to be placed in front of the tribune, two on each side that is to say. These pictures represent the four Evangelists, and are exceedingly beautiful.*

Thereupon Sebastiano della Seta, who perceived that he was served expeditiously and well by Domenico, caused that artist to paint a picture for one of the chapels of the cathedral, Sogliani having previously painted four for the same chapel. Domenico, therefore, remained for a time at Pisa, and in that picture he painted Our Lady seen in the air with the Divine Child in her arms; she is reposing on clouds

* The Four Evangelists are still in the Cathedral of Pisa.

which are supported by angels: beneath are several Saints, male and female, tolerably well executed, but still not displaying the excellence manifest in the pictures above-mentioned.* But Domenico, excusing himself for this with many of his friends, and more particularly on a certain occasion with Giorgio Vasari, declared that, removed from the air of Siena, and deprived of his accustomed enjoyments and conveniences, he no longer appeared to himself to be capable of producing anything. He returned home, therefore, resolving that he would never again quit his native city for the purpose of working in any other place.

For the nuns of St. Paul, whose convent is situate near the church of San Marco, in Siena, Domenico then painted a picture in oil; the subject of which is the Birth of Our Lady. Sant' Anna is seen in a bed which is foreshortened, the nurses are moving around it, and within the shadow of an open door is a woman engaged in drying linen; this figure has no other light than that presented to her by the fire.† On the Predella, which is admirably painted, are three pictures in tempera, the Virgin presented in the Temple namely, the Marriage of our Lady, and the Adoration of the Magi. In the Mercanzia, which is a court or tribune of the merchants, in the same city, the officials have a small picture, which is singularly beautiful, this is said to have been painted by Domenico in his early youth,‡ it represents the half-length figure of St. Paul, in a seated position, and on each side are historical pictures, one presenting the Conversion of the Saint, and the other his Decapitation; the figures of both being very small.

Finally, Domenico received a commission to paint the great Tribune or Apsis of the cathedral of Siena, which is at the head of the fabric and behind the high altar. Here he first prepared all the ornaments in stucco-work with his own hand, executing foliage and various forms of great beauty and richness, with two figures, each representing the goddess of Victory, at the extremities of the semicircle; a truly admir-

* These pictures also retain their place.

† Now in the Sienese Institute of the Fine Arts.

‡ In the Church called the *Chiesa Plebana* (Church of the People), which is the Baptistery of St. John, there is a picture said to have been transferred to that church from the Curia of the Mercanzia.

able decoration. In the centre Domenico then painted the ascension of Our Lord in fresco, and from the cornice to the floor he occupied the space with three pictures divided by columns in relief and presenting views in perspective. The middlemost painting exhibits Our Lady, San Piero, and San Giovanni, they are seen beneath an arch which is depicted in perspective, and in the pictures at the sides are ten apostles, five on each side namely, standing in various attitudes; they are earnestly regarding the ascension of their Lord. Above each group of the Apostles is the figure of an angel foreshortened, and intended to signify those two of the Apostles by whom the ascension of our Lord into heaven was declared.

This is without doubt a very fine work, but would have been much more so had Domenico imparted a more agreeable expression to the faces ; but as the case stands, these countenances have a certain something which is not very pleasing; indeed it might almost appear as if this artist had formed the habit in his old age of giving a terrified and constrained expression to his faces, insomuch that the effect is not agreeable:* but were it not for this defect, I repeat, and had the figures beauty of countenance, this work would be as admirable a one as could be seen. On this point, of beauty in the faces, Giovan-Antonio Razzi was superior in the estimation of the Sienese to Domenico, seeing that, although the drawing of the latter was much more correct and had greater force, Giovan-Antonio imparted a much higher degree of beauty to his heads. Now it is certain that the manner of the heads is an affair of very great importance in these our arts, and many masters, in virtue of having imparted a graceful aspect and fine expression to their heads, have escaped the censure which they might otherwise have incurred for the rest of the performance.

This was the last work in painting ever undertaken by Domenico Beccafumi, who betook himself ultimately to the practice of working in relief, and more particularly to the founding of bronzes. He even proceeded so far as to execute six Angels in full relief, and little less than life size, for the six columns of the cathedral which are nearest to the high altar; this work he accomplished with indescribable pains

* This picture, which was painted in the year 1544, was restored at the commencement of the present century, in 1813 namely.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832, 8.

and labour: these figures bear a kind of tazza or shallow vase in their hands, and within these vases are chandeliers holding lights; they are very beautiful, and in the last indeed Domenico acquitted himself so well that he obtained the highest commendation.*

Gaining courage from success, our artist then commenced figures of the twelve Apostles, which were to be placed on the succeeding columns, those below the above-described that is to say, whereon they were to replace certain old figures in marble in a very bad manner, which now occupy the columns; but this work Domenico did not continue, since he ceased to live no very long time after having commenced it. Being a man of much ingenuity, this master succeeded in almost all that he undertook, and engraved wood-cuts from which to take impressions in chiaro-scuro; specimens of these, comprising the figures of two apostles, have been published and are admirably beautiful;† we have one of them in our book of designs, with other works by the hand of Domenico, all of which are drawn divinely. He engraved on copper with the burin in like manner, and executed certain stories with aqua-fortis,‡ exhibiting studies in alchemy, which are very fanciful, the subject being Jupiter and the other gods, seeking to fix Mercury. To this intent they lay the god Mercury himself fast-bound within a crucible, while Vulcan and Pluto heap fire around him; but when they imagine that he is about to become a solid body, behold he flies off and is dissipated in smoke.

Domenico executed many other works in addition to those above-cited, such as figures of the Virgin and other cabinet pictures; none of these were of any great importance, but among them we may specify a Madonna, which is now in the possession of the Cavalier Donati, with a painting in tempera, representing Jupiter changed into a shower of gold and falling upon the lap of Danae. There is also a round picture in oil by the same master, representing the Virgin

* These were cast in 1551, and are still in existence. The number of these figures is eight.

† Bottari affirms himself to have seen six of these figures, and thinks it probable that Mecherino may have carved the whole twelve in wood.

‡ The works are not etched, but engraved on wood.—*Bottari.* See also Zani, *Enciclopedia Metodica;* but his opinion, so far as it regards Domenico Beccafumi, is considered erroneous by the best authorities.

and exceedingly beautiful; this is now in the hands of Piero Castanei. For the brotherhood of Santa Lucia, moreover, Domenico painted a singularly beautiful Bier, with one of a similar kind for the brotherhood of Sant' Antonio.* Nor let any marvel that I should make mention of works of this character, since these are in fact beautiful to a miracle, as all who have seen them can bear witness.

At length, and when he had attained the age of sixty-five, this master died, having hastened his departure by labouring day and night at his castings of metal, which he would also finish and polish himself, working entirely alone, and refusing to accept any assistance whatever. The 18th of May, in the year 1549,† was the day of Domenico Mecherino's death, and he was buried by his intimate friend the goldsmith Giuliano in the cathedral of his native city, wherein he had produced so many distinguished works. He was borne and followed to his tomb by all the artists of his native city, which was even then fully aware of the loss she had sustained in his death, but is more than ever convinced of it now, by the admiration which his productions have awakened.

Domenico was a man of very orderly habits, fearing God and diligently studious of his art, but somewhat excessively disposed to solitude. He has been celebrated extensively for his many good qualities by the citizens of Siena, his compatriots, who, to their great praise, have ever been strongly inclined to the study of letters, and by these he has been honourably extolled in verse, written in the Latin as well as in the vulgar tongue.

* The four pictures which formed the Bier belonging to the Brotherhood of Sant' Antonio the Abbot, are now appended above those stalls which are held by the company in the church named after that Saint.

† The Padre Guglielmo della Valle gives numerous details in relation to this master, whose death did not take place until the end of 1551, or even later, seeing that the Angels of bronze mentioned above were executed by his hand in that year. See *Lettere Sanesi*, tom. ii.

GIOVAN-ANTONIO LAPPOLI, PAINTER OF AREZZO.

[BORN 1492—DIED 1552.]

RARELY does it happen that a good old stock fails to throw out some fair branch, which, increasing with time, imparts a new ornament and supplies with its foliage a fresh garment to that desolate trunk, putting forth fruit also in which there are ultimately perceived, by those who taste it, the savours which they had formerly derived from the ancient tree.

And that what we here say is true will be made manifest in the life of Giovan-Antonio Lappoli, which we are now about to write. This artist, on the death of his father Matteo, the latter a very well-reputed painter of his day,* was left with an easy income to the guardianship of his mother, under whose care he remained until his twelfth year. But having attained that age, Giovan-Antonio, not wishing to engage in any other calling than that of the painter, whereunto he was disposed, among other causes, by the desire he felt to follow the footsteps and to adopt the art of his father; Giovan-Antonio, I say, then commenced his studies under Domenico Pecori,† a painter of Arezzo who had for some time been the fellow disciple of his father Matteo, under Clemente;‡ and from this Pecori therefore, who was his earliest master, Giovan-Antonio now learned the first principles of design.

After having been for some time with Domenico Pecori, Giovan-Antonio, desiring to make better progress than he found himself doing under that master, and in a place where he had not sufficient opportunity for independent study, to which he was much inclined, began to turn his thoughts towards a settlement in Florence. And to this his intention Fortune proved herself not unfavourable, for having been left alone by the death of his mother, there remained only that he should give his sister in marriage, which he did while she was still very young, bestowing her on Leonardo Ricoveri, one of the first and richest citizens of Arezzo: that done, he departed from Arezzo and repaired to Florence.

* Of Matteo Lappoli there is some mention in the life of Don Bartolommeo. See vol. ii. p. 191, *et seq.*

† Of Domenico Pecori also there is mention, *ut supra*, p. 193, *et seq.*

‡ Don Bartolommeo, Abbot of San Clemente.

Arrived in the last-named city, Giovan-Antonio found that among all the many works he saw there, those of the masters who pleased him more than all besides, among the numerous artists who had laboured in that place, were Andrea del Sarto and Jacopo da Pontormo. He resolved to attach himself to one of the two, therefore; and while he was hesitating as to which of them he should select, the figures of Faith and Charity, executed by Pontormo over the portico of the Nunziata in Florence, were uncovered and given to public view;* this fully determined him to fix himself with Pontormo, whose manner appeared to him so beautiful that, as Pontormo was still young, Giovan-Antonio concluded that he would certainly surpass all the rising painters of his day, as was indeed, at that time, the firm conviction of every one.

Lappoli therefore, although he might have gone to study with Andrea, placed himself with Pontormo instead, and labouring with him, was impelled by a twofold incentive to almost incredible exertion. One of these was the advice of Giovan Maria, of Borgo-a-San Sepolcro, who was giving his attention to design and painting under the same master, and who, constantly advising Lappoli for his good, was the cause of his changing his manner, and adopting the best manner of Pontormo. The other motive (and this I consider to have been the most powerful) was the fact that he perceived Angelo, called Bronzino, to be much brought forward by Jacopo Pontormo on account of a certain amiable submissiveness and goodness, and of the unremitting diligence with which he copied the works of the master. Angelo designed, moreover, most beautifully, and acquitted himself in colouring also with so much credit, that he early gave hope of attaining in the future to that excellence and perfection which has been seen, and in our time still continues to be remarked in him.

Impelled by these incentives, and by his natural desire for knowledge, Giovan-Antonio remained for many months with Pontormo, occupied perpetually in designing and in copying the works of that master; all which he performed to such perfection, that when we consider the natural endowments by which he was aided, in his desire for excellence, the effect of competition, and the goodness of his master's manner, it cannot be doubted but that Lappoli, had he continued as he

* This painting has been almost entirely destroyed by time.

began, would certainly have rendered himself most excellent, and of this we have proof in certain drawings done with red chalk, which we have in our book. But the pleasures of the world, as we so frequently see, are too often the enemy of Art, as regards young people, by causing their minds to be turned from the pursuit thereof. He, therefore, who would effectually devote himself to the study of any art, science, or vocation whatsoever, must have no other companions than such as are of his own profession, while they should also be upright and well-conducted men. Now Giovan-Antonio, to the end that he might be under some guidance, had gone to live in the house of a certain Ser Raffaello, the son of the lame Sandro, and who was chaplain of San Lorenzo; to this person he paid a stipulated sum per annum, but the attention of Lappoli was in a great measure diverted from his studies in painting by that arrangement, for the priest, being of exceedingly social habits, and delighting much in pictures, music, and other diversions, many persons of distinction for ability were accustomed to resort to the apartments which he had at San Lorenzo; among others the musician, Messer Antonio da Lucca, an admirable performer on the lute, who was then but a youth, and from whom Giovan-Antonio acquired the art of playing on that instrument. It is true that the painter Rosso was likewise among the visitors of Ser Raffaello, as were others of the same vocation, but Lappoli did not associate with the men of that profession so much as with others, although he would have learned many valuable lessons from those of his own Art, while he might have amused himself at the same time.

In this state of things therefore, and by these impediments, the love of painting which had been manifested by Giovan-Antonio, became in a measure cooled; nevertheless, being a friend of Pier Francesco, the son of Jacopo di Sandro, who was a disciple of Andrea del Sarto, he would sometimes go to draw with him in the Scalzo, occasionally copying the paintings, but also drawing from the nude form. After a time too he began to give his attention to colouring, and worked on some of the pictures of Jacopo, proceeding afterwards to execute certain figures of the Virgin and other subjects for himself. He likewise painted various portraits from the life as for example those of the above-named

Messer Antonio da Lucca and Ser Raffaello, both of which are very good.

In the year 1525, and when the plague was raging in Rome, Perino del Vaga came from that city to Florence, and he also began to resort to the son of lame Sandro, the Priest, Ser Raffaello. Thereupon a strict intimacy was established, after a time, between Perino and Giovan Antonio Lappoli, by whom the great ability of Perino was instantly perceived, and who, feeling his love of painting re-awakened by the influence of that artist, abandoned all other pleasures, and, once more devoting himself to Art, resolved that when the pestilence had ceased, he would accompany Perino to Rome. But this intention was not carried into effect, seeing that the plague afterwards reached Florence, and they were both compelled, if they would not leave their lives in that city, to depart on the instant, which they did so soon as Perino had finished the picture of King Pharaoh's submersion in the Red Sea, which he painted in chiaro-scuro for Ser Raffaello, and during the execution of which, Giovan-Antonio was constantly present.

They departed from Florence wnen that work was completed, and Giovan-Antonio then returned to Arezzo, where he set himself to paint a picture on cloth by way of passing the time; the subject he chose was the Death of Orpheus, torn to pieces by the Bacchantes, and when the picture, which was in chiaro-scuro of the colour of bronze, after the manner which Giovan-Antonio had seen Perino adopt in the work abovementioned, was finished, he received considerable commendation for his work.* He afterwards undertook the completion of a painting which Domenico Pecori, who had formerly been his master, as we have said, had commenced for the nuns of Santa Margherita; and in this picture, which is now in the convent of those nuns,† Giovan Antonio painted an Annunciation. He also prepared cartoons for two portraits from the life, half lengths, which are very beautiful; they represent, the one Lorenzo d' Antonio di Giorgio, who was at that time a singularly handsome youth; and the other, Piero Guazzesi, a joyous companion and man of jovial life.‡

* The fate of this work is wholly unknown.—*Bottari.*

† Of this picture we can obtain no authentic intelligence.

‡ These cartoons have disappeared.—*Bottari.*

The plague having finally abated to a certain extent, Cipriano d'Anghiari, a rich man of Arezzo, who had caused a chapel, with columns and rich decorations of *Pietra Serena*, to be constructed in those days at the abbey of Santa Fiora, in Arezzo; Cipriano d' Anghiari, I say, having built this chapel, commissioned Giovan-Antonio to paint the altar-piece, the price whereof was to be a hundred crowns. Meanwhile the painter Rosso passed through Arezzo on his way to Rome, and taking up his abode with Lappoli, who was his intimate friend, then heard of the work which the latter had undertaken, and at the wish of Giovan-Antonio, Rosso prepared him a little sketch for the figures, which he made entirely nude, and of great beauty. Lappoli then commenced his work, imitating the design of Rosso, and representing in his picture the Visitation of Our Lady to Sant' Elizabetta, with a figure of the Almighty Father, and others of Angels under the form of children, in the Lunette above, copying the draperies and all other parts of the work, from life or natural objects. When this work was concluded, Giovan-Antonio was highly extolled, and received great commendation, more particularly for some of the heads, which he portrayed in an excellent manner, and much to his own advantage, from the life.*

But being fully persuaded that if he would attain to higher eminence in Art, he must leave Arezzo, the plague had no sooner ceased in Rome than Giovan-Antonio Lappoli determined to proceed thither ; knowing too that Perino del Vaga, Il Rosso, and many others of his friends had returned to that city, and were there executing numerous important works. While he was in this mind, an occasion presented itself, whereby he was enabled to fulfil his intention very commodiously, seeing that there arrived in Arezzo at that time the secretary of Pope Clement VII., Messer Paolo Valdarabrini, who returning to Rome in all speed from France, passed through Arezzo to see his brothers and kindred, who were abiding there. Him Giovan-Antonio proceeded to visit, when Messer Paolo, who earnestly desired that his native city of Arezzo should produce good men and distinguished artists in all vocations, and who desired to show what was

* The Visitation is still in its place, but the figures described as depicted above it are no longer there.—*Masselli.*

the genius imparted by the air and under the skies of his native place, to those who were born there, encouraged Lappoli, (although the latter required but little pressing), to accompany himself to Rome, where he promised to procure him all that could be required to promote his due study of the art to which he had devoted his attention.

Having proceeded to Rome with Messer Paolo accordingly, Giovan-Antonio soon found Perino, Rosso, and others of his friends; he was also made known, by the intervention of Messer Paolo, to Giulio Romano, Sebastiano Veneziano, and Francesco Mazzuoli of Parma,* who arrived in Rome about that time. Now Francesco was a devoted lover of music, and delighted in playing on the lute; he soon conceived a great liking for the society of Giovan-Antonio, and as they were almost constantly together, this caused the latter to paint and draw with much assiduity; thus turning to the best profit the opportunity which he now had of being the friend and associate of the most eminent painters in Rome. He had indeed already very nearly completed a picture of Our Lady, almost of the size of life, and which Messer Paolo intended to present to Pope Clement, by way of making Giovan-Antonio known to his Holiness; when, as Fortune, who so often sets herself to oppose the designs of men, would have it, there supervened that most unhappy sack of Rome, which began on the 6th of May, in the year 1527.

In this conjuncture, Messer Paolo, mounting on horseback, and with Giovan Antonio in his company, hurried to the Gate of the Santo Spirito, in the Trastevere, hoping to impede the entrance of Bourbon's troops on that side, at least for a certain time; but Messer Paolo was killed at the Gate, and Lappoli was taken prisoner by the Spaniards. The whole city was immediately afterwards given up to plunder, and the poor Giovan-Antonio not only lost all his property, but also the picture and the designs which he had in the chapel. He was, moreover, grievously tormented by the Spaniards, to the end that he might pay them a ransom; but one night he escaped in his shirt with some other captives, when, evil entreated, despairing of his life from the dangerous state of the roads, and incurring many dangers, he finally succeeded in reaching Arezzo. Here he was received by his

* Parmigiano.

uncle Giovanni Pollastra,* a very learned man, and had all the means of restoration supplied abundantly ; but want and terror had so heavily tried his strength, that he did not recover it without considerable difficulty.

In the same year there broke out so terrible a plague in Arezzo, that there died of that pestilence four hundred persons daily, and Giovan-Antonio, almost in despair, was again compelled to fly, when he was obliged to remain out of the city for many months, but sorely against his will. Ultimately, however, the epidemic did abate to such an extent that people could once more hold intercouse with each other ; and a certain Fra Guasparri, a monk of San Francesco, who was at that time guardian of the convent belonging to that brotherhood in Arezzo, commissioned Giovan-Antonio to paint the picture for the high altar of their church ; the subject chosen was the Adoration of the Magi, and the price agreed on a hundred crowns. Then Lappoli, hearing that Il Rosso was at Borgoa San Sepolcro (he having also fled from Rome), and was there engaged on the picture for the Company of the Santa Croce—hearing this, I say, Giovan-Antonio went to visit him, causing various things, of which he knew that Il Rosso stood in need, to be carried to him from Arezzo, for Il Rosso, too, had lost everything in the sack of Rome, and offering him many other civilities; after which he obtained from Il Rosso a very beautiful design for the picture which he had engaged to paint for Fra Guasparri. Having secured this, Giovan-Antonio returned to Arezzo, and began his work, which he completed according to the conditions of his agreement, within a year from the day of his having received the commission, and that in such a manner as to secure him very high commendation.† This design of Rosso's afterwards came into the possession of Giorgio Vasari, from whom it passed to that of the very reverend Don Vincenzio Borghini, Director of the Foundling Hospital in Florence, who still has it in his book of designs, the collected works of different painters.

* Bottari is of opinion that the Translation of the Sixth Book of the Æneid, printed at Venice by the Volpini, in 1540, under the name of Giovanni Pollio, was by this Pollastra, whom Vasari mentions in the life of Rosso likewise, see vol. iii. p. 314.

† Still in the church, but has suffered very considerably.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

No long time after having completed this undertaking, Giovan-Antonio became surety, to the amount of three hundred crowns, on account of certain pictures, which Il Rosso had engaged to paint in the Madonna delle Lagrime, at Arezzo, and for this matter Giovan-Antonio was put to great trouble, seeing that Il Rosso having departed without finishing the work, as we have related in his life, the sum was demanded from Lappoli, who was compelled to make it good. Nay, had he not been assisted by his friends, but more particularly by Giorgio Vasari, by whom the part which Rosso had completed was estimated at three hundred crowns, Giovan-Antonio would have been almost ruined, when he had intended nothing worse than to promote the honour and advantage of his native city.

Having got over that misfortune, Lappoli painted a picture in oil, by commission from the Abbot Camaiani di Bibbiena; the subject of this work was Our Lady, who is accompanied by San Bartolommeo, and the picture was intended for a chapel in the subterranean church of Santa Maria del Sasso, a monastery of the Friars Preachers, in Casentino. In this work Lappoli acquitted himself exceedingly well, imitating the manner of Il Rosso; and this caused him to be employed by a Brotherhood in Bibbiena, who desired to have a Gonfalon, or banner, painted, to be borne in procession, and which they commissioned Lappoli to prepare. On one side of this Gonfalon is a nude figure of Christ, bearing his Cross on his shoulder, and pouring blood into a chalice; on the other side is an Annunciation, said to be one of the best paintings ever executed by Lappoli.

In the year 1534, the Duke Alessandro de' Medici was expected to visit Arezzo, and the Aretines, with Luigi Guicciardini, commissary of that city, determined to have two comedies performed in honour of the Duke. One was arranged under the care of a society calling themselves the Umidi, and consisting of the noblest and most distinguished young men of the city; the scenery and preparations of this comedy, the story whereof had relation to the Intronati of Siena, were executed by Niccolò Soggi, who was much extolled for the same, and the comedy was admirably recited, to the infinite delight and satisfaction of all who beheld it.

The second comedy was undertaken by another society of

young men, also nobles, and who called themselves the company of the Infiammati; and these, desirous of receiving equal praise with the Umidi, and acting in competition with them, chose for recitation a work by the Aretine poet Messer Giovanni Pollastra, which was performed under the guidance of the author himself; the scenery and preparations they confided to Giovan-Antonio Lappoli, who acquitted himself to perfection, and so the comedy was recited to the great honour of that society, as well as of the whole city.

And here I will not omit to mention an amusing fancy of the above-named poet, who was certainly a very ingenious person. While the preparations for these and other festivals were in progress, it chanced that the young men of the two societies, moved by their rivalry in the matter of the comedies, and by other causes, did more than once come to blows, to say nothing of the very frequent disputes that arose among them; whereupon Pollastra, proceeding very secretly to work, caused four of these young men, who had grievously offended each other many times in the city, to come forth with naked swords, and each with his shield on his arm, at a time when the gentlemen and ladies, with all the people, had assembled at the place where the comedies were to be recited. These all feigned to attack each other with great outcries, and to be on the point of killing each other, he who first appeared having his temples painted to represent blood, as of one wounded, and crying, as he rushed upon the scene, "Come forth, traitors." At these words the whole assembly rose in alarm, men began to lay hand on their weapons, and the kinsmen of the youths, who seemed to be dealing fearful blows, and on the point of slaying each other, came hurrying to the stage. But he who had first appeared then turned to the other young men and said, "Calm yourselves, gentlemen, and put your swords into your scabbards, for I have taken no harm, and although we are all at daggers drawn, and you fancy that the comedy will fail to be performed in consequence, yet it will certainly take place, and I, wounded as I am, will now commence the prologue." After this jest, which had taken by surprise, not only the spectators but the performers, also, with the exception of the four instructed by Pollastra to play it off, the comedy was begun and was so admirably recited, that in the next year 1540, when the Signor Duke Cosimo and

the Signora Duchess Leonora, were in Arezzo, Giovan-Antonio, preparing all the scenery anew, was compelled to have it again recited before their Excellencies, the stage being erected on the Piazza of the Episcopate. Nor did those who recited give less satisfaction to the Signor Duke than they had done on the occasion of the previous performance, nay, rather they pleased him so greatly that they were invited to Florence during the following Carnival, to the end that they might once again perform their comedy in that city.

In the preparation of these scenic decorations, I say then that Lappoli acquitted himself exceedingly well, receiving high commendations for the same. His next undertaking was a decoration in the form of a Triumphal Arch adorned with historical representations, the colour of bronze, which was erected at the altar of the Madonna delle Chiavi. Giovan-Antonio had now settled himself in Arezzo, and having a wife and children, he determined to roam no more, but living on his revenues and on the proceeds of such offices as in that city are conferred on the citizens thereof, he thus continued without working to any great extent. It is true that about this time he did make an attempt to obtain the commission for two pictures which were to be painted in Arezzo, one for the church and brotherhood of San Rocco, the other for the High Altar of San Domenico, but he did not succeed, seeing that the commissions for both were adjudged to Giorgio Vasari, his design having given more satisfaction than any one of all the many others that were made for those works.

For the brotherhood of the Ascension in Arezzo, Giovan-Antonio painted a Gonfalon, or banner, to be borne in procession; the subject of the one side is the Resurrection of Our Lord, around whose sepulchre are seen many soldiers; and on the other side is the Ascension of the Saviour into Heaven, with the Madonna in the midst of the twelve apostles, a very good and carefully executed work.* In the Castello† della Pieve also, Giovan-Antonio Lappoli painted the Visitation of Our Lady with numerous saints around her, in a picture in oil; and in a picture for the deanery of San Stefano he painted another figure of the Virgin with other

* This order was suppressed in the year 1785, when the Gonfalon was lost.

† Now Città della Pieve.

saints. The two last-named works were executed by Lappoli in a much better manner than those previously painted by him, and the cause of this improvement was that he had enjoyed the opportunity of examining at his entire leisure many works in relief and casts of statues by Michelagnolo, with various works of antiquity which had been brought by Giorgio Vasari to Arezzo, and were there to be seen in his house Other pictures of the Virgin, by his hand with some on other subjects, are scattered about Arezzo, and in the neighbouring places ; there is more particularly a Judith placing the head of Holofernes in a basket, which is held towards her by a serving woman, her handmaiden ; this is now in the possesion of Messer Bernardetto Minerbetti, bishop of Arezzo, by whom Giovan-Antonio was greatly favoured, as indeed are all other artists of ability. Messer Benedetto had, besides other works by Lappoli, an almost entirely nude figure of San Giovanni in the Wilderness ; the saint is depicted as a youth and the work is much prized by the bishop, nor undeservedly so, seeing that it is an exceedingly good one.

Finally, perceiving that perfection in art is to be attained in no other way than by an early and effectual study of the nude form, with careful endeavours to cultivate ample powers of invention—perceiving these, I say, to be the only means whereby the difficulties of art are overcome, and facility in execution obtained, Giovan-Antonio repented him of the hours which he had spent, not in the studies proper to his art, but in the pursuit of pleasure ; discovering as he did, that in old age men cannot effect that which they might very well have performed in their youth. But though conscious, to a certain extent, of the error thus committed, he was perhaps not fully aware of it until having at length, and when advanced in years resigned himself to study, he beheld Giorgio Vasari complete an oil painting, fourteen braccia long and six and a half high, in forty-two days ; the subject of this work, which was the marriage of Esther and of the King Ahasuerus, requiring more than sixty figures, all larger than life. It was painted by Vasari for the refectory* belonging to the monks of the abbey of Santa Fiore in Arezzo.

* The Refectory wherein this picture was painted is now in the possession of the Literary Society, called *Del Petrarca.* Vasari's large picture is therefore in good hands.

While Giorgio was occupied with this painting, Giovan-Antonio sometimes went to see him work, and remaining to converse with him, would observe, "Now do I perceive that it is by continual study and labour alone that men obtain facility, and escape the disadvantage of a laborious and painful manner in our art, which does not descend upon us as doth the Holy Ghost." *

Giovan-Antonio did not work much in fresco, finding the colours too liable to change, but there is, nevertheless, a picture by his hand in this manner, over the church of Murello, a Pietà namely, with two little nude figures of Angels, which are tolerably well executed.† Giovan-Antonio was a man of good judgment, and not unpractised in the ways of the world. In the year 1552 he fell sick of an extremely virulent fever, and being then in the sixtieth year of his age, he sank beneath the violence of that disease, whereof he ultimately died.

A disciple of Giovan-Antonio Lappoli was Bartolommeo Torri, who was born of a not undistinguished family in Arezzo, and who, having repaired to Rome, there placed himself under that most excellent miniaturist, Don Giulio Clovio. Bartolommeo did indeed devote himself so earnestly to drawing and the study of the nude figure, but more particularly to anatomy, that he became a truly able artist, and was accounted the best designer in Rome. And with respect to the anatomical studies of Bartolommeo, Don Silvano Razzi told me no long time since that Don Giulio Clovio had assured him, after having very highly extolled the youth, that he would not have suffered him to leave his dwelling, had it not been for the grievous impurities occasioned by those pursuits in anatomy; but that he had his rooms so constantly filled with limbs of men and other fragments of the human frame, which he kept even under his bed, as to poison the house withal.

Bartolommeo neglected himself also in other respects, and thinking that to live in the fashion of a would-be philosopher,

* This mode of expression has been justly censured by the Padre, Della Valle, but is frequently heard from the people in Italy, when they wish to imply that an object is not to be attained without labour.

† The Church has been turned into dwelling-houses, and the work of Lappoli destroyed.

dirty and ill-regulated, while he shunned the society of his fellows, was the way to render himself a great man, and to secure immortality, he brought himself to an evil end; for nature cannot always support the repeated injuries which men thus constituted will sometimes offer her. Having become very ill, therefore, while yet but in his twenty-fifth year, Bartolommeo returned to Arezzo in the hope of obtaining a cure, and with the full intention of taking such measures as might be required for the restoration of his health. But he did not maintain his purpose, for he could not prevail on himself to discontinue his wonted studies, nor to amend the irregularities of his life; in four months, therefore, and but a short time after the death of Giovan-Antonio Lappoli, Bartolommeo died also, thus bearing his master company.

The loss of this young man caused infinite grief to all those of his native city, where his remarkable commencement had awakened hopes that he would do the highest honour, not only to Arezzo, but to all Tuscany. Nor indeed can any man who examines the drawings which he made while still but a youth, fail to regard these works with amazement, or restrain his compassion as he reflects on the early death of the artist.

THE FLORENTINE PAINTER, NICCOLO SOGGI.

[BORN 1474—DIED 1554.]

AMONG the many disciples of Pietro Perugino, there was none, after Raphael of Urbino, who was more zealous or more persistent in his studies than Niccolò Soggi, whose life we are now about to write. This artist was born in Florence, and was a son of Jacopo Soggi, a decent and upright, but not very rich man. At a later period Niccolò was for some time in the service of Messer Antonio dal Monte, wherefore his father Jacopo, having a farm at Valdichiana, and passing the greater part of his time there, came by the vicinity of their dwellings to have no little intercourse with the above-named Messer Anton di Monte.

This Jacopo then, perceiving in his son much inclination for painting, determined to place him with Pietro Perugino,

and in a short time the continual study of Niccolò enabled him to acquire so much facility, that Pietro was early enabled to avail himself of his assistance for the undertakings which he had in hand, and this he did to the no small advantage of Niccolò, who so zealously devoted himself to the studies of perspective and to drawing from nature, that he ultimately rendered himself truly excellent in both. Niccolò likewise gave much attention to the preparation of models in clay and wax, over which he afterwards laid parchment, softened by steeping, and covered the whole with draperies; but this practice had the effect of imparting a certain dryness to his manner, insomuch that while he lived, he constantly held to the same, nor could he ever divest himself thereof, notwithstanding all the pains which he took for that purpose.

The first work performed by Niccolò after the death of his master Pietro, was a picture in oil, which was destined to adorn the back of an altar in the Hospital for Women, founded by Bonifazio Lupi, in the Via Sangallo, at Florence. The subject chosen was an Annunciation, and there is a building in this picture drawn in perspective, and exhibiting arches and a groined ceiling rising above the columns, after the manner of Pietro Perugino.*

In the year 1512, and after having painted numerous pictures of the Virgin for the houses of the citizens,† with other works of minor importance, such as are in daily request, Niccolò Soggi heard that great things were in process of accomplishment in Rome, wherefore, desiring much to improve in his art, and thinking also that he might obtain the means of laying aside some money by his project, he departed from Florence, and repaired at once to Rome. Here he proceeded to visit Messer Antonio di Monte, who had then become a Cardinal, and by whom he was not only amicably received, but instantly set to work. The time was the commencement of the pontificate of Leo X.; and the commission thus received was a large Escutcheon of the arms of that Pope, to be painted in fresco on the façade of the palace (where is the statue of Maestro Pasquino), and to be placed between the arms of the Roman People, and those of the Cardinal Messer Antonio di

* Still to be seen in the Church of the above-named hospital.—*Masselli.*

† A specimen of these Madonna pictures may be seen in the Pitti Palace.—*Ibid.*

Monte above-named. In this work Niccolò did not acquit himself very well, and perceiving, from the effect produced on certain figures, both nude and clothed, which form the ornaments of that shield, that the study of lifeless models is injurious to him who desires to obtain a good manner, he determined to labour for the remedy of that defect. When, therefore, the fresco was uncovered, and, being given to public view, was found not to exhibit the excellence which many had expected, Niccolò set himself to paint a picture in oil. The subject of this work was the martyr Santa Prassedia, pressing blood from a sponge into a vase; and this he executed with so much care, as in part to recover the honour, which it appeared to him that he had lost by the above-mentioned escutcheon of arms. The picture was painted by commission from the Cardinal di Monte before-named, who was Titular of Santa Prassedia, and by whose command it was placed over an altar in the midst of that church, beneath which is a well filled with the blood of the Holy Martyrs;* and this site was chosen with much judgment, since the picture alludes to the place where the blood of those martyrs was shed.†

When this work was completed, Niccolò painted another picture, about three quarters of a braccio high, for the same Cardinal, his patron; a Madonna that is to say, with the Divine Child in her arms, and the figure of San Giovanni, also a child; he added a landscape so well and carefully executed, and the whole work is indeed so delicately finished, that it has the appearance of being in miniature. This picture, which was one of the best works ever produced by Niccolò Soggi, was for many years retained in the apartment of that prelate, but at a later period the Cardinal arriving in Arezzo, and being entertained in the Abbey of Santa Fiore, a place which belongs to the Black Friars of San Benedetto, presented the picture to the Sacristy of that monastery, in acknowledgment of the many courtesies which he had received from the brethren thereof. Here it has ever since been preserved with much care for its

* The fate of this picture is not known.—Bottari, *Roman Edition of Vasari*, 1759.

† See Mrs. Jameson. *Sacred and Legendary Art*, vol. ii. p. 243, *et seq.*

merit as a picture, and also as a memorial of the prelate by whom it was presented.*

Niccolò himself repaired to Arezzo with Cardinal di Monte, and remaining almost ever afterwards in that city, then made acquaintance with Domenico Pecori, who was there engaged with the picture of the Circumcision of Christ, which he painted for the Brotherhood of the Trinity; the friendship between these artists subsequently became so intimate, that Niccolò painted for Domenico in that picture a building in perspective, which exhibits a ceiling supported by columns and arches, and decorated with rosettes, according to the custom of that time; a portion of the work, which was then held to be exceedingly beautiful. For the same Domenico, Niccolò Soggi likewise painted on canvas and in oil, a picture of a circular form, which was destined to serve as a canopy, to be borne by the Brotherhood of Arezzo; the subject depicted thereon was the Madonna, with the people of the city in her protection; but the work was consumed by fire, during a festival held in the church of San Francesco, as I have related in the life of Domenico Pecori.†

Niccolò afterwards received the commission for painting a chapel in the above-named church of San Francesco, the second, that is to say, after entering the building, and on the right hand. There he painted the figure of Our Lady, with San Giovanni Battista, San Bernardo, Sant' Antonio, and San Francesco, all in tempera; three Angels hovering in the air, and singing, with a figure of the Almighty Father in the Tympan which surmounts the picture, complete the work which Niccolò executed wholly in tempera, and, as it were, with the point of the pencil. The whole work may, nevertheless, be considered labour lost, since the strength of the tempera has caused it to peel away; but this Niccolò hazarded for the sake of trying new methods. Ultimately he acknowledged that the true mode of mural painting, was to work in fresco, and seizing the first opportunity that presented itself, he undertook to paint in fresco a chapel in the church of Sant' Agostino in that city;‡ the chapel, which is beside the

* Probably taken away during the French domination in Italy.

† Vasari gives no separate life of "Domenico Pecori," but names him in that of Giovan-Antonio Lappoli, and others; see *ante*, p. 193.

‡ Arezzo.

door namely, and to the left of him who enters the church. In this chapel, the commission for which Niccolò received from one Scamarra, a maker of furnaces, our artist painted a figure of the Madonna seen in the air, with the people of a city beneath, and San Domenico and San Francesco, both kneeling: but the best part of all that he did in this chapel, was a figure of San Rocco, which he depicted on the front thereof.*

Now it chanced that the Aretine, Domenico Ricciardi, was greatly pleased with the chapel above-mentioned, and possessing one himself in the church of the Madonna delle Lagrime, he gave the altar-piece of the same to be painted by Niccolò, who, having laid hand to the work, depicted the Nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ therein, executing the picture with infinite care and forethought; it is true, that he loitered a long time over it, but he finished it so finely that his delays may be excused: nay, rather, he merits very great commendation, seeing that the work is indeed a very beautiful one. The pains he has taken with every part are indeed almost incredible, the most minute trifles offer evidence of careful consideration; a ruined building painted in perspective, close beside the cabin wherein are the Divine Child and the Virgin, may be more particularly mentioned:† the heads of San Giuseppe likewise, with some others in this work, may be enumerated as portraits taken from the life: the painter, Stagio‡ Sassoli, a friend of Niccolò, with Papino della Pieve, his disciple, are among the number. Of the latter it may be remarked that, had he not died young, he would, without doubt, have done the greatest honour both to himself and his country. Three Angels, singing as they hover in the air, are also executed in so good a manner, that they would of themselves suffice to prove the ability of Niccolò Soggi, and to give evidence of the patient endurance with which he laboured at this work even to the last.

Niccolò had no sooner completed this chapel of the Madonna delle Lagrime, than he received an application from

* In the latter part of the eighteenth century, as we are informed by the Signor Raimondo Zaballi of Arezzo, the church was rebuilt, and the works of Soggi were then destroyed.

† Still in the Church of the Madonna della Lagrime, in Arezzo.

‡ See vol. iii. p. 70.

the Brotherhood of Santa Maria della Neve on the Monte San Savino: the men of this company desiring that he should paint them a picture to commemorate the snow, which, falling on the spot whereon stands the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, in Rome, on the 5th day of August, gave ocasion to the erection of that edifice. This work Niccolò completed for the persons above-mentioned with much care, and afterwards executed a painting in fresco at Marciano, which was very highly extolled.

In the year 1524, Messer Baldo Magini, having caused Antonio, the brother of Giuliano da Sangallo, to construct a marble tabernacle in the church of the Madonna delle Carceri, in the territory of Prato, the said Antonio thought to manage in such sort that Messer Baldo should give Niccolò Soggi the commission for the picture which was to adorn that tabernacle; a structure furnished by Antonio with columns, an architrave, cornice, and round arches, all of much beauty. The architect Sangallo had formed a friendship with Niccolò when he worked at Monte San Savino, in the palace of the Cardinal di Monte above-named, and now, having presented him to Messer Baldo Magini, the latter although he had intended to have the tabernacle painted by Andrea del Sarto, as w have related in another place,* resolved at the request and by the advice of Antonio, to entrust the same to Niccolò Soggi. The artist commenced the work accordingly, and laboured with all his power to produce a meritorious performance, but he did not succeed by any means, seeing that, the care bestowed upon the painting excepted, there is neither excellence of design nor any other quality that very greatly deserves praise, to be perceived in it; for Niccolò, proceeding as he did with that hard manner of his, and toiling away over his models of clay and wax, has almost always brought his labours to a painful and displeasing conclusion.

It is true that there was no man who would do more than Niccolò, as regarded the labours of art, nor was there one who worked with more love and diligence, and as he knew that none . . . . .† he could never for many

* In the Life of Andrea del Sarto. See vol. iii. p. 219, *et seq.*

† This blank space occurred in the text of the first edition, and was not made good in the second, which are the only editions published under the eye of Vasari himself, we leave it therefore as we find it.

years persuade himself that others surpassed him in excellence. In this work, then, we have a figure of the Almighty Father, sending the crown of chastity and humility to the Madonna by the hands of angels, who surround the Virgin, some of them playing various instruments.* In this picture Niccolò depicted the portrait of Messer Baldo kneeling at the feet of the Bishop, Sant' Ubaldo, and on the other side he painted a figure of San Giuseppe. These two figures are placed one on each hand of the Madonna, which has worked miracles in that place. At a later period, Niccolò painted the portrait of Messer Baldo Magini from the life, in a picture three braccia high; he stands upright, having in his hand the church of San Fabriano, which is in Prato, and was bestowed by himself on the Canonicate belonging to the Chapter of the Deanery: the portrait was indeed depicted for that Chapter, which caused it to be placed in the Sacristy,† as a mark of gratitude to Messer Baldo, and of acknowledgment for the benefit received at his hands: and this was a distinction well merited by that certainly remarkable man, who with admirable judgment, conferred great favours on that the principal church of his native place, one so much renowned too, on account of the Girdle of Our Lady, which is preserved therein. This portrait was one of the best paintings ever executed by Niccolò Soggi.

There is a small picture in the possession of the Brotherhood of San Pier Martire which has its seat on the Piazza of San Domenico in Prato, and which is also believed by many to be by Niccolò Soggi, in which there are many portraits from the life, but in my opinion this work was executed, if indeed it be by Niccolo, before any of those which have been mentioned above.‡

* In 1774, when the *Ristretto delle Memorie della Città di Prato*, &c., was published, this picture had been removed to the work-rooms of the building, where it then was, but it is not now to be found there, nor can its ultimate fate be ascertained.

† Still in the Sacristy of the Cathedral, which was then called the Deanery, Prato not having at that time attained the rank of a city.

‡ From the learned and courteous Signor Ferdinando Baldanzi of Prato, we (Florentine Editors) learn that the subject of this work which is still in the choir of the Church of the Capuchins at Prato, is the Virgin and Child, with figures of St. Peter the Martyr and St. Jerome, kneeling beside her; these being the only figures of which it is possible to suppose that they were taken from the life.

After these works Niccolò departed from Prato, where dwelt a young artist, a native of that place, Domenico Giuntalocchi namely, who had studied the principles of the art of painting under his discipline, but although a youth of good genius, yet, having acquired the manner of Niccolò Soggi, he never attained to much distinction in painting, as will be shown hereafter. But returning to Niccolò himself, he departed, I say, from Prato, and repaired to Florence, proposing to remain there, but perceiving that all the works of importance in his art were given to the better and more eminent painters, and that his manner did not approach that of Andrea del Sarto, of Pontormo, or of Rosso, he determined to return once more to Arezzo, in which city he had many friends, greater credit, a higher reputation, and fewer rivals. Arrived there accordingly, Niccolò immediately made known to Messer Giuliano Bacci, one of the principal inhabitants of that city, a certain desire which he had formed; that Arezzo namely, should thenceforward be his country, and that he would therefore gladly undertake some work which might afford him an opportunity for the prolonged exercise of the labours of his art, and whereby he might be enabled to render obvious to the people of Arezzo the abilities which he possessed in art.

Messer Giuliano therefore, who was an ingenious man, well pleased to promote the embellishment of his native city, and rejoicing on that account to see artists abounding in the same, did consequently proceed in such sort with the men who were at that time ruling in the Brotherhood of the Annunciation, that they, having just then constructed an extensive vaulting in their church, with the purpose of having it painted, agreed to give the arches of one side to Niccolò, with the further intention of permitting him to paint the remainder, in the event of the part then confided to him being completed to the satisfaction of the men of that Brotherhood.

Devoting himself to this work therefore, with the most careful study, in two years Niccolò had painted the half or one arch only, and no more. Here he depicted the Tiburtine Sybil, who is pointing out the Virgin in heaven, with the Divine Child in her arms, to the Emperor Octavian, and that Emperor is adoring the Madonna and Saviour with great

reverence. In the figure of Octavian, Niccolò Soggi has given the portrait of Messer Giuliano Bacci, and in that of a tall youth wearing a red vestment, is the likeness of his disciple Domenico Giuntalocchi, other portraits of the artist's friends also appear in this work;* and upon the whole he acquitted himself in such a manner as respected the picture, that he did not displease the men of that company nor the other inhabitants of the city.

It is true that every one was tired of seeing him so long over his work and labouring so painfully with all that he did, but notwithstanding that circumstance he would without doubt have been appointed to complete the remainder, had not this been prevented by the arrival in Arezzo of the distinguished Florentine painter, Il Rosso, to whom, as being put forward by the Aretine painter Giovan Antonio Lappoli, and by Messer Giovanni Pollastra, as we have related elsewhere,† the whole of the work remaining was adjudged, with various marks of favour. This displeased Niccolò Soggi so greatly, that if he had not taken a wife the year before, and then become the father of a son, for which cause he was fixed in Arezzo, there is no question but that he would have instantly departed from the place.

Finally, however, he became pacified, and proceeded to execute a painting for the church of Sargiano, a place situate at the distance of two miles from Arezzo, and where a community of Barefooted Friars have their abode. In this picture is the Virgin received into heaven, whither she is borne by numerous angels in the form of boys; beneath is St. Thomas receiving the girdle, and standing around are San Francesco, San Ludovico, San Giovanni Battista, and Sant' Elizabetta, queen of Hungary. In some of these figures, but more especially in certain of the children, Niccolò Soggi acquitted himself exceedingly well, as he did also in the predella, where he painted certain stories, the figures of which are small and tolerably well done. In the convent of the Nuns of the Murate in that city, who are of the same order with the Barefooted Friars, our artist also painted a Dead

* "Over which," remarks a compatriot of our author, "the profane brush of the white-washer has now passed."

† See the *Lettere Pittoriche*, tom. ii, *lettera* xvii., written by Vasari himself to Pollastra. See also *ante*, the lives of Rosso and of Lappoli.

Christ with the Maries, and this, for a work in fresco, is very well executed. In the abbey of Santa Fiore, which also belongs to the Black Friars, he painted a picture on canvas and in oil, behind the crucifix which is placed on the high altar; this represents Christ praying in the Garden, with the angel, who offers him consolation at the same time that he points to the Cup of the Passion, without doubt a good and beautiful work.* For the Benedictine nuns of Arezzo, who belong to the order of Camaldoli, Niccolò painted a figure of the Virgin on the arch over a door by which they enter their convent. The Madonna was accompanied by San Benedetto and Santa Caterina, but when the church was enlarged this work was destroyed.

Niccolò Soggi frequently passed his time at the Castello of Marciano, in the Valdichiana, where he lived, partly on the proceeds of some property which he possessed in that place, and partly on such gains as he could make there. Here then he commenced a picture, the subject of which was the Dead Christ, with certain other works, over which he occupied himself for some time, and meanwhile, having the youth above-named, Domenico Giuntalocchi, whom he loved as a son, with him, he took great pains to instruct him in his art, teaching him the laws of perspective, making him draw from nature, and labouring to render him excellent in his vocation. In these respects therefore, Domenico succeeded admirably well, showing considerable genius and much judgment, and all this Niccolò did in great measure from the affection which he bore to that youth; but also in the hope that as he was then approaching age, he might thus have some one with him who might assist him in his labours, and in the last days of his life might repay him for all those cares and that affection. But Niccolò was of a truth most friendly towards all; of a sincere and upright nature, he was more particularly disposed to aid those whom he saw to be labouring for distinction in art, and whatever he knew he would impart, more than willingly, to every one.

Now it chanced on a certain time, when Niccolò had returned from Marciano into Arezzo, and after Domenico had departed from him, that the men of the Brotherhood of

* This work is believed to have perished in the restoration of the Church.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

the *Corpo di Cristo*, in the last-named city, had a picture to give, and which was to be painted for the high altar of the church of San Domenico. This Niccolò desired to paint, but so did also Giorgio Vasari, who was then but a youth, when Niccolò comported himself in a manner which few perhaps among those who exercise our art would have imitated. And the matter was on this wise: Niccolò, being himself a member of that Brotherhood, and perceiving that many among them, for the sake of encouraging and putting forward Giorgio, were content that he should receive that commission, remarking also, that Giorgio himself had a very great desire for the same,—Niccolò, I say, resolved, as he beheld the zeal and industry of the youth, to postpone his own necessities and wishes, proceeding in such sort that his companions should give the work to Giorgio Vasari, and looking more to the profit to be derived from that picture by the young artist, than to his own advantage or interest, and as he determined that it should be, so exactly did the men of his Brotherhood decide.

Domenico Giuntalocchi had meanwhile arrived in Rome, where fortune was so favourable to him that, having been made known to Don Martino, ambassador from the King of Portugal, he became attached to his train, and painted for him a picture on canvas, comprising some twenty portraits from the life, likenesses namely, of the ambassador's friends and followers, with Don Martino himself in the midst of them, and all represented as engaged in conversation; a work which pleased Don Martino so greatly that he considered Domenico to be the first painter in the world.

Don Ferrante Gonzaga being then made Viceroy of Sicily, and intending to fortify the towns of that viceroyalty, desired to have a young man at his hand who might design, and put on paper for him, all that he was daily planning, wherefore he wrote to Don Martino, requesting the latter to provide a youth who might be capable of doing this, and who would also be willing to enter his service: this person Don Martino was then to send to Don Ferrante with the least possible delay. Thereupon Don Martino first despatched certain designs by the hand of Domenico to Don Ferrante, among them a Colossus, which had been engraved on copper for Antonio Salamanca by Girolamo Fagiuoli of

Bologna, but which Domenico had drawn in perspective; with an old man placed in a child's go-cart, designed by the same and engraved with the inscription, "I am learning still." Don Martino likewise sent a small picture containing the portrait of himself, by Domenico Giuntalocchi, and shortly afterwards he despatched the young artist in person, as was the desire of Don Ferrante, whom the works of Domenico had greatly pleased

Arrived in Sicily, there was assigned to Domenico Giuntalocchi a very honourable stipend, with a horse and servant also, at the cost of Don Ferrante; nor had any long time elapsed, before he was set to work on the buildings and fortresses of Sicily, insomuch that having gradually abandoned painting, he betook himself to a different calling, and which for a time was more advantageous to him. Being a man of ready observation and invention, he employed the services of men well inured to heavy labour, collected beasts of burden with people to hold them in charge, and using these to convey sand, chalk, &c., he caused furnaces to be constructed, and in a short time had amassed money enough to purchase offices in Rome,* of which he bought at one time

* The reader, who may desire an elucidation of this expression, "to purchase offices in Rome," will find the same in the works of the German historian, Ranke, who, among other remarks on the subject, has a passage to the following purport:—"There has doubtless been justice in the complaints raised against the exactions of Rome during the fifteenth century, but it is also true that of the proceeds, a small part only passed into the hands of the Pope. . . . . There is no doubt that money reached the Court, if not in those extravagant sums that many have believed to have been paid into its exchequer, yet to a very considerable extent; but arrived so far, it was at once dispersed through channels innumerable. A large portion, for example, was absorbed by the revenues of *those offices which it had long been the practice to dispose of by sale.* The income of these offices was principally derived from perquisites and fees, and but slight restraint was imposed on the exactions of those who had purchased them. The price at which each of these appointments was re-sold, as it became vacant, was all that accrued to the papal coffers.

"If then the Pontiff desired to undertake any costly enterprize, he was compelled to find some extraordinary expedient for procuring the means. Jubilees and indulgences were thus most welcome auxiliaries; incited by these, the piety of the faithful secured him an ample resource. He had also another mode of gaining supplies at his need. He had but to *create new offices*, when the sale of these was sure to afford him a respectable amount. This was an extraordinary sort of loan, and one for which the Church paid heavy interest, which had to be provided for by an increase of the imposts.

to the value of two thousand crowns, with others besides, which he obtained no long time after.

Being subsequently made keeper of the wardrobe to Don Ferrante, when that Signor was removed from the vice-royalty of Sicily to the government of Milan, Domenico accompanied him to the last-named place, and receiving employment among the fortifications of that district by much industry, and being also rather penurious than otherwise, Domenico Giuntalocchi rendered himself very rich. But what is more, he attained to such credit that in the government of Milan almost everything was regulated by his will. Hearing this, Niccolò Soggi, who was still in Arezzo, and had now become old and needy, without having any work to do, went to seek Domenico at Milan, thinking that as he had not failed Domenico when the latter was a youth, so Domenico would not now fail him, but on the contrary, availing himself of his services, since he had many persons in his employ, would certainly be able to assist him, as he ought to do in that his poverty-stricken age.

But Niccolò discovered to his sorrow that the human judgment in promising itself too much from others very frequently deceives itself, and that men who change their condition, change also for the most part their nature and wishes also. Arrived in Milan, he found Domenico in so much grandeur, that he experienced the utmost difficulty in getting speech of him; but when, after enduring no little pains, he had done so, the poor Niccolò related to him all his sorrows, and entreated earnestly that Domenico, by giving

The practice had long prevailed: an authentic register existing in the house of Chigi enumerates nearly 650 saleable offices, of which the income amounted to about 100,000 crowns. These were for the most part Procurators, Registrars, Abbreviators, Correctors, Notaries, Secretaries, nay, even Messengers and Doorkeepers, whose increased numbers were continually raising the cost of a Bull or a Brief. It was indeed for that very purpose that their offices took the particular form assigned to them. As to the duties connected with each, these were little or nothing. . . . . Most curious were the titles that some of these offices bore. There was the '*College of the Hundred Janissaries*,' for example. There were also *Stradiotes* and *Mamelukes*, who were however afterwards suppressed; with *Cautioners*, adds Onuphrius Panormus, "without whom no papers were considered complete." A *College of twenty-six Secretaries* was founded by Innocent VIII.; Alexander VI. named eighty *Writers of Briefs*; and Julius II. added a hundred *Writers of Archives*," all purely sinecure.

him employment and availing himself of his services, would thus come to his aid. Then the latter, not remembering, or rather not chosing to recall, with what affection he had been brought up by Niccolò, even as though he had been a son of his own, presented him with the pitiful misery of a small sum of money, and got rid of him as quickly as he possibly could. The poor Niccolò returned to Arezzo therefore, grievously malcontent, perceiving that, whereas he had hoped with cost and pains, to be rearing himself a son for his old age, he had done little short of making himself an enemy.

To obtain the means of existence therefore, he continued labouring, and executed such works as fell into his hands, as he had been doing for many years previously. Among the many things thus produced was a picture painted on cloth for the Commune of Monte Sansavino, whereon he depicted that place with the Madonna in the air above it, and two Saints beside her; this was destined to be fixed on an altar in the church of the Madonna at Vertigli, which belongs to the order of the Camaldoline Monks, and is at no great distance from the Monte, where it has pleased and still pleases the Lord, daily to perform numerous miracles and to confer many favours, on those who there recommend themselves to the Queen of heaven.

Julius III. being then created high Pontiff, Niccolò Soggi, who had been much in the service of the house of Monte, repaired to Rome, being then in his eightieth year, and having kissed the foot of his Holiness, begged the Pope to accept his services for the buildings which were to be erected, as was the report at the Monte, which had been given to the Pontiff as a fief by the Signor Duke of Florence. Julius III. therefore, receiving him very amicably, commanded that he should be furnished with the means of living in Rome, without fatiguing himself by occupation of any kind, and in this manner Niccolò employed his time for several months in that city accordingly, drawing many of the antiquities of the same for his amusement.

Meanwhile the Pope, desiring to promote the welfare of his native place, the Monte Sansavino, resolved to construct an aqueduct there, among other improvements, the place suffering greatly for the want of water. Giorgio Vasari therefore, who had orders from the Pope to cause those

buildings to be commenced, recommended Niccolò Soggi very strongly to his Holiness, entreating that the office of superintendent of that work might be conferred on him. Niccolò repaired to Arezzo thereupon with these hopes, but had not been there many days, before, wearied by the cares of this world, by the privations he had suffered, and by the abandonment of those who should least have neglected him, he finished the course of his life, and was buried in the church of San Domenico in that city.

No long time afterwards, Don Ferrante Gonzaga having also died, Domenico Giuntalocchi left Milan, with the intention of returning to Prato, there to live quietly for the remainder of his life, but not finding there either friends or relations, and perceiving that Prato was no place for him, he repented when too late of having conducted himself in so ungrateful a manner towards Niccolò Soggi, and returned to Lombardy, there to serve the sons of Don Ferrante. But no long time elapsed before he fell sick to death, when he made a will, leaving to his native commune of Prato the sum of ten thousand crowns, to the end that the people might buy lands and form funds, whereby a certain number of Pratensian students might be perpetually maintained in such sort, that when some leave their studies, others are taken to replace them. And so has it been done by the men of Prato; wherefore, grateful for that important benefit, which has in truth been a very fruitful one, they have placed in their council chamber the likeness of that Domenico, as being the image of one who had deserved well of his country.

THE FLORENTINE SCULPTOR AND ARCHITECT, NICCOLÒ, CALLED TRIBOLO.

[BORN 1485—DIED 1550.]

To the carpenter Raffaello, called *Il Riccio de' Pericoli*, who dwelt hard by the corner of the Monteloro in Florence, there was born in the year 1500,* as he related to me himself,

* This is without doubt an error of t e copyist or the press, since Vasari subsequently describes Tribolo as dying in the year 1550, at the age of sixty-five.

a male child whom he determined to call Niccolò, after the name of his own father. Though nothing more than a poor journeyman, Raffaello, perceiving the boy to have a good understanding and ready genius, resolved that he should be early taught, not only to read well, but to write and cast accounts also. He therefore sent him to school, but it chanced that the child, possessing extraordinary vivacity, and being animated, nay, even violent in all his actions, could never find room enough to satisfy himself, proving indeed a very devil, whether in school or among the children who were his companions, and keeping himself as well as all others in perpetual movement and turmoil, he thus fairly lost his name of Niccolò, and became so exclusively known by that of Tribolo,* as to be ever afterwards called the latter name and no other by every one.†

This Tribolo, then, having grown to a certain age, the father, partly by way of turning his services to account, and partly to restrain the vivacity of the boy, took him into his workshop and taught him his own trade; but perceiving in a few months that this was not the vocation of the youth, and that he became thin, pale, and otherwise out of health, he began to think that if he would preserve the life of his son, he must no longer permit him to support the heavier labours of his own occupation, and so set him to wood carving. But Raffaello, having heard that without drawing, which is the foundation of all the arts, the boy could not possibly become a good master in that calling, determined that he should begin by employing his time in drawing, wherefore he set him to copy various things, now cornices for example, now foliage or grottesche, and now other objects, matters all needful to the vocation for which he was destined.

Proceeding thus, Raffaello perceived that the youth was equally well served by his head and hand, but considering, like a person of judgment as he was, that with him Niccolò

* Tribolo, a thistle, also a tormentor, a scapegrace.

† Bottari observes that the custom of calling men by some bye-name prevailed to such an extent in Florence, as not unfrequently to cause the loss of the family name. According to Baldinucci, Niccolò retained his father's bye-name also, and was sometimes called Niccolò de' Pericoli. Angullesi, in his *Notizie Storiche de' R. R. Palazzi e Ville*, a work compiled for the most part from unedited documents, calls this artist Niccolò Braccini, but without informing us where he found this family name.

could learn nothing more than to work by the square, he first talked concerning the matter with the joiner Ciappino, and from him, who was a great friend and companion of Nanni Unghero,* he received advice and assistance which enabled him to place his son for three years with the said Nanni, in whose workshop, where were performed labours both in joining and carving, there were constantly to be found the sculptor Jacopo Sansovino, the painter Andrea del Sarto, and others, who all subsequently became eminent men.

Now in those days Nanni, who was then reputed a tolerably good master, was engaged in numerous works, both of joinery and carving, for the villa of Zanobi Bartolini at Rovezzano, which is outside the gate of the Croce, as well as for the palace of the Bartolini family, which Giovanni, brother of the above-named Zanobi, was at that time causing to be built on the Piazza di Santa Trinità ; he was also employed in the Gualfonda, on a house and garden belonging to the same family, all which caused him to lay upon Tribolo heavy labours without reason or measure. The latter therefore, unable, by reason of his bodily weakness, to support these fatigues, and having saws, planes, and other rough tools perpetually in his hands, began to feel dissatisfied with his service in the workshops of Nanni ; and when Riccio inquired the cause of his dissatisfaction, the youth declared that he did not think he could remain with Nanni at that calling, begging his father to place him with Andrea del Sarto, or Jacopo Sansovino, whose acquaintance he had made in the workshops of Unghero, and with either of whom he hoped to do better, and to enjoy more health.

Moved by these reasons, and still receiving advice and aid from Ciappino, Riccio engaged Tribolo to Jacopo Sansovino, who received him willingly, from having known him in the workshop of Nanni, and having there remarked that the youth acquitted himself very well in design and still better in works of relief.

At the time when Tribolo after having first had his health

* This artist is called Nanni Vachero, in the Giunti Edition of our author, and the error is repeated in the Bolognese reprint of Manolessi; but in the Life of Sansovino, where Nanni is again mentioned, he is called Unghero, in the Giunti Edition as well as in the Bolognese work. Letters of Nanni will be found in the *Lettere Pittoriche*, tomo 3.

re-established, went to study with Jacopo Sansovino, the latter was engaged in the execution of that marble statue of Saint James the Apostle, which he produced in the house of the Wardens of works to the cathedral, in competition with Benedetto da Rovezzano, Andrea da Fiesole, and Baccio Bandinelli, a work still to be seen in the house of the Wardens with those of the other masters.

Nor did Tribolo neglect the opportunities for improvement then presented to him ; drawing with careful study and working much in clay, he made such manifest progress in that art to which it was obvious he was naturally inclined, that Jacopo Sansovino daily became more and more amicably disposed towards him, encouraging and putting him forward by making him first execute one piece of work and then another ; wherefore, although he then had Solosmeo da Settignano* and Pippo del Fabro, young men of great promise, in his workshop, yet Tribolo was found not only to equal but even to surpass them by very far, and Jacopo began to make use of his services in various works ; Tribolo adding dexterity in the use of the chisels to much facility in forming models, whether in clay or wax. He consequently became ever more useful to his master, and the latter, having finished the Apostle above-named, with a Bacchus,† which he was engaged with for Giovanni Bartolini, by whom that figure was destined for his house in the Gualfonda, and undertaking furthermore to make a lavatory and chimney piece in macigno stone for his intimate friend Messer Giovanni Gaddi, caused Tribolo to execute in *terra* certain large figures of children to be placed over the cornice of the last-named work, which was intended for the house possessed by Messer Giovanni on the Piazza di Madonna. These Tribolo completed to such perfection that Messer Giovanni, perceiving the genius, and charmed with the manner of the youth, gave him two medallions in marble to execute ; these

* Mentioned in the Life of Andrea del Sarto as among the disciples of that master, see vol. iii. p. 234.

† Subsequently presented by Bartolini to Cosmo I., and now in the Public Gallery. The work was broken to pieces by the fire which consumed a portion of that fabric in the year 1762, but the fragments were re-united with so much care and ability, by the aid of casts taken when the statue was entire, that but little injury is now perceived from the accident. —*Masselli.*

he also finished admirably well, and they were afterwards placed over certain doors of the same house.

Meanwhile there was a sepulchral monument for the King of Portugal, a work of great labour and much importance, to be entrusted to some artist, and Jacopo, having been the disciple of Andrea Contucci of the Monte Sansavino, and having the reputation not only of being equal to his master, who was a man of great renown, but even of possessing a more beautiful manner, received the commission for that monument by the intervention of Bartolini, and made a most superb model in wood for the same. Numerous figures in wax, and historical representations in relief, were also prepared for this model, the greater part of which were by the hand of Tribolo. These being considered exceedingly beautiful, the fame of the young artist increased to such a degree that, having left Sansovino, as considering himself now capable of working for himself, he was at once employed by Matteo the son of Lorenzo Strozzi, who first gave him certain figures of children in stone to execute; and shortly after, finding these done very much to his liking, he further commissioned him to prepare two others in marble, which last now support a Dolphin, pouring water from his mouth into a fish-pond, and are to be seen at the villa which the above-named Messer Matteo has at San Casciano, a place distant about eight miles from Florence.*

While these works of Tribolo were in course of execution in Florence, Messer Bartolommeo Barbazzi, a gentleman of Bologna, chanced to be summoned thither for certain of his affairs. He then remembered that search was making in Bologna for a young artist of good ability, to prepare figures and execute historical representations in marble, on the façade of San Petronio, the principal church of that city: remembering this, I say, and having been greatly pleased with such of Tribolo's works as he had seen, Messer Bartolommeo spoke with the latter on the subject; wherefore, being equally satisfied with the manners and other qualities of the young man, he finally took him to Bologna. Here Tribolo was immediately commissioned to execute two Sybils in marble, which he completed with infinite care in a very

* The Villa Caserotta, now, or lately, the property of the Ganucci family.

short time, and to his great credit; these figures subsequently formed the ornament of that portal of San Petronio, which leads towards the hospital called Della Morte.* Having finished these works, Tribolo was about to receive commissions for others of greater importance, and was highly esteemed by Messer Bartolommeo, who treated him with the most cordial kindness, when the pestilence of 1525 broke out in Bologna, as it did in all Lombardy, and Tribolo, to escape the dangers thereof, returned to Florence. There he remained during all the time that this contagious and pestilential sickness continued in Bologna, but when it had ceased, he once more departed from his native city, and returned to the former place, whither he had again been invited to repair.

He had no sooner arrived there, than Messer Bartolommeo, having lost many of his friends and relations, for whom and for himself he resolved to erect a sepulchral monument, refused to permit Tribolo to employ his time on the works of the façade of San Petronio, and caused him at once to prepare the model for the monument above-mentioned. This model Messer Bartolommeo wished to see complete before permitting the requisite preparations to be made; but when it was finished, Tribolo himself proceeded to Carrara for the purpose of causing the proper marbles to be excavated; and this he did, to the end that he might sketch and carve them out of the block on the place, by which means he not only diminished the weight to be removed, and rendered the carriage by so much the more easy, but was likewise enabled to increase the size of his figures.

While thus remaining at Carrara, Tribolo was anxious to avoid the loss of time, and therefore commenced two large figures of Children in marble; these, unfinished as they were, having been taken to Bologna on beasts of burden, together with the remainder of the work, were placed with the other marbles in one of the chapels of San Petronio, the death of Messer Bartolommeo Barbazzi having taken place

* Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura Moderna*, tomo ii., bestows high praise on these figures, and in Plates ii. and lxvi. he gives engravings of them and of two rilievi executed by Tribolo for the same place. See also *Le Sculture delle porte di San Petronio*, by Guizzardi, published in Bologna, with illustrative remarks by the Marchese Virgilio Davia.

in the interval. This circumstance caused so much grief to Tribolo, that he departed forthwith from Carrara, and returned to Tuscany, leaving the figures still in their unfinished state, in one of the chapels of the cathedral; where as before related, they yet remain.*

On his way from Carrara to Florence, Tribolo paused at Pisa, to visit the sculptor, Maestro Stagio of Pietra Santa, who was his very intimate friend.† This artist was at that time employed on two columns, with marble capitals very richly carved, which he was executing in the House of the Wardens of Works, for the Cathedral of that city, and on each of which there was to stand above the capital an angel, in marble, one braccio and three quarters high, holding a chandelier in his hand. Tribolo, therefore, being invited by Stagio to execute one of these angels, and having nothing in hand at the time, consented to do so, and finished it with all the perfection that could be given to a delicate work of those dimensions in marble; he succeeded so admirably well, indeed, that nothing better could possibly be desired: by the movement given to his figure, the angel having the appearance of one who had paused in his course to bear that light, and the nude members of the form are clearly perceived through certain draperies of transparent texture, which are seen to wave around it with so much grace, that in whatever aspect you view the figure, it presents a beauty beyond the power of words to describe.

But in the execution of this figure, Tribolo, who thought only of his delight in art, had expended much time, and not receiving from the superintendent such a sum for his work as he thought himself entitled to, he determined to do no more, and returned to Florence.‡ Here he met with Giovan-Battista della Palla, who at that time was not only causing all the paintings and sculptures which he could procure, to be

* In the Zambeccari Chapel in San Petronio, called also the Chapel of the Relics, there are two statues by Tribolo, with a large work in bassorilievo, the subject of which is the Assumption of Our Lady.

† In the Cathedral of Pisa are various works by this excellent sculptor, Stagio, or Anastasio Sassoli, of Pietra Santa, who was particularly admired for the grace of his smaller figures, the beauty of his foliage, and the fancy displayed in his *grottesche*.

‡ On the altar of San Biagio, in the Cathedral of Pisa, there is a small figure of the titular saint, which is considered to be a work of Tribolo.

executed for transmission into France, whither he was sending them to the King Francis I., but was also buying antiquities of all kinds, and pictures on every subject, provided only that they were by the hands of good masters. These Giovan-Battista was daily packing up and sending away; and exactly at the moment of Tribolo's return it so chanced, that Palla had an antique vase in granite of a most beautiful form, which he desired to have arranged in such sort as to serve for a fountain to be placed in the pleasure-house of the King. Having made known his mind to Tribolo, therefore, and described what he wished to have done, the artist took the matter in hand accordingly, and made him a Goddess of Nature, who, raising one arm, holds that vase, the foot of which is placed on her head, with her hand; hovering around the multiform breast of the Goddess and standing on the upper part thereof, are beautiful boys in marble, holding festoons in their hands, their figures are entirely detached from the marble, and display attitudes of the most exquisite grace: around the second range of the all-sustaining breast, are seen various kinds of quadrupeds, while the feet of the figure are surrounded by fishes of numerous kinds. This work was completed by Tribolo with so much care, and exhibited so high a degree of perfection, that, being sent to France, with other productions, it received, as it well merited, the highest commendations from the King, by whom, as a rare work of art, it was carefully deposited at Fontainebleau.

In the year 1529, when the war with Florence and the siege of that city was determined on, Pope Clement VII., desiring to ascertain in what manner and on what points his army could most advantageously be posted, was anxious to see the exact site of the town, and had commanded that a plan of Florence, with its environs of an entire mile around the city, should be secretly made; the hills, mountains, rivers, rocks, houses, churches, and every other particular of the outskirts being carefully included, while the squares and streets of the interior, together with the walls, bastions, and other defences, were also to be represented with the utmost exactitude. The charge of all this was given to Benvenuto di Lorenzo della Volpaia, a good master of horologes and quadrants, as well as an admirable astrologer, but who was most of all excellent in the taking of plans.

commenced by Pope Leo, had been subsequently neglected, because the death of Andrea Contucci of Monte Sansovino had caused an interruption of the works; Clement now therefore, gave orders to Antonio da Sangallo, who had the charge of conducting the fabric, that he should invite Tribolo to Loretto, and should set him to finish the figures and historical representations left incomplete by Maestro Andrea.

Being thereupon summoned by Sangallo at the command of the Pontiff, Tribolo repaired with all his family to Loretto, to which place had also proceeded Simone, called Il Mosca,* an admirable carver of marbles, with Raffaello da Montelupo,† Francesco da Sangallo the younger, ‡ Girolamo Ferrarese the sculptor, a disciple of Maestro Andrea, § Simone Cioli, Ranieri da Pietra Santa, and Francesco del Tadda,‖ to the end that by all these artists the work might at length be brought to conclusion.

In the distribution of the labours, a rilievo, in which Maestro Andrea had commenced the Marriage of Our Lady, was confided to Tribolo, as an undertaking of more importance than any other then remaining to be completed. Here Tribolo made an addition to the original thought, and took it into his head to exhibit among the numerous figures who stand around observing the espousals of the Virgin, an unsuccessful suitor full of rage, and angrily breaking to pieces the rod or staff which has failed to flourish into a Lily. His attempt was entirely successful, seeing that the man himself could not possibly display the displeasure which he felt at not having the good fortune to be the successful suitor, more clearly than is done by the marble figure here executed by Tribolo.

When this work, as well as those of all the other artists, was finished, Tribolo prepared models in wax for the

* Whose life follows.

† See his life, with that of Baccio his brother, vol. iii. p. 136, *et seq.*

‡ Mentioned at more length in a subsequent page.

§ Of this master Vasari makes further mention in the life of Girolamo da Carpi, which follows.

‖ Francesco Ferrucci of Fiesole. This artist, remark the annotators of the Passigli Edition, is not to be confounded with one of the same name and family, who was the first, according to the "Introduction," among the moderns, by whom statues were sculptured in porphyry.

Prophets which were to occupy the niches formed around the chapel, the construction of which was now entirely finished; and to these he had imparted the utmost perfection, when Pope Clement came to see the works. His Holiness commended them all, but more particularly that of Tribolo; he was indeed so well satisfied with this, that he commanded the master to return without loss of time to Florence, there, under the superintendence of Michelagnolo Buonarroti, to execute the figures still wanting to the sacristy and library of San Lorenzo, with all the other portions of the same yet incomplete; the whole to be finished after the models and with the assistance of Michelagnolo as quickly as might be possible: his Holiness furthermore commanding that, having thus laboured and made progress under the discipline of so great a man, Tribolo should then likewise complete the façade of San Lorenzo.

In these labours the Pontiff would have no delay, and therefore despatched Michelagnolo to Florence, sending also with him the Servite Monk, Fra Giovan Agnolo, who had executed certain works in the Belvidere, to the end that the latter might assist in the carving of the marbles, and might execute such of the statues as Michelagnolo should appoint him to finish under his guidance. The latter gave Fra Giovan Agnolo a figure of San Cosimo accordingly, and this was to stand on one side of a Madonna, the figure of San Damiano, the commission for which had been accorded to Montelupo, being intended to occupy the place on the other side.*

These being thus disposed of, Michelagnolo intended that Tribolo should execute two nude figures, which were to be placed one on each side of the statue of the Duke Giuliano, which had previously been sculptured by Michelagnolo himself. One of these two statues, crowned with cypress, and bending her head, while the arms are outstretched in the attitude of grief, as bewailing the death of Giuliano, was to represent the Earth; the other, smiling and triumphant, with arms upraised, was to signify Heaven, and to express re-

* Both of these figures are still to be seen in San Lorenzo, in that Chapel called the New Sacristy namely, the architecture of which is by Michael Angelo.

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* Both of these figures are still to be seen in San Lorenzo, in that Chapel called the New Sacristy namely, the architecture of which is by Michael Angelo.

joicing for the splendour and ornament which she owed to the mind and heart of that prince. But the adverse fortune of Tribolo opposed herself to this arrangement, and exactly at the moment when he would have commenced the statue of the Earth, whether from change of air, from the natural delicacy of his constitution, or from some irregularity in the mode of his life, he fell very seriously ill, and his malady having terminated in quartan fever, hung about him for many months, to his indescribable vexation, seeing that the grief which he felt at finding himself compelled to abandon his work, while the Monk and Raffaello da Montelupo were gaining possession of the field, tormented him no less than the malady itself.

Eagerly desiring to overcome this disease, to the end that he might not remain behind his competitors, whose names he daily heard more and more exalted, he prepared a large model in clay for the statue of the Earth, ill and weak as he was, and having finished it, began to work on the marble with so much care and solicitude, that the foremost part of the figure was already brought out, when Fortune, who is ever ready to impede the progress of a fair commencement, by the death of Pope Clement at a moment when it was least feared, cut short the expectations of many excellent artists, who had hoped, beneath the guidance of Michelagnolo, to obtain for themselves immortal glory and perpetual fame.

Still suffering from illness, Tribolo was utterly confounded by this new misfortune, and lost heart altogether. There seemed to be nothing whereby he might hope to prosper either in his native Florence or elsewhere, and he was ready to resign himself to despair. But Giorgio Vasari, who was ever his friend, and loving him from his heart, assisted him whenever he found it possible to do so, consoled him as he best could, and entreated him not to lose heart, seeing that he, Giorgio, would himself so contrive that the Duke Alessandro should find him something to do; and this Vasari hoped to accomplish by means of his favour with the magnificent Ottaviano de' Medici, to whose service he was somewhat closely attached. By these means Vasari contrived to make Tribolo acquire a little courage, and the latter busied himself, while endeavours were in course of being made for his advantage, in the preparation of copies in terra

from all the figures which Michelagnolo had executed in marble for the Sacristy of San Lorenzo, the Aurora namely, the Twilight, the Day and the Night.

These works succeeded admirably, and Messer Giovanni Battista Figiovanni, prior of San Lorenzo, to whom Tribolo gave the figure of Night, in requital of his having caused the chapel to be opened to him, thought it so beautiful a thing that he made a present thereof to the Duke Alessandro, by whom it was subsequently given to the above-named Giorgio Vasari, then with his Excellency, to whom his study of such matters was well known. The work is now in the house of Vasari at Arezzo, with other productions of art.* Having then made a copy in like manner from the Madonna which Michelagnolo had executed for the same Sacristy, Tribolo presented this to the above-named Messer Ottaviano de' Medici, who had a very beautiful frame in wood-work, made for the same by Battista del Cinque, who decorated his work with columns, cornices, and other embellishments carved in a very beautiful manner.

Meanwhile, by the favour of this noble, who was the general administrator of his Excellency's affairs, Tribolo received a commission to execute an Escutcheon of Arms four braccia high, with two nude figures, each to represent the goddess of Victory; this escutcheon, which was one of three that were to be placed, one on each bastion of a Fortress at that time constructing by command of the Duke, was executed by Tribolo (who received his commission for the same from the hands of Bertoldo Corsini the Proveditore for the Fortress which was then in course of erection) with great care and promptitude; he also made an addition thereto of three large masks, which, being placed beneath the arms and the figures, are made to serve as supporters thereof; by this work† Tribolo gave so much satisfaction to the Duke that his Excellency conceived a great liking for that artist.

No long time afterwards, Duke Alessandro proceeded to

* Three of the above mentioned figures are now in the Florentine Academy of the Fine Arts; of the fourth, that of Night namely, subsequently possessed by Vasari, the fate is unknown.—*Masselli.*

† For this work, now much injured by time, Tribolo received the sum of 130 crowns, as we learn from a letter written by Nanni Unghero to Sangallo. See *Lettere Pittoriche,* tomo iii.

Naples, for the purpose of defending himself before the Emperor Charles V., who was then on his return from Tunis, against the calumnies with which he had been assailed by some of the Florentine citizens;* and having not only done this most successfully, but also obtained from his Majesty the Signora Margherita of Austria, his daughter, to wife,† he wrote to Florence, commanding that four men should be selected from the principal citizens, by whom decorations of the utmost splendour and magnificence should be ordered and arranged for all parts of the city, which his Excellency desired to have adorned in a manner suitable to the due reception of the Emperor, who was then about to visit Florence. On this occasion I had myself, by commission from his Excellency, to distribute the labours, and was instructed to communicate with the four distinguished citizens above-mentioned, who were Giovanni Corsi, Luigi Guicciardini, Palla Rucellai, and Alessandro Corsini; I therefore gave the more important and difficult preparations for that festival to Tribolo: these consisted principally in four large statues, the first representing Hercules in the act of slaying the Hydra, the height was six braccia, the figure standing wholly detached and being silvered over; this was placed in that angle of the Piazza di San Felice which is at the end of the Via Maggio, and had the following inscription written in silver letters on the pedestal.

Ut Hercules labore et aerumnis monstra edomuit, ita Cæsar virtute et clementia, hostibus victis seu placatis, pacem Orbi terrarum et quietem restituit.

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* Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, anno 1535, makes it obvious that Alessandro was not "calumniated," although the Florentines did complain to the Emperor of his unbridled licentiousness and invasion of their privileges.

† "The Duke," observes Muratori, *ut supra*, "the Duke replied to the accusations of the Florentines as he best could, and whether it were that the gold which he expended among the imperial ministers produced its accustomed effect, or that the Emperor, having the prospect of a new war in Italy before him, thought it best to have in Florence one sole ruler obedient to his will, than the union of many heads ever at variance one with another, but more avowedly disposed towards the French than towards himself, as the Florentines notoriously were; certain it is, that the Emperor decided in favour of the Duke, whom he acknowledged as Signor of Florence. He also gave him his illegitimate daughter—the so often betrothed Margherita—for his wife, but with certain conditions, whereby the Emperor obtained a large sum of money from the Duke."

The second and third of these statues were colossal figures, each eight braccia high, the one representing the river Bagrada, and reposing on the skin of the monster which was brought to Rome; the other signifying the Ebro, and holding the horn of Amalthea in the one hand with the rudder of a ship in the other; both were coloured to imitate bronze and had inscriptions on their pedestals; that on the basement of the Ebro being *Hiberus ex Hispania*, and that on the other *Bagradas ex Africa*. The fourth figure was a statue five braccia high, erected at the corner of the Medici, and representing Peace, having in one hand a branch of olive, and in the other a lighted torch, wherewith she was setting fire to a pile of arms gathered upon the basement whereon she was placed, and which presented the following inscription, *Fiat pax in virtute tua.*

Tribolo was also to have executed a colossal horse whereon the figure of the Emperor in armour was to have been placed, but this he could not fully complete, because his intimate friend the wood-carver Tasso,* to whom the decorations in wood work for the pedestal and other parts had been entrusted, did not proceed with the needful expedition; being a man who suffered the moments to slip through his fingers while he was talking and jesting, he was not ready in time, and it was not without great difficulty that the Horse itself was hastily covered with tin, placed over the fresh clay, the pedestal whereon he was placed having the following inscription.

Imperatori Carolo Augusto victoriosissimo post devictos hostes, Italiæ pace restituta et salutato Ferdin. fratre, expulsis iterum Turcis Africaque perdomita, Alexander Med. Dux Florentiæ, D.D.

His Majesty having left Florence,† a commencement was made, his daughter being then expected, towards the preparations required for the nuptials, and to the end that the Signora Margherita, with the Vice-Queen of Naples, who was of her company, should be fittingly and commodiously lodged, according to the orders of his Excellency, in the house of Messer Ottaviano de' Medici, there was made an

* Of whom there is some further mention hereafter.

† Which he did on the 4th of May, 1536, having arrived in Florence on the 29th of the preceding month.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

addition to the ancient dwelling, in the space of four weeks, which caused astonishment in all who beheld it. This was effected by Tribolo, the painter Andrea di Cosimo, and myself, with the aid of some ninety sculptors and painters of the city, masters and disciples included, all of whom, working for ten days, completed the adorning of the house with suitable decorations, as also the painting of the galleries with the courts and other entrances and passages, making all the preparations needful on such an occasion and suitable to those high nuptials.

Among these decorations, Tribolo executed two figures of Victory in mezzo rilievo, which served as the ornament of the principal portal or gate of entrance; these figures were supported by two large termini, which also bore the arms of the Emperor, pendent from the neck of an Eagle, in full relief, and which was very beautiful. The same artist likewise executed figures of boys in full relief, and of large size, which were placed on each side of certain busts, forming the decoration over the doors of the rooms, and these too were very highly extolled.

While the marriage festivities were proceeding, Tribolo received letters from Bologna whereby his great friend Messer Pietro del Magno entreated him to repair to that city, there to execute an historical representation in marble, three braccia and a half high, for the Madonna di Galiera, where an exceedingly beautiful framework, also in marble, had already been prepared. Wherefore Tribolo, not having any thing else to do for the moment, proceeded thither, and having prepared the model for a Modonna ascending into heaven with the twelve Apostles in various attitudes beneath, he set hand to the work; but although the model gave much satisfaction and was indeed exceedingly beautiful, yet the sculptor proceeded with little pleasure to himself, the marble employed being that of Milan, coarse, spotted, and bad, insomuch that the poor Tribolo seemed to be throwing his pains away, and felt no particle of that delight in his task which is enjoyed by those who work in marble when they find a good piece beneath their hands, and see that the finished statue will show a surface precisely similar to that of the living flesh.

Tribolo had nevertheless almost entirely completed the

figure,* when I, having induced the Duke Alessandro to recall Michelagnolo and the other masters, to the end that the Sacristy commenced by Pope Clement should be finished, was disposing matters in such sort as to give him occupation in Florence, and without doubt should have succeeded, but just at that time occurred the death of Alessandro, he being killed by Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de Medici ;† and by this circumstance, not only was the above-mentioned purpose frustrated, but the prosperity of art was interrupted, and its greatness rendered matter of despair.

Being informed of the Duke's death, Tribolo bewailed it with me in his letters, entreating me, after he had done his best to console and encourage me, to endure patiently the loss of that great prince and my most gracious master ; and furthermore he requested me, if I were going to Rome, as he had been told that it was my purpose to do, being fully resolved to abandon courts and pursue the studies of my art, to seek some kind of occupation for him, since, if I would procure him the aid of my friends, he would on his part undertake whatever works I should propose to him. But it so chanced that Tribolo did not need to seek further for occupation in Rome, and the reason thereof was on this wise. The Signor Cosimo de' Medici, being created Duke of Florence, had no sooner freed himself from the troubles whereby the first year of his sovereignty was disquieted, by the total rout of his enemies on Monte Murlo, than he began to provide himself with some little diversion and more particularly to frequent the villa of Castello,‡ which is situate at something short of two miles from Florence, and where he passed no small portion of his time. At this place then the Duke began to build a little, one thing after another, to the end that he might reside there more commodiously, himself and

* Now in the Chapel of the Relics in San Petronio, as has been remarked in a preceding note, see *ante*, p. 178.

† This happened on the Feast of the Epiphany, in the year 1537 — *Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

‡ Moreni, *Notizie Storiche dei Contorni di Firenze*, informs us that the name of Castello does not in this case imply the presence of a previous fortress, but rather that of a point in the main course of an ancient aqueduct, at which a distribution of the waters to the city by means of minor branches, was effected, and which was called in the Latin, *Castella* ; see tomo i. p. 101.

his Court; to this Duke Cosimo was encouraged by Maestro Piero da San Casciano, who was considered in those days to be a tolerably good master and had been much in the service of the Signora Maria, mother of the Duke;* Piero had besides been always employed as a builder by the house of Medici, and was an ancient servant of the Signor Giovanni.* The Duke now resolved to bring certain waters which he had long wished to conduct thither, to that place; the acqueduct, which was at once begun, was designed to receive all the waters from the height of the Castellina, a place distant somewhat more than a quarter of a mile from Castello; and the work, at which a good number of men were set to labour, was carried vigorously forward.

But the Duke knew that Maestro Piero had neither invention nor knowledge of design, sufficient to enable him to make such a commencement of the undertaking, as should permit of the place receiving, in due time, that character of ornament and those decorations, which the site and the waters deserved and required; one day therefore, that his Excellency was at Castello, and was speaking of this matter with other persons, among whom were Messer Ottaviano de' Medici, and Cristofano Rinieri a friend of Tribolo, and an old servant of the Signora Maria and of the Duke; these two then so extolled the above-named artist, whom they described as a man endowed with all the qualities that should be assembled in the superintendent of such a fabric, that the Duke immediately gave Cristofano the commission to summon his friend from Bologna. This Rinieri did without loss of time, and Tribolo, who could have received no more agreeable intelligence than that of his appointment to serve the Duke Cosimo, came instantly to Florence, where being arrived, he was conducted to Castello. There his most Illustrious Excellency, having heard from his lips what he thought it would be well to do for the suitable decoration of those fountains, gave him the commission at once to prepare the models.

To these Tribolo immediately set hand, and was proceeding with them, while Maestro Piero da San Casciano was constructing the aqueduct and leading the water to the

* Maria, daughter of Jacopo Salviati, wife to Giovanni, called *delle Bandenere*, and mother of Cosimo I.

place, when the Duke, who had commenced a strong wall for the security of the city, proposing to encircle therewith the bastions erected at the time of the siege on the heights of San Miniato by Michelagnolo Buonarroti, commanded that Tribolo should prepare an Escutcheon of Arms, with two figures representing Victory, to be placed at an angle on the highest point of a bastion which looks towards Florence, the whole to be executed in *pietra forte*. But scarcely had Tribolo completed the Escutcheon, which was very large, with one of the figures of Victory, four braccia high, and esteemed an exceedingly beautiful thing,* than he was compelled to leave that work also unfinished, seeing that Maestro Piero, having made good progress with the aqueduct and brought on the water, greatly to the satisfaction of the Duke, His Excellency then commanded that Tribolo should at once begin to put in execution, those designs and models for the decoration of the aqueduct, which he had previously laid before that sovereign ; Duke Cosimo according to him eight crowns per month by way of stipend, which was the sum paid to Maestro Piero da San Casciano.

But to the end that I may not become confused in describing the course and intricacies of the aqueducts, with the decorations of the fountains, it may be well to say briefly some few words respecting the site and position of Castello.

The Villa di Castello lies at the roots of the Monte Morello, and beneath the Villa della Topaia, which is situate about half way up the acclivity ; it has before it a plain which descends very gradually and within the space of about a mile and a half, to the river Arno. It is exactly at the point where the ascent of the hill commences from this plain that the palace is situate, that edifice having been originally erected, after a very good design, by Pier Francesco de' Medici. The principal front is turned to the south and looks over extensive lawns or meadows, within which are two large ponds of running water,† the latter coming from an ancient aqueduct

* This figure has for many years been retained in one of the inner courts of the Alessandri Palace, in the Borgo degli Albizzi, in Florence ; there is an engraving of the statue in Zuccherelli, by whom it is erroneously attributed to Michael Angelo.

† The two ponds on the lawns before the palace were drained by command of the Grand Duke Leopoldo I.

made by the Romans for the purpose of bringing water from Valdimarina to Florence, where the vaulted reservoir of the same is to be found. Thus situate, the palace has an exceedingly agreeable and even beautiful view, the waters before it are divided by a bridge twelve braccia wide, which conducts to an avenue of the same width, formed by mulberry trees, covering it closely on both sides and rising to a height of ten braccia, insomuch that they form a vault over head, beneath which one may walk for three hundred braccia in the most agreeable shade. This avenue of mulberries opens on the high road to Prato, by a gate placed between two fountains, which give water to the travellers who pass that way as well as to their animals and the cattle of the neighbourhood.

On the eastern side of the palace is a handsome pile of buildings which serve as stables, and towards the west is a private garden, which is gained by crossing the court of the stables and passing directly through the ground floor of the palace by the loggie, halls, and apartments level with the garden, from which, by a door on its western side, a second and very large garden full of fruit-trees is attained. At the end of the last-mentioned garden is a wood of pines, which conceals the dwellings of the labourers and others engaged in the service of the palace. The northern front of the fabric, that which looks towards the hill, has a lawn before it, the length of which is equal to that of the palace, the stables, and the private garden united, and from this lawn there is an ascent by steps to the principal garden, which is surrounded by walls of the ordinary kind, and the garden itself rising by a gentle acclivity, extends to such a distance from the palace as to be entirely open to the influence of the southern sun, precisely as if no building stood before it. At its upper end, moreover, the garden attains to such a height that not only is the whole of the palace to be discovered therefrom, but the entire plain extending before and around it, together with the city itself.

In the midst of the last-mentioned garden there is a wood of high cypresses with laurels and shrubs of various kinds, which form a circle wherein is a labyrinth surrounded by hedges of box two braccia and a half high, the growth being so equal, and the whole arranged in so beautiful a manner.

that they might be taken for a work of the pencil. In the centre of this labyrinth, Tribolo, by command of the Duke, erected a marble fountain of great beauty, of which further mention will be made immediately below. Before the principal entrance, there namely where are the first-mentioned lawns or meadows, with the two pieces of water and the avenue covered with its mulberries, Tribolo would have had the latter extended and covered in like manner for more than the length of a mile, thus affording a shaded walk even down to the shores of the river Arno, and he further desired that the waters which might remain after the fountains had been supplied, should be made to run gently on each side of the avenue, which they should in this manner accompany even to the river, being conducted in small canals, pleasantly enlivened by various kinds of fish.

For the palace itself—that I may thus relate what is intended to be done, as well as that which has been accomplished —Tribolo wished to construct a Loggia with an open court before it, at the extremity of which, and at that part where the stables are placed, he would then have erected a second palace, exactly similar to the earlier building, with the same number and proportion of apartments and Loggie, with a private garden and a garden on the heights, an addition which would have made that fabric a most extensive palace, and caused it to present a singularly beautiful front. Having passed the court from which you enter the large garden wherein is the labyrinth, you find at the entrance of the latter a very extensive lawn, and on ascending the steps which conduct to the labyrinth, a quadrangle of thirty braccia is discovered, on which there was to be, and has since been made, a very large fountain in white marble, the waters from which are to be thrown fourteen braccia above the highest point of the decorations ; the summit of the fountain to be occupied by a figure, from whose mouth water is furthermore to arise to the height of six braccia.

At each end of the lawn a Loggia was to be erected, the one opposite to the other, and both having a length of thirty braccia, and a width of fifteen braccia. In the centre of each Loggia was to be placed a marble table twelve braccia long, and on the outer side a basin or reservoir of eight braccia, which was to receive water from a vase borne

by two figures. In the midst of the labyrinth so frequently mentioned, it was Tribolo's intention to display the highest powers of art by means of the various jets and ornamental forms into which the water was to be thrown, and by the numerous decorations to be placed about the fountain, around which there was to be a commodious and beautiful range of seats for repose. The marble basin he proposed to make, as was in effect subsequently done, much less than that of the large and principal fountain, and intended to place therein a figure of bronze, throwing water from its mouth. At the end of this garden there was to be a portal in the centre, with marble figures of boys throwing water; a fountain was to be formed on each side, and in the angles were to be double niches, within which statues were to be placed, similar to those which are in the niches of the side walls, and ranged along the avenues by which the garden is traversed; all to be standing in various compartments and surrounded with verdure.

From the above mentioned door at the end of this garden, a flight of steps conducts to a second garden, of equal width with the first, but, ascending the hill straight upwards, it presented no great depth, being impeded by the acclivity of the mountain. On each side of this upper garden was likewise to be erected a Loggia; and opposite to the door, in the wall erected to support the soil of the hill behind, there was to be a grotto with three distinct elevations, each with its basin, wherein water was to fall in the manner of rain. On each side of the grotto was to be placed a fountain; and opposite to these, near the lower wall of the garden, were to be two more fountains constructed, one on each side of the door. In this manner the fountains of the upper garden would have been equal to those in that beneath it; those of the latter receiving their waters from the fountains of the higher garden, wherein there were besides to be large numbers of orange trees, which would there have had, nay, rather, will have, the most commodious position that can be conceived, because they will be defended by the wall and the heights from the north wind, and all others that might be injurious to them.

From this garden of oranges two flights of stone steps, one on each side, conduct to a wood of cypress, pines, and ilex, mingled with laurels and evergreen shrubs, in great

variety, all which are distributed with the most admirable judgment. In the midst of these, according to the design of Tribolo, there was to be formed a very beautiful piece of water, which has in effect been done. The space is here gradually restricted until it forms an angle; this being truncated to the breadth of a Loggia, erected to surround the same; and from this point, after ascending certain flights of steps, the whole view beneath lies discovered, the palace, the gardens, the fountains, and all the plain below and around them that is to say, even to the ducal villa of Poggio-a-Cajano and the city of Florence itself; while distant views of Prato, Siena,* and all around, are obtainable to the extent of many miles.

The above-named Maestro Pietro da San Casciano had now completed his work of the aqueduct even to Castello, and had brought all the water of the Castellina† to that place; when it chanced that he was attacked by a most violent fever, whereof he died in a very few days. Thereupon Tribolo, having taken the entire conduct of the building upon himself, perceived that, although the waters had been led to Castello in very great quantities, yet they were not by any means sufficient to effect all that he had it in his thoughts to do. The water from Castellina, moreover, did not proceed from a height equal to that required for his purposes. He therefore received permission from the Duke to conduct the waters of the Petraia,‡ which is situate more than 150 braccia above Castello, to the latter place; and this permission he obtained the more readily because the waters of Petraia are of great purity and in vast abundance. Tribolo, therefore, caused an aqueduct similar to the former one to be constructed, making it of such height that men could enter within it; by this he brought the waters of Petraia to the great ponds, the waters flowing from the principal fountains, being received by another aqueduct.

Having done this, Tribolo began to build the above-

* Bottari observes with justice that it is not possible to discover Siena from any height near Florence.

† A place near Castello belonging to the Carmelite Monks.

‡ La Petraia is another delightful villa belonging to the Grand Duke, and also near Castello.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

described grotto, which he constructed after an admirable design, adding the three niches, whereof there has before been mention; as also the two fountains, one on each side of the grotto. One of these fountains was to be adorned with a large figure in stone, representing the Mount Asinaio;* the hand pressing down the long flowing beard, and water pouring from the mouth into a basin which was to be placed in front of the figure. From this basin the water was then to escape by a concealed exit, and passing beneath the wall, was to supply the fountain, which is now completed, and stands behind the ascent from the garden of the labyrinth, receiving that water into a vase placed on the shoulders of a statue, which represents the river Mugnone, and stands within a large niche of grey stone, richly decorated with various ornaments, and partially covered with a spongeous stone. This work, had it been wholly completed, as it has been executed in part, would have presented a magnificent explication of the truth, since the river Mugnone does take rise in, or receive its birth from, the Mount Asinaio.

For this figure of the Mugnone then, to speak of that which has been actually accomplished, Tribolo executed a statue in grey stone, four braccia in height, but in a recumbent position, and presenting a most beautiful attitude: on one shoulder this figure bears a vase from which there pours water into a basin, and the other reposes on the earth, the statue leaning thereon, with the right leg beneath the left, which is crossed over it. Behind this figure is that of a Woman, intended to represent the city of Fiesole, wholly undraped; she steps from within the spongeous stones of the niche, holding the Moon, which is the ancient device of the Fiesolans, in her hand. Beneath this recess is a very large basin, supported by two large Capricorns, which are one of the devices of the Duke; around the necks of these animals hang festoons and masks of great beauty, and from their mouths is poured the water of the basin. The latter, being convex in the centre, has certain issues whence the water falls streaming over on all sides; but all which is not poured through these issues, throws itself through the mouths of the

* Now called Monte Senario. It was here that the Order of Monks calling themselves the "Servants of Mary," took their rise, and they have still a Monastery at this place.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

Capricorns, into the hollow basement of the reservoir, whence it proceeds into and through the kitchen-gardens, which are close to the walls of the garden of the labyrinth, where there are fountains between all the niches, with espaliers of oranges and pomegranates between the fountains.

In the upper garden, where Tribolo had proposed to place the Mount Asinaio, which was to give water to the Mugnone, as above-described, there was to be a similar figure representing the Mount of the Falterona, which was to be placed on the side of the wall opposite to that occupied by the Mugnone, and immediately after having passed the door; and as the river Arno has its rise in the last-named mountain, so the statue designed to represent that river in the garden of the labyrinth, and opposite to that of the Mugnone, was intended to receive its waters from the before-mentioned Falterona. But as neither the figure of the Mountain nor its fount has ever been brought to completion, we will confine ourselves to speaking of the fountain and river-god of the Arno, which were finished by Tribolo.

This figure, then, supports himself in a half-recumbent position on a Lion, which holds a Lily in its paw, while he bears his vase on one of his sides, the latter receiving its water from the perforated rock, behind which was to be the figure representing the Mount Falterona, exactly in the manner in which, as we have said, the Mugnone received its water: the basin, too, which has an oblong form, is in all respects similar to that of the Mugnone, for which reason I will say nothing more thereof, excepting only this, that it is much to be regretted that the beauty and excellence of these works are not exhibited in marble; seeing that they are indeed most truly admirable.

Still continuing the labours of the aqueduct, Tribolo then caused the water of the grotto first to pass beneath the garden, next beneath the lower garden, even into the labyrinth, where he formed a circle around the centre of the latter, enclosing a tolerably large space, and then laid the middlemost tube, through which the fountain was to cast its waters. This done, the master took the waters of the Arno and the Mugnone, and having brought them together beneath the surface of the labyrinth, by means of bronze tubes judi-

ciously arranged in very fair order within that space, he perforated the whole of the pavement, filling the apertures with other tubes of extreme minuteness, in such sort that by turning a key, all who approached to examine the fountain could be suddenly involved in a shower and well drenched; nor could those who were thus treated escape either quickly or readily, because entirely around that fountain and the pavement wherein are the concealed tubes, Tribolo had constructed a seat in grey stone, supported by feet in the form of lions' claws, mingled with marine monsters of various forms in mezzo-rilievo, and this barred escape. The arrangement of all this was no easy matter, seeing that the place was on the declivity of the hill, and it was necessary to obtain a level for the construction of these works, as well as for the seats.

Tribolo next began the fountain of the labyrinth, and the lower part of this he formed of marine monsters in marble, twined together in full relief, and wholly detached from the base, the tails of these animals are intervolved after such sort, that nothing better in that manner could well be effected. Having completed this part he then formed the vase, for which he availed himself of a piece of marble which had been long before brought to Castello from the Villa dell' Antella, together with a large table, also of marble, purchased by Messer Ottaviano de' Medici from Giuliano Salviati. The possession of these resources caused Tribolo to prepare the tazza for this fountain, earlier perhaps than he might otherwise have done, for the decoration of the same he designed a dance of children which he arranged around the mouth of the tazza, and close to the edge or lip thereof; the little boys composing this dance hold festoons of marine plants, which are detached from the marble with the most admirable art: the pedestal also, which Tribolo erected within the tazza, is adorned with figures of children and masks throwing water, which are all of extraordinary beauty and excellence. On this pedestal it was the intention of Tribolo to place a bronze statue, three braccia and a half high, representing Florence, and signifying that from the mounts Asinaio and Falterona come the waters of the Arno and the Mugnone to Florence, and for this figure the master had prepared a most exquisite model exhibiting the figure in the act

of wringing with her hands the luxuriant tresses of her hair whence the water comes streaming on every side.*

Having brought the collected waters to the first quadrangle of thirty braccia, before described as situate beneath the labyrinth, Tribolo then commenced the great fountain,† which, having eight sides, was destined to receive into its lowermost basin all the above-mentioned waters; those of the labyrinth namely, with those coming from the great aqueduct also. To each of these eight sides there ascends a step one fifth of a braccio in height, and each angle of all the eight sides has a ressault, as have likewise the steps, which, thus projecting, present at each angle a step of two-fifths of a braccio, in such sort that the central front of the steps recedes at the ressaults, the direct line being interrupted, which is a fanciful invention, and has a pleasing effect to the eye, while it is found to be very commodious in the ascent. The edge of the fountain has the form of a vase, and the body, or that part which contains the water, is in the figure of a circle. The foot or pedestal in the centre of the basin has eight sides at the lowest part, and continues in this shape, forming eight stages or seats, even to the foot of the tazza, on each of these stages is the seated figure of a boy in full relief and of the size of life; these children are in various attitudes, their arms and legs entwined together to form a kind of chain, all exceedingly beautiful, and constituting a very rich ornament. And as the edge of the tazza, which is circular, projects to the extent of six braccia, while all the water falls equally over the edges, forming a beautiful rain around it, and falling into the basin of eight sides which is below, the boys thus seated on the foot are not wetted, and even have the appearance of being assembled in sport within and beneath the lip of that tazza, for the purpose of sheltering themselves from the falling waters, exhibiting with supreme grace a sort of childlike delight in the nook within which they have crept, the simplicity and loveliness of which cannot be equalled.

Opposite to the four sides of the cross-ways that lead

* This most beautiful *Tazza*, with the bronze statue here described, is now admired at the before-mentioned Villa of Petraia, to which place it was removed by order of the Grand Duke, Pietro Leopoldo.—*Masselli.*

† This fountain retains its original position.—*Ibid.*

from the fountain to the garden, are four boys in bronze, reclined and lying at play in various attitudes; and these, although subsequently executed by others, are likewise from the designs of Tribolo.* Above the tazza just described, he then commenced another pedestal, on the lowermost part of which are four boys of marble in full relief, standing on ressaults, and pressing the necks of geese, from whose bills there pours water, and this water is that of the principal aqueduct, which comes from the labyrinth and rises exactly to the level of this point. Above these Boys rises the remainder of the shaft of this pedestal, which is formed into small tubes, whence the water streams in the most fanciful manner; where the pedestal resumes the quadrangular form, the ornament consists of masks, which are very well executed. On the summit of this pedestal there is then placed a smaller tazza, to the edge of which four heads of Capricorns are suspended by their horns: these throw water from their mouths into the larger tazza, to form the rain which falls, as we have said, into the first basin, or that with the eight sides.

Still higher, and rising over all, is another shaft decorated with various ornaments, among which are boys in mezzo-rilievo; they bend forwards to such an extent as to present a space sufficient for the base of a group representing Hercules strangling Antæus, and which was executed after the design of Tribolo, but by the hands of others, as I propose to relate hereafter.† From the mouth of Antæus it was the intention of Tribolo that water in a large quantity should proceed, to represent the exhaling spirit; this water is that of the great aqueduct of the Petraia, which comes in great force and rises sixteen braccia above the level of the stages or steps, from which height, as it falls back into the larger tazza, the spectacle presented thereby is most admirable.

Through this aqueduct, moreover, there pass not only the waters of the Petraia, but also those which go to the lake and the grotto, and these, being united to the supplies from the Castellina, then proceed to the fountains of the Falterona and Monte Asinaio, whence they flow on to those of the

* They were modelled by Pierino da Vinci, as will be related in the following life.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1882-8.

† By Bartolommeo Ammannati.—*Ibid.*

Arno and Mugnone, as we have before related, and being again united at the fountain of the labyrinth, they thence continue to the centre of the great fountain, where are the boys with the geese. From this point, according to the plans of Tribolo, the waters were to have been conveyed by two separate conduits, to the basins of the loggie, each stream passing subsequently on to one of the private gardens. Now the first of these gardens, that towards the west namely, is entirely filled with medicinal plants, or with such as are otherwise remarkable, for which reason the statue of Esculapius was selected to occupy the niche of the fountain placed at the summit of this garden of simples ; the figure in question standing immediately behind the basin receiving the water.

The principal fountain of Castello, whereof we have spoken above, and which was constructed entirely of marble, was finished at all points by Tribolo himself, and was indeed completed to such perfection, that nothing better could be wished for in a work of that character ; insomuch that I believe it may with truth be declared the most admirably proportioned, most pleasing, richest, and most beautiful fountain that has ever been constructed, seeing that throughout the whole work, in the vases, basins, figures, and other decorations, the most extraordinary ability, care, and patience, are everywhere apparent. After having prepared the model for the above-mentioned statue of Esculapius, Tribolo began to work on the marble, but being interrupted by other occupations, he did not complete that figure, which was subsequently finished by his disciple, the sculptor Antonio di Gino.

On a small lawn outside the garden, and to the east thereof, is an oak, which Tribolo found means to use for his purposes in a very ingenious manner. This old tree is covered with ivy climbing to the summit, and which covers every part, being interwoven among the branches in such sort, that it gives the appearance of a very thick grove to this oak, to the top whereof Tribolo made a commodious staircase, similarly concealed and covered with the ivy, not being visible indeed from any point. Arrived at the summit, a square chamber is found furnished with seats, which have the backs and arms of living verdure, and in the centre is a small table of marble, with a vase thereon, also of vari-

coloured marble, and whence, by means of a tube, a copious jet of water is cast high into the air; the returning water being conveyed away by a second tube, both tubes ascending from the foot of the oak, and being covered in such a manner by the ivy that they cannot be perceived. From this fountain of the oak the water may be taken or restored at pleasure, by the turning of certain keys prepared for that purpose, but it would take us too far to describe the various ways in which this water of the oak may be cast about by means of copper instruments, which allow the streams to be thrown on whomsoever it may be desired to sprinkle therewith, while various sounds as of whistlings, &c. can also be produced with the same. Finally, all these waters, after having supplied so many fountains, and served so many purposes, ebing ultimately brought all together, proceed to the two small lakes before the palace, and at the commencement of the avenue, whence they are distributed to the various uses of the villa.

Nor will I omit to mention what had been the purpose of Tribolo with respect to the ornament of statues which were to be placed in the great garden of the labyrinth, there to occupy the niches which are regularly distributed around the same. He proposed then, and in doing so had judiciously taken counsel with Messer Benedetto Varchi, a most excellent poet, orator, and philosopher of our times, that at the upper and lower ends of the garden there should be placed the four Seasons of the year, Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter; and that each should occupy that point where the effects of its force are the most felt. At the entrance, and on the right hand, commencing from the statue of Winter, six figures were to be placed along the wall which descends to the lower part of the garden; all to denote and set forth the greatness and excellence of the house of Medici; signifying moreover, that all the virtues are to be found assembled in the person of the Duke Cosimo. These were Justice, Mercy, Valour, Generosity, Wisdom, and Liberality, which have ever dwelt in the house of Medici, and are now all to be found in the most excellent Signor Duke; seeing that he is of a truth most just and merciful, brave and generous, wise and liberal.

And because these qualities have made and do make Florence to be rich in the possession of laws, peace, arms.

science, wisdom, the tongues, and the arts ; seeing, too, that the Signor Duke is just as regards the laws, merciful, in harmony with the prevalent peace, valiant in arms, generous in the promotion of science, wise in the furtherance and introduction of the tongues and other knowledge, while he is also liberal to the arts, Tribolo designed that on the left hand of the entrance, and opposite to the statues of Justice, Mercy, Valour, Generosity, Wisdom, and Liberality, there should be placed those of Law, Peace, Arms, Science, Tongues, and Arts, as will be more clearly perceived below ; seeing all this, I say, it was most appropriately arranged, that the above-named statues and similitudes should be placed, as they would have been had all been completed according to the original design, above the rivers Arno and Mugnone, to signify that they also contribute to the honour and advantage of the city of Florence. Tribolo furthermore intended to place a bust, which should be the portrait of one of the house of Medici, on the summit of each of the niches wherein were to be erected the statues as above related : over the statue of Justice, for example, was to be placed the bust of his excellency the Duke Cosimo, justice being his peculiar quality ; over Mercy was to stand the portrait of the illustrious Giuliano ; over Generosity that of the elder Lorenzo; over Wisdom the likeness of either Cosimo the elder or Pope Clement VII. ; and over Liberality the head of the Pontiff Leo X. It was likewise suggested that over the figures on the opposite side, other busts might be placed, representing either men from the house of Medici or other personages of the city connected with the same.

Now all these names may cause the description here given to become somewhat confused ; wherefore they are presented to the reader below, and in the following order, which is that wherein they were to have been placed.

Summer.— | The river Mugnone | —Portal— | The river Arno | —Spring

Arts.
Tongues.
Sciences.
Arms.
Peace.
Law.

Loggie.

Liberality.
Wisdom.
Generosity.
Valour.
Mercy.
Justice.

Loggie.

Antumn— | —Portal— | Loggia | —Portal— | —Winter.

All these decorations would without doubt have rendered this the most beantiful, most magnificent, and most richly adorned garden in Europe, but the works were not brought to completion, because Tribolo did not take such measures as he might have done for pressing the works vigorously forward, while the Signor Duke was in the mind to have them executed, and for conducting the whole to completion, as it is certain that he could have done, seeing that he had abundance of men to assist him, and that the Duke was then quite ready to expend money for the purpose: those impediments which afterwards presented themselves, not having arisen at that time. Nay, the Duke, not content with the large stores of water already provided, was then disposed to bring those of Valcenni, where they abound in vast quantities, first to Castello, and thence, by an aqueduct similar to the above-mentioned, to conduct them to Florence itself, and so to the Piazza whereon stands his own palace. And, of a truth, if this work had been pressed forward by a man of more energy, and one more desirous of glory than was Tribolo, the whole would at least have been brought into a state of forwardness; but as Tribolo, besides that he was much engaged by the Duke in various matters of business, was not very prompt in his movements, nothing further was done; and in all the time that he worked at Castello, he completed nothing with his own hand, except the two fountains, with their two rivers, Arno and Mugnone; and the statue of Fiesole; yet this arose from no other cause, so far as I can ascertain, than from the one just given, and from his having besides been too frequently occupied, as before remarked, with the different affairs of the Duke.

Among other, matters for example the Signor Duke caused Tribolo to build a bridge over the Mugnone, at a short distance without the Gate of San Gallo, where that river crosses the high road which leads to Bologna, and the arch of this bridge, seeing that the river crosses the road in a diagonal line, Tribolo constructed in a similar direction, which was then a new thing, and was much commended; the masonry of the stone arch was more particularly praised, being all worked in pieces, each piece having the proper degree of inclination from the square in every direction, and all were so admirably conjoined that the bridge has proved to be a struc

ture of great force, and has moreover a very graceful aspect; this bridge is, in short, an exceedingly beautiful work.

No long time before this was accomplished, the Duke formed the intention of erecting a sepulchral monument to the Signor Giovanni de' Medici, his father; and being desirous that Tribolo should construct the same, that artist prepared a very beautiful model accordingly, in competition with Raffaello da Monte Lupo, who was favoured by Francesco di Sandro, Master of Arms to his Excellency, and had also made a model. But it was that of Tribolo which the Duke commanded to be put in execution, and the artist repaired to Carrara, for the purpose of having the marbles excavated; while there he also procured marble for the two basins of the fountains in the Loggie at Castello, with a table and many other pieces of marble.

Meanwhile Messer Giovan-Battista da Ricasoli, who is now Bishop of Pistoja, having gone to Rome for certain of the Duke's affairs, was there sought out by Baccio Bandinelli, who, having just then completed the sepulchral monuments of Pope Leo X. and Pope Clement VII., which were erected in the church of the Minerva, requested Messer Giovan-Battista to procure for him the favour of his Excellency the Duke; Messer Giovanni, therefore, wrote to the latter, informing him that Baccio Bandinelli desired to have an opportunity for entering his service; to which his Excellency wrote in reply that Messer Giovanni should bring Baccio with him: when, having arrived in Florence, Bandinelli was so importunate in his audacity with the Duke, and made so much display with his models and so many promises, that the tomb of the Signor Giovanni, which was to have been executed by Tribolo, was given to him instead. Baccio then took certain blocks of marble of Michelagnolo's, which were in the Via Mozza, broke them to pieces without any consideration, and forthwith commenced the work. On Tribolo's return from Carrara he thus found that the monument had been taken from him because he was too yielding and too dilatory.

In the year when bonds of relationship were formed between the Signor Duke Cosimo and the Signor Don Pietro di Toledo, Marquis of Villa Franca, who was then Viceroy of

Naples, the Signor Duke taking the daughter of Don Pietro, the Signora Leonora, to wife,—in that year, I say, and when the preparation for the nuptials was made in Florence, Tribolo received commission to erect a Triumphal Arch at the Gate of Prato, by which the bride was to enter the city as she came from the Poggio. This he constructed in a very beautiful manner, adorning it richly with columns, pilasters, architraves, cornices, and pediments; but as the arch was to be decorated with other pictures and historical representations, in addition to the statues by Tribolo, paintings were executed for the same by the Venetian Battista Franco, as well as by Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, and Michele his disciple.

The principal figure executed by Tribolo for this work was a female form, five braccia high, surrounded by five children, three of whom were about her knees, one on her lap, and the fifth in her arms; this figure represented Fertility, and was placed on the highest summit of the pediment, on the centre that is to say, and raised on a pedestal covered with rilievi; beside this statue, but on the sides of the pediment, were two recumbent figures of the same size, one on either hand, that on the one side representing Security, and leaning on a column with a slight rod in her hand; the other signifying Eternity, and having a globe in her arms, while beneath her feet lay an old bald man representing Time, and holding in his arms the Sun and Moon. Of the works in painting whereby this arch was adorned, I say no more, because all may see the description of them in the account of the preparations for these nuptials.

It was one of the duties of Tribolo to take charge of such decorations as were required for the palace of the Medici; he, therefore, caused various devices, with mottoes appropriate to the festival of this wedding, or alluding to the various members of the Medici family, to be executed in the lunettes around the vaulting of the court. The large open court also was adorned by his direction with a most sumptuous array of historical representations; the acts and deeds of the Greeks and Romans on one side namely, with numerous pictures on the others, whereon were delineated events from the lives of the illustrious men of the said house of Medici; all executed after the designs of Tribolo by the most distin-

guished among the young painters who were then in Florence, Bronzino, Pier Francesco di Sandro,* Francesco Bachiacca,† Domenico Conti,‡ Antonio di Domenico, and Battista Franco of Venice.

On the Piazza of San Marco likewise, a horse of twelve braccia, with the fore feet raised in the air, was erected by Tribolo on a pedestal ten braccia high, on which last Broznino had depicted two very beautiful historical representations in the socle above the cornices. A figure of due proportions and fully armed was seated on the horse, having men dead and wounded lying beneath the animal; and that figure represented the valiant Signor Giovonni de' Medici, father of his Excellency. This work was conducted by Tribolo with so much art and judgment that it was admired by all who beheld it, and a circumstance which caused much astonishment was the celerity with which he accomplished his task. Tribolo was on this occasion assisted, among other artists, by the sculptor Santi Buglione,§ who had a very serious fall at that time, by which one of his legs was lamed, and he had very nearly died.

It was also under the direction of Tribolo that the very beautiful scene for the drama which was performed on the same occasion, was executed by Aristotile da Sangallo, who was of a verity most truly excellent in these things, as will be related in his life. For the dresses used in the interludes also, which were written by Giovan-Battista Strozzi,‖ who had charge of the whole comedy, Tribolo displayed the most extraordinary powers of invention; designing head-dresses, buskins of various kinds, and every sort of vestment, in the most graceful and pleasing forms that can possibly be imagined, and with the richest variety; all which caused the Duke afterwards to avail himself of Tribolo's ingenuity for many a masking, that of the bears for example, that of the race of buffaloes, that of the crows, and many others.

* A disciple of Andrea del Sarto.

† Francesco Ubertini, called Il Bachiacca, mentioned more than once by Vasari, but more especially in the Life of Bastiano, called Aristotele, which follows.

‡ Also a disciple of Andrea del Sarto.

§ Mentioned in the Life of Michael Angelo, as having executed the Bust which was placed on the bier of that master.

‖ An elegant poet, as his printed works sufficiently prove.—*Bottari.*

In like manner, at the time when his eldest son, the Signor Don Francesco, was born to the Duke, there were sumptuous preparations to be made in the Church of San Giovanni, the whole charge of which was given to Tribolo. An extremely magnificent enclosure, capable of containing a hundred young persons, who had accompanied the Prince from the palace to that temple, wherein he was to receive his baptism, made part of these decorations, which were arranged by Tribolo, in company with the wood-carver Tasso, * with so much ability, and were so judiciously adapted to the place, that this church, which is indeed an old and very fine one, was made to appear like a new building in the modern manner and of the utmost beauty, the seats around it being richly adorned with pictures and gilding.

In the centre of the building, and immediately beneath the lantern, a large vase of wood, richly carved and formed with eight sides, was erected; the foot of this vase rested on four steps, at each angle of all the eight sides were lions' claws, and from the earth there rose up enormous vine tendrils, on which were children, also of large size and in various attitudes. They supported the edge of the vase with their hands, and on their shoulders they bore festoons, which hung down to the hollow space in the centre of the vase, passing entirely around the same. In the vase itself Tribolo caused to be erected a pedestal, likewise in wood, and carved with beautiful and fanciful ornaments; on this, as the completion of the whole, he placed a figure of San Giovanni Battista three braccia high, by the hand of Donatello, and which was left by him to the house of Gismondo Martelli, as we have said in the Life of Donatello himself.† At a word, this church was adorned both within and without in the richest manner that could be devised, the principal chapel alone being omitted, where there is an old Tabernacle, with those figures in relief which were formerly executed by Andrea Pisano.

But it now seemed that as all else was renewed, so this old chapel, thus neglected, deprived everything that had

* Bernardo Tasso, a most able carver in wood, and extolled as such by Cellini; he subsequently became the court architect, as we read below.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† For which, see vol. i.

been done elsewhere of all its beauty. Wherefore, it chanced that one day when the Duke had gone to see the preparations, he commended what had been done, like the judicious person that he was, and acknowledged that Tribolo had most admirably found means to accommodate his arrangements to the site and condition of the church, and had made the most of everything. But one thing he censured, and with some severity, that nothing had been done with respect to the principal chapel namely, and he at once commanded, with prompt and ready determination, as well as infinite judgment, that the entire chapel should be instantly covered with an immense canvas, whereon the Baptism of Christ should be depicted in chiaro-scuro. Vast crowds of people were also to be delineated as standing around and beholding that baptism, or preparing themselves to be baptized in their turn; some divesting themselves of their clothing, and others resuming the vestments that had been laid aside; the whole to exhibit a great variety of attitudes. Above, and at the summit of all, was to be placed a figure of the Almighty Father sending down the Holy Spirit; two river-gods were to be added to the lower part, and were to represent the Ior and the Dan, which, by the mingling of their waters, form the river Jordan.

For the execution of this work application was then made to Jacopo Pontormo by Messer Pier-Francesco Riccio,* who was then Steward of the household to the Duke, as well as by Tribolo himself, to the intent that he should undertake that painting; but Jacopo would not attempt the task, since the time given for its execution was but six days, and he did not think it possible to complete the work within that time; Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, Bronzino, and many other artists also declining the work for the same reason. At that time Giorgio Vasari, having returned from Bologna, was engaged in the execution of a picture for the Chapel belonging to Messer Bindo Altoviti, in the Church of Sant' Apostolo in Florence, but he was not held in much consideration, although living on terms of intimacy with Tribolo and Tasso, because a sort of faction had been formed under the favour

* Benvenuto Cellini makes mention of this personage, but in terms of much disparagement, calling him "*bestia*," and other hard names. See the well-known *Autobiography* of Cellini.

of the above-named Messer Pier Francesco Riccio, insomuch that whoever was not of that party obtained no share in the favours of the court, even though an able and upright artist, and this state of things caused many who might have become excellent masters with the aid of so great a prince, to find themselves neglected and abandoned, seeing that none were employed unless with the good pleasure of Il Tasso, who, being a joyous companion, did so wind round Messer Pier Francesco with his pranks and jests, that in certain affairs the latter would neither command nor execute anything but what Tasso, who was the architect of the palace, and had all things in his hands, advised and wished for.

This faction, therefore, having a sort of suspicion of Giorgio, partly because he did but laugh at their follies and pretensions, but partly also because he strove to advance himself rather by the careful study of his art than by favour; they had consequently no thought of applying to him, but the Duke himself entrusted him with the commission for the work, and he was commanded to paint the before-mentioned composition on the canvas accordingly. This work Giorgio executed in chiaro-scuro, within the six days, completing it in such sort as is known to all who have seen the important addition made thereby to the grace and decoration of the whole spectacle, and how greatly that part of the church, which was most of all in need of such renovation for the magnificence of the occasion, was lighted up and improved by the same.

But to return to Tribolo, from whom I have departed, I scarcely know how. This artist acquitted himself so well on the occasion now in question, that he obtained the highest encomiums, and a great part of the decorations erected by his care between the columns were suffered, by command of the Duke, to retain their places, a distinction which they well deserved; they remain accordingly in the church.

For the Villa of Cristofano Rinieri at Castello, Tribolo executed the statue of a River God, the size of life, in grey stone; this he did while occupied with the Fountains of the Duke, and placed it in a niche at the head of the fish-pond, which extends beyond the aviary of the villa. The statue pours water into a very large basin of the same stone, and that figure, though made of several pieces, has every part

conjoined with so much care, that it appears to be formed entirely of one piece. Tribolo next received the commands of his Excellency to finish the flight of steps which ascend to the Library of San Lorenzo, those of the vestibule before the door namely, and he set hand to the work accordingly; but when he had erected four of those great steps, he could not find either the designs or the measurements of Michelagnolo, and by the orders of the Duke he repaired to Rome, not only to obtain the opinion of Michelagnolo in relation to those steps, but also in the hope of inducing the latter to return with him to Florence.

But he did not succeed in either of his errands. Michelagnolo would not leave Rome, but excused himself in the most courteous manner; as to the steps, he appeared to remember neither the measurements nor any other matter concerning them. Tribolo therefore, having returned to Florence, and not being able to continue the work of the above-named steps,* then set himself to execute the pavement of the Library, which was of white and red bricks, after the manner of certain pavements which he had seen in Rome, with this difference, that Tribolo introduced compartments in red clay among others of white mingled with bole, thereby producing the effect of carvings, and so making a kind of copy of the ceiling, with its decorations, upon the floor; a fancy which was then very much extolled.

For the highest tower of the defences at the Gate of Faenza, Tribolo commenced an Escutcheon of Arms at the command of Don Giovanni di Luna, who was then Castellan of that fortress: he also began a very large figure of an Eagle with two heads, in full relief; this he modelled in wax, preparatory to its being cast in bronze; but nothing further was done in the matter, and the only part of the Arms completed was the shield.

Now it was the custom at Florence that almost every year, on the Festival of San Giovanni Battista, a Girandola should be constructed, to be exhibited at night on the principal Piazza; this Girandola being a great frame-work,

* They were in fact erected by Vasari himself, and although he does not here mention that fact, where it might seem to reflect on the ability of Tribolo, he speaks of this work in the Life of Michael Angelo, as among those executed by himself.

covered with jets of flame, and filled with rockets and artificial fireworks of every description, sometimes presenting the form of a temple, sometimes of a ship, sometimes of rocks, or occasionally of a city, or the infernal regions, as might best suit the taste of the inventor. The charge of this work was one year given to Tribolo, who performed his part to admiration, as shall be related below. But as in relation to the various modes of these artificial fires, more especially of those intended to be set off as spectacles on festive occasion, there is a Treatise by the Sienese Vannoccio,* and also works by other writers, I will say no more respecting them, but confine myself to a few remarks on these Girandolas.

The whole construction is of wood, with broad spaces, which last increase from the lower part upwards, widening that is to say as they approach the summit, to the end that the rockets, when set alight, shall not interfere with or set fire to each other, but rising into the air, shall there gradually separate to the extent desired, and each giving aid to the other, shall fill the air with a shower of fire, which shall form arches from heaven to earth. The spaces of the machine, I say, are thus contrived to enlarge, that so the fires may not burn all at once, but may form a continuous and beautiful object. The same arrangement is made with regard to other kinds of fireworks, such, for example, as being fast bound to the firm poles of the Girandola, are so contrived as to maintain a continued succession of joyous sounds. Those which are intended to send forth these festive clamours are indeed for the most part distributed among the ornaments of the structure, being not unfrequently made to proceed from the mouths of masks, or things of similar kind.

But the most important consideration in respect to this Girandola is, that the lights which are fixed thereon, in vases of whatever kind, shall be so calculated as to burn throughout the night, thus constantly maintaining the Piazza in a state of illumination. The whole movement of the work is in fact effected by a simple match of tow, which being saturated with a preparation of powder, sulphur, and brandy, gradually makes its way from one point to another, kindling

* Bottari tells us that the work here alluded to is the *Pirotechnia* of Vannoccio Biringucci.

fires at every place where such are demanded, until the whole is accomplished. And hereby may various circumstances be exhibited, but those selected are for the most part in relation to things prepared by fire, or to persons punished by that element. Thus there had long before been represented the Flight of Lot and his Daughters from the condemned City, and the Story of Gerion with Virgil and Dante in the lower regions, as we find it related by Dante himself in his *Inferno;* nay, even previously to these there had been the representation of Orpheus bringing back Eurydice with him from those infernal abodes, with many other subjects of similar kind.

His Excellency therefore commanded that the preparation of the Girandola should not on that occasion be left to such simpletons as more than once before had exhibited a thousand absurdities in these works, but should be placed in charge of an eminent master, who might produce something really good. He thus commissioned Tribolo to take the direction of the matter; and that artist, with the ability and judgment always displayed in his undertakings, constructed a framework in the form of a beautiful Temple, having eight sides, and rising with its decorations to a height of twenty braccia. This temple was intended to exhibit that of Peace, and on the summit was a statue of the goddess, setting fire to a great heap of Arms, which she had at her feet. These arms, the statue of Peace, and all the other figures, which gave a most beautiful aspect to that structure, were all formed with pasteboard, clay, and waxed cloth, but in the most artistic manner; these materials being used to the end that the whole work should be as light as possible, seeing that it had to be suspended by a double rope, which, crossing the Piazza at a great height, upheld the same above the earth.

It is true that the inflammable materials had been laid too thickly within the building, and the matches also were placed too close together, insomuch that when they were once kindled, the fury of the fire was such that the fabric burst into flame at all points, and was consumed as by lightning, whereas it ought to have continued burning at least for an hour. But what was worse, the fire seized on the wood-work and all that should have been preserved, consuming the ropes and everything besides in an instant, to the great destruction

of materials, and with very little pleasure to the spectators. Still, as regards the work itself, it was more beautiful than any other Girandola that had ever been made up to that time.

The Duke then proposing to construct the Loggia of the new Market, for the greater convenience of the traders and for the advantage of his people at large, was not willing to lay the burden of that work also upon Tribolo, who, as Superintendent of the *Capitani di Parte*, and Commissioner of Roads and Rivers, had to travel up and down through all the State, as well as to look after the fosses of the city; there were, moreover, certain rivers, which he with great labour had to find means for confining within their boundaries, they not unfrequently overpassing the same, to the great injury of the neighbourhood. The repair of bridges and other works of similar character were in like manner under his care, and all these things considered, the Duke gave the works of the new Market in charge to Il Tasso, which he did by the advice of Messer Pier Francesco, his Major-domo, thereby turning the said Tasso from a carpenter into an architect, which was indeed much against the wish of Tribolo, who would nevertheless not express the dissatisfaction which he felt, and appeared to be very much the friend of Tasso.

As a proof of this it may be remarked, that although Tribolo perceived many errors in the model prepared by Tasso, he did not choose, as is believed, to make any observation respecting them. Among other faults namely was this, that the capitals of the columns, which are before the pilasters, had not sufficient space left for them, insomuch that when all was prepared, and each part had to be put into its place, the corona at the summit of those capitals would not go in, and so much of it had to be cut away, that the whole range was spoiled; there were besides many other mistakes and oversights, of which we need not speak further.*

For the above-named Messer Pier Francesco, this Tasso executed the portal of the Church of San Romolo, with a window supplied with a curved grating, and looking on the Piazza del Duca. This he did in a manner entirely his own,

* An Italian commentator remarks that the Loggia thus censured by Vasari is not without merit of various kinds, nor wanting in magnificence.

placing capitals to serve as bases, and doing many other things so completely without measure or order, that we may safely affirm the Teutonic manner to have received new life in Tuscany by means of this man;* to say nothing of all the work that he made in the Palace, where he constructed staircases and rooms, which the Duke has been compelled to have demolished, since they had neither order nor measure, nor proportion of any kind; nay, rather, they were ill-contrived, out of square, destitute of all grace, and exceedingly incommodious.

But all these things were not done without blame to Tribolo, since he, having judgment enough, ought not, as it seemed, to have suffered that his Prince should throw away his money, and at the same time have a disgrace and shame erected before his eyes ; nay, it was even still worse that he should permit Tasso, who was his friend, to do such things. Very clearly do men of discretion and judgment perceive the presumption and folly of any one who pretends to exercise an art of which he knows nothing, nor do such men fail to remark the dissimulation of those who pretend to like and approve of attempts which they certainly know to be without merit, all which may be exemplified by the works which Giorgio Vasari has had to demolish in the Palace, to the great loss of the Duke, as well as the disgrace of those by whom they were permitted and executed.

But much the same thing happened to Tribolo as to Tasso, for as the latter deserted his wood-carving, in which vocation he had no equal, yet never became a good architect, because he had left an art of which he knew much, and wherein he was very able, to devote himself to one in which he had no ability whatever, and wherefrom he derived little honour; so Tribolo, abandoning sculpture, in which it may be truly said that he was an artist of high excellence, and surprised all who beheld his works, for the vain attempt to restrain the course of rivers, in which he met with no success, did not continue to pursue the one vocation, so as to secure his fame, and derived censure and injury instead of honour and

* The Church of San Romolo, with the door by Tasso, has ceased to exist, as has the window which was near. See Ruggieri, *Corso d'Architettura*, in the first volume of whose work is a plate of the Church of San Romolo.

profit from the other. For it is certain that he did not succeed in his efforts to bring the rivers within bounds, while he made himself numerous enemies, more particularly in the district of Prato, on account of the ravages committed by the Bisenzio, and in the Val di Nievole, for similar causes, to say nothing of other places.*

The Duke Cosimo having then bought the Palazzo de' Pitti, of which we have made mention in another place, and desiring to adorn the building more richly with gardens, groves, fish-ponds, fountains, and other decorations of similar kind, caused Tribolo to undertake this work; when he made that distribution of the ground, which is the declivity of a hill, which we now see, arranging all, and putting everything into its due place with great judgment: but many things were subsequently much altered in various parts of the garden. Respecting this Palace of the Pitti, which is the most beautiful edifice in Europe, I propose to speak at greater length on another occasion.

After all these things, Tribolo was sent by the Duke to the Island of Elba, not only that he might see the city and examine the new port which had been constructed there, but also that he might take order for the transport of a piece of granite, twelve braccia in diameter, of which it was proposed to make a Tazza for the great lawn of the Pitti palace, and which was intended to serve as the basin for receiving the waters of the principal fountain. To that Island Tribolo therefore repaired accordingly, and caused a skiff to be built purposely for the transport of the piece of granite, he likewise made all other arrangements required to that end, and having given the stone-cutters directions as to the manner in which the Tazza was to be shipped, he returned to Florence.

But no sooner had he reached that city than he found all in uproar, and maledictions innumerable sounding against himself; great floods and inundations having in those days caused infinite mischief in the very districts where Tribolo had worked at the embankments of the rivers, although it was very possibly not altogether by his fault that these mis-

* Gaye, *Carteggio inedito*, gives a letter from Tribolo to the Duke, dated from Pescia, on the 27th Oct., 1547, wherein he transmits intelligence concerning certain water-works with which he was then occupied, and describes the embarrassments which they caused him.

fortunes had happened.* Be this as it may, and whether it were by the malignity of some of those employed, or the envy of others, or that he is indeed to blame as was affirmed; certain it is that the weight of all this evil was laid on the shoulder of Tribolo. Now that master was not a man of any great courage; on the contrary, his disposition was rather an anxious one than the reverse; fearing therefore that the malice of some enemy might cause him to lose the favour of the Duke, he was in a state of great depression, when he was seized with an exceedingly violent fever. By this malady, Tribolo, who was always of very delicate constitution, was attacked on the 20th day of August in the year 1550, at which time Giorgio Vasari was in Florence, for the purpose of seeing the marbles required for the sepulchral monuments, which Pope Julius III. was having erected at San Pietro in Montorio, transmitted to Rome. He therefore, as one who truly valued and admired the abilities of Tribolo, went to visit and comfort him, entreating that he would think of nothing at that moment but the recovery of his health, and advising that when he was cured he would return to the works at Castello and complete them, leaving the rivers to run their own course, seeing that they were far more likely to drown his fame than bring him either honour or profit. This he promised to do; and I believe that he would have kept his word to the fullest extent, if he had not been prevented by death, which closed his eyes on the 7th day of September in the same year.†

Thus the works of Castello, commenced by this master and brought by him to a state of considerable forwardness, were

* Bottari has remarked, and with justice, that the fault of Tribolo was in his believing himself to be acquainted with a science of which he did not even know the first principles, which were indeed wholly unknown until Castelli laid them down a hundred years afterwards, in his Treatise concerning the *Acque Correnti.*

† Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'Artisti*, vol. ii. p. 380, gives the following notice, from the *Memorie fiorentine inedite*, in a note to a letter from Duke Cosimo to the Proveditore of Fortresses, Ser Jacopo, in which letter the Duke mentions the death of Tribolo:—"26th August, 1550, died Il Tribolo, who, about the year 1529, made measurements by night of the whole city of Florence, and executed a model in wood thereof, which was kept by Pope Clement VII. in his possession to the end of his days. Tribolo was occupied, when he died, with the arrangement of the garden and heights of Boboli."

left unfinished and have so remained; for although since his death there has some work been done, first in one part and then in another, yet they have never been attended to with that diligence and earnestness which they did at one time receive, when Tribolo was living that is to say, and at the time when the Duke was very anxious for the progress of the undertaking. But of a truth, he who does not press forward the works on which he is engaged, while those who cause them to be executed are willing to spend freely, and while they take a great interest therein, is himself the cause of their being neglected, and occasions those works to remain incomplete, which by forethought and zeal he might have brought to their ultimate perfection. Thus by the negligence of the master is the world deprived of an ornament which it might have enjoyed, while he also remains without the honour and memorial which he would have possessed in those productions. For it rarely happens as it did to this villa of Castello, that on the death of the first master a second is found willing to carry forward the work, in strict accordance with the designs and model of the original author, with that modesty which was shown by Giorgio Vasari, who, by commission from the Duke, has caused the great fishpond of Castello and other parts of the work to be completed entirely after the designs of Tribolo, and accordingly as his Excellency has been disposed to have them gradually put out of hand.

Tribolo lived to the age of sixty-five, and was interred by the Barefooted Brotherhood in their place of burial. He left a son called Raffaello, who, has not attached himself to the pursuits of art; and two daughters, one of whom is the wife of Davidde,* who was the assistant of Tribolo in all the buildings erected at Castello, and who, being a person of much judgment, is now employed on the aqueducts of Florence and Pisa (he possessing considerable knowledge of such matters), as well as for those in any other part of the Duke's dominions for which it may please his Excellency to require his services.

* David Fortini, whose descendants settled in Florence, and obtained the rights of citizenship therein.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

THE SCULPTOR, PIERINO DA VINCI.

[BORN 152..—DIED 154..]

It is for the most part usual to celebrate those only who have ably produced some great work, but if the works which a man has performed are such as to show that what he might have effected, had not some unusual circumstance occurred to impede or interrupt him, would have been much more excellent as well as numerous, he will certainly be esteemed, by all who desire to prove themselves just in their appreciation of the talents of others, for the one part as well as for the other, and will not be refused the amount of credit due to him for what he might have done, any more than that to which he may lay claim for what he has accomplished. Thus the sculptor Vinci should not be made to suffer in fame, by the fact that the years of his life were but few, nor should he be deprived of the meed of praise which will be due to him from those who shall come after us; it must ever be taken into consideration that he was but in the first bloom of life and early period of his studies when he produced the works which we now admire, but would evidently have brought forth an abundant harvest had not envious Fate destroyed by tempest both plant and fruit.

I remember having once before related that Ser Piero, the father of the most famous painter Leonardo da Vinci, was an inhabitant of the Castello di Vinci in the lower Valdarno; to this Ser Piero, then, there was born, after Leonardo, a younger son whom he called Bartolommeo, and who, remaining at Vinci, and having arrived at the age of manhood, took one of the best-born maidens of the Castello to wife. Now Bartolommeo was exceedingly desirous of a male child, and frequently described to his wife the greatness of that genius with which his brother Leonardo had been endowed; wherefore she prayed God that he would make her worthy to be the mother of a second Leonardo, and that by her means a successor might be presented to the family, he being now dead.

Some time afterwards, and when, according to his desire, there was born to Bartolommeo a graceful little son, he was minded to give the child the name of Leonardo, but being

advised by his kindred to choose that of his own father instead, he consented to give the boy the name of Piero Having attained the age of three years, the infant presented a most beautiful aspect; he had a lovely countenance with rich curling hair, and displayed the most exquisite grace in all his movements; he gave proof likewise of extraordinary intelligence and vivacity of mind. At this time there came two intimate friends of Bartolommeo to Vinci, and were lodged in his house, Maestro Giuliano del Carmine* namely, an excellent astrologer, and a priest, who was a chiromant or fortune-teller. These men therefore, having examined the forehead and the hand of Bartolommeo's little son, predicted to the father, the astrologer and the chiromant together, that the genius of the child would prove to be very great; they added that he would make extraordinary progress in the mercurial arts and that in a very short time, but they declared that his life would be a very brief one. And too true was the prophecy of these men,† since both in one respect and the other—but one would have sufficed—whether as regarded his art or his life, it was amply fulfilled.

Continuing to increase in stature, Piero had his father for his master in letters; but of himself, and without any master, he began to draw, and to form little figures in clay, which proved that the natural inclination and celestial influences perceived by the astrologer and the chiromant, were already awakening to life, and beginning to give evidence of their existence. Seeing this, Bartolommeo concluded that his prayer had been granted by God, and, believing that his brother had been restored to him in the person of his son, he began to think of removing the child from Vinci and taking him to Florence. This decided on, Bartolommeo took measures for effecting it without delay, and placed Piero, who had now reached the age of twelve, with Baccio Bandinello, persuaded that Baccio, as having formerly been the friend of Leonardo, would take due care of the boy, and would teach him his art with all diligence; the father believing himself to have

* Fra Giuliano Ristori, of Prato.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† In Vasari's day great credit was given to astrologers, chiromanciers, &c., &c., a fact of which the history of that age, as well as of the preceding century, supplies many examples. But these absurdities were almost wholly swept from the human mind by our immortal Galileo.—*Bottari.*

ascertained that his child was more strongly disposed to sculpture than to painting.

But afterwards, coming very frequently to Florence, Bartolommeo perceived that Bandinello did not comport himself as he had expected, being altogether regardless of his duties to the boy, and taking no pains to teach him diligently, as he ought to have done, although he could not fail to perceive the strength of his inclination to learn and his power to do so. For this reason Bartolommeo took his son from Bandinello and gave him to Tribolo, in whom he thought he found evidence of a better disposition to aid those who were desirous of learning, with a more decided attachment to the studies of art, as well as a greater affection for the memory of Leonardo, than had been evinced by Bandinello. Tribolo was then working at the villa of his Excellency at Castello, and was occupied with certain of the fountains. Piero therefore began once more to draw as he had been wont to do, for having here the competition of the other young people whom Tribolo kept about him, he set himself with much ardour of mind to his studies, devoting himself thereto day and night, being impelled by his nature and an eager desire for knowledge and honour, while he was still further incited by the example of his fellow disciples, whom he constantly saw labouring around him.

In a few months therefore, Piero made progress by which all who beheld it were amazed, and having begun to acquire a certain facility in the use of the chisels, he set himself to try whether his hand and tools would respond obediently to the thoughts which he had conceived in his mind, and to the figures which his fancy presented to him. Remarking the zeal thus displayed, and having at that time just made a large basin in stone for Cristofano Rinieri, Tribolo gave to Piero a small piece of marble, that he might make the figure of a boy thereof; which figure the master intended to be that which was to throw water into the above-named basin. Piero received the marble with great rejoicing, and having first made a little model of clay, he afterwards completed his work in a manner so graceful, that Tribolo and all those who saw the same, felt persuaded that he would eventually prove to be one of those masters who become distinguished in their art. Tribolo next gave Piero the task of executing a Ducal

Cap in stone, which was to be placed over the balls used as the arms of the Medici, and the commission for which had been received by Tribolo from Messer Pier Francesco Riccio, Majordomo of the Duke: the youth completed this work also, with the addition of two little children, whose limbs are intertwined, and who, holding the ducal cap between them, place the same upon the coat of arms.

This escutcheon was erected over the door of a house which the Majordomo then occupied; it stands opposite to the church of San Giuliano, near that of the priests of Sant' Antonio,* and when the artists of Florence beheld this work they pronounced a judgment respecting Piero, precisely similar to that previously formed by Tribolo. After this Piero sculptured a figure of a boy for one of the fountains of Castello; he is holding a fish which he presses closely in his arms, and from the mouth of which there flows water: and Tribolo having then given him a larger piece of marble, Piero made two boys therefrom; with their arms thrown around each other they hold fishes compressed in their hands, from whose mouths the water is gushing. These boys were so graceful in form, so beautiful of countenance, and so admirably executed at all points—the legs, the arms, the hair, every part, in short, was so well done, that the ability of Piero to bring the most difficult work to perfection, was thereby rendered manifest to all.

Taking courage from his success, he then bought a piece of grey stone about two braccia and a half long, and having taken this to his dwelling which was at the corner of the Briga, Pietro began to work at it in the evening when he returned from his labours with Tribolo, as well as on festivals and sometimes during the night, until he gradually brought his work to completion. This was a figure of Bacchus with a Satyr at his feet; in one hand the God held a tazza, and in the other a bunch of grapes; a coronal formed from the vine encircling his brow: all which Piero had executed after a model made by himself in clay. In this, as well as in others of his earliest works, Piero gave evidence of the most admirable ease and facility, which permits nothing

* All the houses in the neighbourhood of the Oratory of Sant' Antonio have been rebuilt, and there is now no trace of this Coat of Arms to be seen.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

to appear that can offend the eye or in any manner disappoint the expectation of the beholder. When this Bacchus was completed, it was purchased by Bongianni Capponi, and his nephew, Ludovico Capponi, now has it in one of the courts of his house.

While Piero was executing these works, it was as yet known to but very few, that he was the nephew of Leonardo da Vinci, but his performances having rendered him known, and even distinguished, there was question made of his birth and kindred; whereupon he was ever after called Il Vinci, and no longer Piero, not only for his near connection with his uncle Leonardo, but also for that felicity of his genius wherein he so closely resembled that great man.

Il Vinci then, while he was thus pursuing his studies, had heard much discourse from many persons concerning the works of art to be seen in Rome; all highly extolling the same, as is the custom of every one. By these means Piero was inflamed with an ardent wish to see these works, and he had besides the hope that he should himself profit greatly, not by examining the works of the ancients only, but those of Michelagnolo likewise, and he further hoped to make the acquaintance of the last-named master, who was then living and resided at the time in Rome. He repaired to that city accordingly, in company with several of his friends; but having seen all that he had desired to behold there, he returned once more to Florence; perceiving with great judgment that the works he saw in Rome were too profound for him at that time, and must be studied and imitated, not thus in the commencement of his career, but after he had acquired a more intimate acquaintance with Art.

Tribolo had about that time completed a model for the shaft or column of the fountain of the labyrinth, in which there are certain Satyrs in basso-rilievo, with four masks in mezzo-rilievo, and four little boys seated on vine-tendrils; these last being in full relief, and Piero having then returned, Tribolo gave him the charge of this column, which he executed and completed, making certain graceful additions to the design, which were entirely original and peculiar to himself; nor have these failed to receive commendation from all who have seen them.

The marble vase, or rather basin, of this fountain, had been

prepared by Tribolo, who now proposed to place children in full relief on the edge thereof, these he wished to have lying in various attitudes and sporting with their arms and legs in the water: they were to be cast in bronze, but he would first have Piero model the figures of the same in clay, when he caused them to be cast by the sculptor Zanobi Lastricati, who was an able and experienced master of casting works in bronze. These children were placed around the fountain no long time since,* and are indeed most beautiful to behold.

Now Tribolo was in daily intercourse with Luca Martini, who was then superintendent of the buildings for the new market, and who greatly desired to promote the welfare of Il Vinci, whose excellence in art, and the propriety of his deportment, he found equally agreeable and commendable. He therefore gave the young artist a piece of marble, two-thirds of a braccio high and a braccio and a quarter long; and from this Vinci produced a figure of Our Saviour Christ fastened to the column and scourged. In this work the rules of basso-rilievo and of design are observed with great care and all who considered that Piero had not yet attained his sixteenth year, were amazed at this production, seeing that in the five years of his study, this youth had made acquisitions in art, which others attain only after length of life and the varied experience of many labours.

About this time Tribolo had accepted the office of superintending the drainage for the city of Florence, and in the fulfilment of his duties had commanded that the sewer of the Piazza Vecchia of Santa Maria Novella should be raised, to the intent that, being rendered more capacious, it might the more effectually receive all the waters which flowed into it from various parts. For this work Tribolo desired Il Vinci to make the model of a great mask, three braccia in extent, and this mask, opening the mouth, was thus to engulph all the rain-water. The model being prepared, the execution of the work was committed by the officials of the Torre to Piero, and he, to complete the undertaking the more readily, called the sculptor Lorenzo Marignolli to his aid, in company with whom he finished the mask, executing the same in a

* Where they still remain.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8. Of Lastricati we have further mention in the Life of Michael Angelo.

block of pietra forte, and this, to the no small convenience of the city, is now an ornament to the whole Piazza.*

It now appeared to Vinci that he had made sufficient acquirement in art, to render his revisiting Rome and studying the principal works to be found there advantageous to him, while the conversation of the most excellent artists there resident must also contribute largely to his progress: an occasion presenting itself for him to repair thither, he therefore seized it readily. And the matter was on this wise: Francesco Bandini, who was the intimate friend of Michelagnolo Buonarroti, having arrived in Florence from Rome, Il Vinci was made known to him by means of Luca Martini; being much pleased with the young artist, Francesco caused him to make the model in wax of a sepulchral monument, which he proposed to construct in marble for his chapel in the church of Santa Croce, and shortly afterwards, on his return to Rome, he took Vinci with him, the latter having made known to Luca Martini his wish to proceed to that city. Here, studying diligently, Piero remained a year, during which time he did not fail to produce works which merit a record. The first of these was in basso-rilievo, and represents Christ on the Cross, at the moment when he resigns his spirit to his Father, which Vinci copied from a design by Michelagnolo. For the Cardinal Ridolfi he added the breast to an antique head in bronze, and executed a Venus in basso-rilievo; the latter, which was in marble, received much praise. For Francesco Bandini, Piero restored a horse from the antique, many pieces being found wanting thereto, and Vinci rendering the figure entirely complete.

Piero, desiring to do what he could by way of proving his gratitude to Luca Martini, who wrote to him frequently and never ceased to recommend our artist to the good offices of Bandini,—Piero, I say, bethought himself of making a copy in wax from the Moses of Michelagnolo, giving to his work one-third of the size of the original. Now this statue of Buonarroti's, which makes part of the sepulchral monument of Pope Julius II. in San Pietro-in-Vincula, is a work of so much beauty, that no finer one can be seen, and it was this which Il Vinci now made in wax, and sent as a present

* The stone mask retained its place until the year 1748, when it was removed.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

to Luca Martini. While Piero was thus working in Rome, and was occupied with the labours of which we have spoken, Luca Martini was appointed by the Duke of Florence to be Proveditore of Pisa, and in his new office he did not forget his friend, but wrote to him, on the contrary, telling him that he was preparing an abode for his reception, and had a piece of marble of three braccia ready for him to commence working on, so that he might return at his pleasure, seeing that he should want for nothing while he would remain with him.

Attracted by this promise and by the love which he bore to Luca, Piero determined to leave Rome and to make Pisa his dwelling place for some time, thinking he might there find opportunities for the exercise of his vocation, and the desired occasion for making trial of his ability. Having reached Pisa therefore, he found the piece of marble already in his chamber, where it had been placed by command of Luca, when he resolved to make a full-length figure thereof. But having discovered that the marble had a crack, by which it lost a braccio of its height, he resolved to make a recumbent figure instead of an erect one, as he had at first proposed, and accordingly produced a young River-god, pouring water from a vase which he holds, and which is raised by three children, who assist him to pour the stream into its bed. Beneath the feet of the River-god there is then seen a copious flow of water, wherein fishes are gliding along, while aquatic birds of various kinds are hovering over it.

Having finished this work, Piero gave it to Luca, who made a present of the same to the Duchess, by whom it was very highly prized, and the rather as her brother Don Garzia di Toledo, having then arrived in Pisa with his galleys, she was thus enabled to offer him a gift which he received with much pleasure, and which he afterwards used for the fountain of his garden on the Chiaja in Naples.

Now at that time Luca Martini was writing certain notes on the Commedia of Dante, and having shown to Piero the cruelty which Dante describes as having been perpetrated by the Pisans and the Archbishop Ruggieri, upon the Count Ugolino della Gherardesca, by causing him to die of hunger with four of his children, in the tower, therefore called the Tower of Famine, he thereby offered occasion to Vinci for a new work, and inspired him with the thought of another

design. While still occupied with the above-named river therefore, he began to model a story in wax, which was afterwards to be cast in bronze; the height being somewhat more than a braccio, and the width three quarters of a braccio. In this he represented two of the Count's sons as dead, one in the act of expiring, and the fourth, exhausted by hunger and almost at extremity, but not yet arrived at the last breath. The father, blind with grief and in the most dolorous and pitiable attitude, goes stumbling over the miserable remains of his hapless children, which lie extended on the earth. In this work Il Vinci was no less happy in setting forth the powers of design, than Dante had been in displaying the excellence of poetry, seeing that he who beholds these events as represented in the wax of the sculptor, is moved to compassion no less forcibly than are those who listen to the words and accents imprinted on the living page of the poet.

To mark the site where the event delineated in the rilievo occurred, Piero has caused the river Arno to occupy the whole of the foreground, the before-mentioned tower in Pisa being but a very short distance from the Arno. On the tower itself there is an undraped figure, dry, attenuated, and of terror-stricken aspect, which represents Famine, and is much in the manner wherein she is described by Ovid. Having finished his work in wax, Piero cast the story in bronze, when the work was extolled by all the court as well as by every one who beheld it, all being greatly pleased therewith.*

Duke Cosimo was at that time deeply intent on the advantage and embellishment of the city of Pisa; he had already caused the Piazza del Mercato to be restored, and had a large number of shops erected around it, as also a column in the centre, the latter not less than ten braccia high, and on the summit thereof, according to the plan of Luca, was to be placed a statue of Riches. Martini having spoken to the Duke therefore, and presenting Piero to his Excellency, obtained a very willing assent from the Duke, who entrusted the young artist with that work, having always been ready to assist men of ability, and to bring for-

* This work, which has sometimes been erroneously attributed to Michael Angelo, is still to be seen in the Palace of the Count della Gherardesca, near the Porta-a-Pinti; many copies in plaster are to be found in other places.—*Masselli.*

ward all who have given promise of distinction. Il Vinci then executed the statue in travertine, making it three braccia and a half high, and the work was highly applauded, more particularly for the figure of a little child, which, being placed at the foot of the statue, assists to support the cornucopia, and, notwithstanding the rugged and intractable character of the material, has all the softness and flexibility of life.*

Luca subsequently sent orders to Carrara for the excavation of a block of marble, five braccia high and three wide; and of this Il Vinci, who had seen sketches by Michelagnolo, representing Samson slaying a Philistine with the jaw-bone of an Ass, determined to make two statues, five braccia high, after a design of his own. Wherefore, while the marble was on its way, he set himself to prepare numerous models in varied attitudes, from which he chose one, and the marble having arrived, he commenced the execution of the work; this he brought to a tolerable degree of forwardness, evolving his design from the marble, after the manner of Michelagnolo, by due degrees, without injury to any part, and avoiding the commission of all errors. Every separate portion of this work, which stands forth in full relief, was executed, as well internally as on the exterior, by Piero himself, although a very laborious undertaking, and gives proof of extreme facility, extraordinary softness of manner also being perceptible throughout the whole work. But as this was a very fatiguing occupation, Vinci employed himself at intervals with other studies, and in labours of less importance: at the same time, therefore, he produced a small basso-rilievo in marble, representing Our Lady, with the Saviour, San Giovanni, and Sant' Elizabetta; this also was, and still is, considered a work of singular excellence; it belonged to the illustrious Duchess, and is now among the most valued rarities in the Duke's study. †

Piero afterwards commenced a story in marble, executing the same, partly in mezzo-rilievo and partly in basso-rilievo. The height of this work was one braccio, the width a braccio and a half, and the subject is the Restoration of

* This figure still retains its place.—*Ed. Flor.*

† Now in the Florentine Gallery of the Uffizj, and in the smaller corridor of the Tuscan School.

Pisa by Duke Cosimo, who is seen amidst the buildings of that city; the works for the restoration of which are hastened forward by his presence. The Duke is represented as surrounded by the virtues attributable to him; a figure of Minerva may be more particularly specified, as representing his wisdom, and also as expressing the Arts, restored by his means to the city of Pisa. The figure of the city, on the contrary, is surrounded by numerous evils and certain natural defects of the site, which assail and afflict her in the manner of enemies: but all these have since been overcome or banished by the above-named virtues of the Duke. The figures around the Duke, as well as those surrounding Pisa, were drawn in the most beautiful attitudes by Vinci in his story, but the latter remained unfinished, to the great regret of all who beheld the perfection of such parts as were completed.*

The reputation of Vinci being much increased by these labours, and becoming bruited abroad, the heirs of Messer Baldassare Turini, of Pescia, requested him to prepare for them the model of a sepulchre in marble, which they proposed to construct to the memory of Messer Baldassare; and this being done, the work pleased them greatly: whereupon it was agreed that the said tomb should be executed, and Piero therefore sent to Carrara for the marbles required, and which he charged Francesco del Tadda, a most able master in stone-work,† to have excavated for him. The latter sent him the marble accordingly, when Il Vinci commenced a statue, and drew from the block a figure, sketched in such a manner that whoever had not known to the contrary, must have believed it to have been done by Michelagnolo.

The name of Vinci had now become great, and his genius was known and admired by all, being considered to evince a much more perfect maturity than could have been hoped for at so early an age; and much higher he would have risen without doubt, much greater would he have become,

* Bottari declares the fate of this work unknown, and is followed by later writers; but recent information assures us that it is now in the Gallery of the Vatican. The *Ape Italiana*, which gives an engraving of this relief, attributes it to Michael Angelo, and calls the restored city "Florence," but that the *Ape* is in error, might be readily shown, were this the place to enter on the discussion of the subject.

† See *ante*, p. 182, note ‖.

and would have equalled the most distinguished in his calling, as his works amply prove, without requiring any other testimony. But the term assigned to his existence by Heaven was now at hand, all his plans were interrupted, the rapidity of his progress was suddenly brought to a close, and the world was thus deprived of many excellent works of art, with which, had Vinci lived, it would, without doubt, have been adorned.

Now, it happened at this time, and when Vinci, intent on the sepulchral monument of another, did not know that his own was preparing for him ; it chanced, I say, that the Duke was obliged to send Luca Martini on matters of importance to Genoa, and the latter, as well because of his love for the company of Vinci, as in the hope of giving him some pleasure and amusement by the sight of Genoa, took our artist with him to that city, where Piero, by means of Martini, and while the latter was employed with his negotiations, received a commission from Messer Adamo Centurioni, for the execution of a figure of San Giovanni Battista, and for this he promptly prepared the model.

But Piero was now attacked by fever, and to increase his suffering, he was at the same time deprived of his friend, perhaps thereby to open a path by which fate might complete the destiny of Vinci. For it then became indispensable that Luca, for the furtherance of the affairs committed to his charge, should proceed to Florence, to confer with the Duke ; wherefore, parting from his sick friend, to the great sorrow of both, he left him in the house of the Abate Nero, earnestly recommending Piero, who remained very reluctantly in Genoa, to his care. But Vinci, feeling himself to be getting worse every day, resolved to depart from that city, and having caused his disciple, Tiberio Cavalieri, to be sent for from Pisa, he had himself removed, with his aid, to Leghorn, which place he gained by sea, and was then conveyed in a litter to Pisa. It was evening when the sick man arrived in Pisa, but exhausted by the fatigues of the journey, the discomforts of the sea voyage, and the strength of the fever, he could obtain no repose through the night, and as the day was dawning, he passed to another life, not having yet completed his twenty-third year.

The death of Vinci caused much grief to all his friends,

but most of all to Luca Martini,* who mourned him deeply. All those, moreover, who had hoped to see from his hands such works as are rarely beheld, were in due proportion afflicted by the loss of this artist, and Messer Benedetto Varchi, a warm admirer of his genius, and the friend of all who give evidence of distinguished powers, afterwards composed the following sonnet to his memory :—

Come potrò da me, se tu non presti
O forza, o tregua al mio gran duolo interno,
Soffrirlo in pace mai, Signo superno,
Che fin quì nuova ognor pena mi desti?
Dunque de' miei più cari or quegli, or questi
Verde sen voli all alto Asilo eterno
Ed io canuto in questo basso inferno
A pianger sempre, e lamentarmi resti?
Sciolgami almen tua gran bontade quinci,
Or che reo fato nostro, o sua ventura,
Ch' era ben degno d'altra vita, e gente,
Per far più ricco il cielo, e la scultura
Men bella, e me col buon MARTIN *dolente,*
N' ha privi, o pietà, del secondo VINCI. †

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* Luca Martini was himself a poet, and used the credit he enjoyed with Duke Cosimo to the furtherance of letters, and for the protection of learned and distinguished men. Benedetto Varchi, for example, having been exiled as a partizan of the Strozzi family, was himself recalled, and restored to the favour of the Duke by the good offices of Martini.

† How shall I find, O Lord of all supreme,
Or peace or truce to this great grief, or power
To suffer it in peace, if from thy hand
I find not aid in this still growing pain?
For ever of my dearest, one or other
Departs in his green youth to yon high heaven,
While I, grey mourner, of this darkened earth,
Wearied, am left to weep. Oh, let thy pity,
Father, remove me hence. Since our dark fate
Or his great bliss well-merited, hath reft us
Martin, and this thy suppliant, of that light
Which now enriches Heaven, but leaves his Art,
Sad sculpture, reft of beauty, and our hearts
Widowed of their best wealth—the second Vinci.

BACCIO BANDINELLI, SCULPTOR OF FLORENCE.

[BORN 1487—DIED 1559.]

AT the time when the Arts were enjoying much prosperity in Florence, by virtue of the favour and assistance accorded to them by the Magnificent Lorenzo de' Medici the Elder,* there lived in the city a goldsmith, named Michelagnolo di Viviano of Gaiuole. † This man worked admirably well with his chisels, prepared *intagli*, and executed enamels and *nielli;* he was, in short, an able master in all the works proper to his vocation. Michelagnolo had also considerable knowledge of, and much judgment in, jewels, which he set extremely well, and for his various advantages and acquirements, was chosen head of their craft by all the foreign masters of that calling, to whom he was ever ready to offer hospitality; as he also was to the young people of the city, and his shop was considered to be, as it truly was, the first in Florence.

To him it was that the Magnificent Lorenzo and all the house of Medici were accustomed to have recourse, for whatever might be demanded in his vocation, and for Giuliano, the brother of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Michelagnolo prepared all the ornaments of crests, helmets, and devices of various kinds, used for the tournament which Giuliano held on the Piazza di Santa Croce, all of which were finished with the most delicate mastery. This gained him a great reputation, and gave occasion to much intercourse between the goldsmith and the sons of the Magnificent Lorenzo, by whom his productions were ever highly valued, while their favour and friendship brought him great gains, by which, and by the many labours which he executed for all the city and the whole state, Michelagnolo became a rich man, as well as one of high repute among those of his art.

When the Medici left Florence in the year 1494, they committed much plate and goldsmiths' work to the safe keeping of Michelagnolo, all of which was most secretly kept and carefully guarded by him until their return, when the whole was faithfully restored, which caused him to be

* The father of Leo X., whom Vasari calls the Elder, to distinguish him from Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino.

† A place in the Val Chianti.—*Ed. Fior.*, 1832-8.

afterwards much commended, by them of that house, for his fidelity, which they amply rewarded.

To this Michelagnolo there was born in the year 1487, a son, whom he named Bartolommeo, but who afterwards, according to the custom of Florence, was by every one called Baccio. Desiring that this youth should be the heir of his art, as well as of his possessions, the father took him into his workshop, in company with other young people, who were learning the art of design, as it was then customary to do, seeing that he who was not a good designer and well-acquainted with works in relief, was at that time held to be no finished goldsmith. In his early years, therefore, Baccio gave his attention to design, according to the instructions which he received from his father, nor was he less indebted for his progress to the emulation of the other young persons who studied with him. Among these he formed a particular intimacy with one called Piloto,* who afterwards became a distinguished goldsmith, and with him, Baccio frequently visited the churches, copying from the works of good painters. But with his studies in design, Baccio mingled works in relief, copying in wax certain sculptures which had been executed by Donato and Verrocchio; he also executed some works in clay, which were in full relief.

While still but a boy, Baccio sometimes resorted to the workshop of Girolamo del Buda, † an ordinary painter, who had his dwelling on the Piazza of San Pulinari,‡ and once, during a certain winter, there chanced to fall in this place a large quantity of snow. This the people had gathered into a heap on the above-named Piazza, when Girolamo, turning to Baccio, said to him by way of jest: "Baccio, if this snow were marble, could not one make a fine statue of a giant, lying down like Marforio, out of it?" "That one could, and right well," returned Baccio; "and I would have us

* Of whom there has already been mention in the Life of Perino del Vaga.

† Believed to be the person called *Bernardo del Buda*, in the Life of Andrea del Sarto, the change of name being considered a mere oversight of the author's.

‡ Sant' Apollinare that is to say. The church whence the Piazza took its name is now used for secular purposes.

treat this snow as though it were marble." Whereupon, quickly laying his cloak aside, he plunged his hands into the snow, and assisted by other boys, taking the snow from places where there was too much, and adding to it where addition was required, he made the outline of a Marforio, eight braccia high, the figure lying down. This work caused infinite astonishment to the painter and all others who saw it, not so much for what Baccio had made of it, as for the spirit with which this little creature, quite a child, had set himself to undertake such a work.

Baccio was indeed already giving many proofs that he had more love for sculpture than for the work of the goldsmith. When he went to Pinzirimonte,* a villa purchased by his father, for example, he would stand long before the labourers who were working without their upper clothing, and would draw the figures of these men with great zeal and delight, proceeding in like manner with respect to the cattle on the farm, which he would copy with equal care.

About the same time, it was his frequent habit to repair in the early morning to Prato, which was at no great distance from this villa, and where he would remain the whole day, drawing in the Chapel of the Deanery,† from a work of Fra Filippo Lippi,‡ nor did he cease until he had copied the whole, more particularly imitating the draperies of that master, who was most excellent in respect of drapery. Baccio early displayed much dexterity in the use of the pencil and pen, as well as the red and black chalk, which last is a soft stone procured from the mountains of France, and when carefully pointed, enables the artist to execute drawings of great delicacy.

These things making known to Michelagnolo the disposition and wishes of his son, he changed his purpose with respect to him, and being advised by his friends, he placed the boy under the care of Giovan-Francesco Rustici, one of the best sculptors of the city, and to whom Leonardo da Vinci resorted continually. The last named master also, having seen the drawings of Baccio, and being pleased with

* A place near Prato.
† Now the Cathedral.
‡ See the life of that master, vol. ii. p. 73, *et seq.*

them, exhorted him to proceed, advising him to continue his studies in relief, and recommending to him above all, the careful consideration of Donato's works; saying furthermore, that Baccio would do well to commence the execution of some work in marble; heads for example, or a basso-rilievo.

Much influenced by the counsels of Leonardo, and excited by the encouragement thus received, Baccio set himself to copy an antique head of a woman in marble, the model for which he had made from one in the house of Medici. For a first work, this was accomplished in a sufficiently praiseworthy manner, and was held in much esteem by Andrea Carneseschi, to whom the father of Baccio presented it, and who placed it over the door which leads from the court to the garden of his house in the Via Larga.

Finding that Baccio still continued to make models in clay for various figures in full relief, his father would not suffer him to want any assistance that might promote the due study of his art; he therefore ordered some pieces of marble to be brought from Carrara, and caused a room to be built for his son at the end of his house in Pinti: this apartment looked on the road to Fiesole, and the windows thereof were carefully arranged for the purposes of his labour. Here Baccio set himself to sketch in those marbles, the outlines of different figures, and among others was one of Hercules, with the dead body of Cacus beneath his feet, which he executed in a piece two braccia and a half high, and brought considerably forward. All these sketches remain in that place, as a memorial of the artist.

It was about this time that the cartoon of Michelagnolo Buonarotti, executed, as we have said elsewhere, for Piero Soderini, who destined it for the Hall of the Grand Council, and which presented a vast number of nude figures, was given to public view, when all the artists hastened to copy this work on account of its excellence. Among the rest came Baccio, nor did any long time elapse before he surpassed all his fellow labourers; the outlines of his copies, as well as the shading and finishing, were superior to those of the other students, and he proved himself to be much better acquainted with the nude form than were those who worked there with him, although Jacopo Sansovino, Andrea del Sarto, Il Rosso (but he was then very young), with the

Spaniard, Alfonso Barughetta,* and many other very celebrated artists, were of the number.†

Baccio frequented the hall more constantly than any of the other artists, and had even made a counterfeit of the key thereof: it thus happened that in the year 1512, when Piero Soderini was deposed from the government, and the house of Medici restored to its position, Baccio entered the hall secretly and alone, during the tumults consequent on the changes then ensuing, when he cut the cartoon into numerous pieces. The cause of this action not being known, some said that Baccio had torn up the cartoon for the purpose of taking certain portions to himself, and so using them at his convenience; others thought he had done it with a view to deprive other young artists of the advantages to be derived from the study thereof; some declared that he was led thereto by his affection for Leonardo da Vinci, whose reputation had been sensibly diminished by this cartoon of Michelagnolo's; but others, perhaps interpreting the matter more truly, attributed the deed to Baccio's hatred of Michelagnolo, a feeling of which he gave full evidence through all his after life. The loss of the cartoon was not a small one to the city, and the blame cast on Baccio was very heavy, since he was justly declared by every one to have proved himself most envious and malignant.

Baccio afterwards prepared certain cartoons with white-lead and charcoal—one in particular—a nude figure of Cleopatra, which was exceedingly beautiful; this he gave to the goldsmith Piloto. He had already obtained the reputation of being a great designer, and now wished to acquire the art of painting with colours also, in the firm belief that he should not only equal Buonarroti, but even surpass him greatly in both branches of art. Having prepared the cartoon of a Leda, with the Egg, whence proceeded Castor and Pollux, in her

* Palomino Velasco has written the life of this his compatriot, in his native Spanish, among those of other painters of that nation. Barughetta was a sculptor and architect, as well as painter, he was born near Valladolid, where some of his architectural works are still to be seen, and was much favoured by the Emperor Charles V. See *Vidas de los Pintores Espanoles.*

† Vasari has been charged with injustice to Baccio Bandinelli, but the manner in which he here speaks of him sufficiently refutes the charge; and when Vasari elsewhere describes Bandinelli as an envious and malicious person, that is simply because the truth required him to do so.

arms, and wishing to paint this in oil, he further desired to make it appear that the handling of the colours, the mingling them together for the production of the various tints, and the management of the lights and shadows, had not been taught to him by others, but that he had discovered them all for himself; he therefore considered for some time how he might effect this, and at length invented the following contrivance.

Repairing to Andrea del Sarto, who was his intimate friend, he begged the latter to take his portrait in oil,* hoping by this means to arrive at his end by two separate ways; the one being that he should acquire the manner in which the colours were mingled, and the other, that having the picture left in his hands, and having watched its progress throughout, he should retain it as an example which he should perfectly understand, and could have always before him.

But Andrea at once perceived the object of Baccio's request, and, displeased by the want of confidence and the craft which Baccio displayed, seeing that he would have been most willing to have shown him whatever he wished, had Baccio asked him, as a friend, to do so,—Andrea, I say, being thus dissatisfied with Baccio's trickery, gave no evidence of having discovered his purpose, but ceasing the preparation of mixtures and tints which he had commenced, he placed every kind of colour upon his pallette, and mingling them to a certain extent one with another, he took now from one and now from another with his pencil, which he did with infinite rapidity and dexterity of hand, producing an exact imitation of Baccio's complexion. Meanwhile, the art used by Andrea, with the necessity of retaining his place and sitting still, which was imposed on Baccio, if he desired to have his picture taken, prevented the latter from seeing anything that was done, nor could he learn any part of all that he desired to know; Andrea therefore succeeded happily in punishing the want of confidence betrayed by his friend, while he at the same time displayed, by that method of treating his work, the great practice and ability which he, as an able master, possessed.

But this disappointment did not deter Baccio from his undertaking, in which he was assisted by Il Rosso, from

* See vol. iii., Life of Andrea del Sarto, p. 198.

whom he afterwards more openly requested the aid which he desired to receive. Having learned the methods of using colours, therefore, Baccio painted a picture in oil, representing the Holy Fathers delivered from the *Limbo* by Our Saviour; and in another picture he painted Noah inebriated in the presence of his sons. He also attempted to execute certain mural paintings in the fresh plaster, and depicted various heads, arms, legs, and torsi, or trunks, coloured in different manners on the walls of his house; but finding more difficulty in that undertaking than he had expected, from the rapidity with which the plaster dried, he returned to his earlier studies, and to works in relief.

He then executed a marble figure of Mercury in the form of a youth, holding the flute in his hand; to this work, which was three braccia and a half high, he gave much study, it was accordingly extolled by all, and considered to be a rare and excellent production. In the year 1530, that figure was purchased by Giovanni Battista della Palla, who sent it to France for the King, Francis I., by whom it was very highly prized.

Baccio devoted himself with earnest and diligent study to the examination and copying of anatomical details, wherein he persevered for months, and even years. And without doubt in this man the desire for honour and excellence in his art, and for the power of working effectually therein, does well merit high commendation; impelled by which desire, and by a firm will, with which it was manifest indeed that he had been endowed by nature from his earliest youth, even more largely than with aptitude or readiness in art,—impelled by this, I say, Baccio spared himself no labour, nor did he permit himself any relaxation: always intent on acquiring, or occupied in manual operations, he was never to be found idle; hoping by incessant practice to surpass all who had previously pursued his vocation, as he firmly believed that he should do: this being the end which he promised himself as the reward of studies so zealously persisted in, and of labours so perpetually endured. Continuing, therefore, this life of studious labour, he not only gave to the world a vast number of plates designed by his own hand in various modes, but, desirous of ascertaining whether the art

of engraving also would succeed with him, he agreed with Agostino Veneziano the engraver, to have a nude figure of Cleopatra executed by that artist, with another and larger plate filled with anatomical studies, from the last-mentioned of which he derived great credit.

He afterwards prepared a figure in wax of St. Jerome doing penance; the form is excessively attenuated, showing the muscles and nerves, and with the skin wrinkled and dry on the bones: this was a work in full relief, one braccio and a half high, and was executed by Baccio with such extraordinary care, that all the artists, and more particularly Leonardo da Vinci, declared they had never seen a work of the kind in higher perfection, or giving proof of more profound art. That figure Baccio took to Giovanni, Cardinal de' Medici, and to the Magnificent Giuliano his brother, and by means thereof, made himself known to them as the son of the goldsmith Michelagnolo, receiving from them many praises of his work, besides other proofs of favour: this was about the year 1512, and when the Medici had returned to their house and state. About the same time, certain Apostles in marble were in process of execution at the house belonging to the Wardens of Works, in Santa Maria del Fiore; and these were to be erected in the marble tabernacles, and to occupy the same places wherein were the Apostles painted by Lorenzo di Bicci.* By the intervention of the Magnificent Giuliano, therefore, the commission for executing the San Piero, a figure of four braccia and a half high, was confided to Baccio Bandinelli, who completed the same after the lapse of a very long time: this work does not exhibit the highest perfection of the sculptor's art, but there is nevertheless very good design to be seen in it. The figure remained in the house of the Wardens from 1513 to 1565, in which year the Duke Cosimo caused the church of Santa Maria del Fiore, which had received no embellishment since its erection, to be white-washed on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter-in-law, the Queen Joanna of Austria, and at the same time commanded that for the further enrichment of the building, four of the Apostles

* The figures painted by Lorenzo di Bicci have perished, with one sole exception.

should be erected in their places, the San Piero of Bandinelli being one of the number.*

In the year 1515 Pope Leo X., repairing to Bologna, passed through Florence on his way thither, when the latter city, desiring to do him honour, caused a colossal figure to be erected, among many other ornaments and preparations, beneath an arch of the Loggie near the Palace, and the execution of this was entrusted to Baccio. The figure in question was a Hercules, and the words of Baccio respecting the work he projected, caused many to believe that it would surpass the David of Buonarroti, which stood near the spot destined to receive the Hercules. But the act did not correspond to the word, nor was the work equal to the vaunting made of it, a circumstance which caused Baccio to lose much of the estimation in which he had previously been held by the artists as well as by all the city.

A great part of the marble ornaments by which the chamber of Our Lady at Loretto is decorated, with numerous statues and stories in relief, had been given by Pope Leo X. to Maestro Andrea Contucci of the Monte Sansovino, who had completed many of the same to his great credit, and was occupied with others at the time when Baccio carried to the Pope in Rome a very beautiful model of a David; the figure is nude, and, having the giant Goliah beneath his feet, is in the act of striking off the Philistine's head. Now Baccio had prepared this model with the intention of subsequently executing it in bronze or marble for the court of the Medici Palace in Florence, intending to place it exactly where the David of Donato had originally been, but which had afterwards been carried off, when the palace of the Medici was despoiled, and had been placed in the palace of the Signoria.

The Pope praised Bandinelli, but not finding the time suitable for causing the work to be executed, his Holiness despatched the artist to Loretto, where he desired Maestro Andrea to give him charge of one of the historical representations in basso-rilievo. Having arrived at Loretto accordingly, Baccio was very amicably received by Maestro Andrea, who treated him well for the sake of his reputation,

* Still in the Cathedral, and to the right of the Tribune, called that of San Zanobi.

as well as because he had been recommended by the Pope, and he was immediately furnished with a piece of marble, from which he was to make a relief representing the Birth of the Virgin. Baccio prepared the model, and commenced the work, but being a man who could not endure any equal or even comparison, and who was very sparing in praise of the works of others, he began to censure and use disparaging terms concerning the labours of Andrea, when speaking of them to the other sculptors who were then at Loretto, declaring that the master had no power of design, but affirming the same thing of the other artists also, insomuch that after a short time he caused himself to be regarded with ill-will by all of them.

These things coming to the ears of Andrea, he, like the wise man that he was, reproved him, at first with gentle words, remarking that works are executed with the hand and not with the tongue, and that good drawing is not to be inferred from sketches on paper, when the calling of the sculptor is in question, but is to be proved by the success of the whole work when it is seen completed in stone; advising moreover that Baccio should speak of him for the future in different terms.

But Bandinelli replying haughtily and with many abusive words, Maestro Andrea could endure no more, and rushed upon his assailant with intent to kill him; this was prevented by some who stood near and who interposed between them, whereupon, being compelled to leave Loretto, Bandinelli caused his work to be taken to Ancona, but becoming dissatisfied and wearied with it although then very near completion, he left it there unfinished and departed from the place.* This *rilievo* was subsequently brought to a conclusion by Raffaello da Monte Lupo, and was fixed in its place, together with those by Maestro Andrea, but it is not equal to them in excellence, although, even thus left incomplete by its author, there is yet much in it worthy of praise.

Having returned to Rome, Bandinelli made interest with the Pope, by the intervention of the Cardinal Giulio de

* "It would seem," remarks an Italian commentator, "that Vasari was not acquainted with the whole of these circumstances when he wrote the life of Andrea da Monte Sansovino," in which there is but slight allusion to Baccio Bandinelli.

Medici, who was ever wont to favour men of parts and distinction, to the end that he might receive a commission for the execution of some statue, to be placed in the court of the Medici palace in Florence. Wherefore having reached the last-named city, he produced an Orpheus in marble, who appeases Cerberus by his songs and the sounds of his lyre, and thereby moves Hell itself to compassion. In this work Bandinelli imitated the Apollo Belvedere of Rome, and was deservedly commended for the same; for although the Orpheus has not the attitude of the Apollo, Baccio has nevertheless very nicely copied the manner of the torso, and of all the limbs of the Apollo. The statue being finished, it was placed, by command of the above-named Cardinal Giulio, in the court of the palace, on a carved pedestal executed by the sculptor Benedetto da Rovezzano, and this was done while the Cardinal governed in Florence. But as Baccio had no regard for architecture, so he did not consider his work with the sound judgment of Donatello, who, for his David had caused a simple column to be erected, on which he then placed the pedestal, which he had cleft and opened in the lower part, to the end that he who entered from without could see the opposite door, that conducting to the other court namely, from the portal at which he was standing; whereas Baccio, not exercising so much prudence, had caused his statue to be placed on a broad and massive base which impedes the view of all who enter, and, covering the entrance to the farther court, does not permit the spectator to ascertain whether the palace extends itself beyond the first court, or is restricted thereto.*

Now the cardinal Giulio had caused a most beautiful villa to be erected on the Monte Mario at Rome, and here he desired to have two colossal figures placed; he accordingly commissioned Baccio, who was always eager to execute giants, to prepare the same, they being to be formed in stucco. These figures he completed in due time; they are eight braccia high, and stand on each side of the gate which leads into the grove, nor are they considered to be other than tolerably good productions.†

* It was afterwards removed and transported by order of Carlo de' Medici to the Casino di San Marco.

† The remark of the learned churchman Bottari on the fate of these

While Baccio was employed with these works, he occupied himself with drawing, as was his custom, and for Marco da Ravenna and Agostino Veneziano the engravers, he designed a story in a very large plate, which he caused them to engrave. The subject of this work is the Slaughter of the Innocents, cruelly put to death by Herod; and the plate being crowded with nude figures, male and female, with children living and dead, to say nothing of the varied attitudes exhibited by the women and soldiery, gave occasion for the display of Baccio's power of design, and of his knowledge of anatomy, and the action of the muscles on all the limbs, procuring him very great fame on that account, throughout all Europe.* This artist likewise prepared a very beautiful model in wood, with the figures in wax, for the sepulchral monument of the king of England,† the work was nevertheless not executed by Bandinelli, but was given to Benedetto da Rovezzano, who cast it in metal.

figures must be given to the reader in his own words, *et pour cause*, "These two Giants have gone to perdition."

* This work bears the following inscription, *Baccius invenit. Florentiæ*, with the cypher, formed of the letters S. R. intertwined.

† Temp. Hen. VIII., who, as our readers will remember, was a very zealous patron of painting and the arts, as then known, more particularly in the earlier part of his reign. The terms used to describe the works found so acceptable by the monarch do nevertheless not give evidence of any great familiarity with the subject, on the part of his immediate attendants, or indeed of the sovereign himself, since we find pictures on panel designated in this reign, "tables with pictures," while those on canvas were called, "cloths stained with a picture." In the Inventory of the Augmentation Office we have certain entries of:—

"Item. One table with the History of Filius Prodigus.

"Item. One table with the Picture of the Duchess of Milan, being her whole stature.

"Item. One table, like a book, with the pictures of the King's Majesty and Queen Jane.

"Item. One other table, with the whole stature of my Lord Prince, his Grace, stained upon cloth, with a curtain.

"Item. One stained cloth, with Phœbus riding *in his Cart*, in the air, with the history of him;" respecting this last, an accomplished contemporary very confidently predicts evil consequences to the artist of the present day "who should venture to exalt his godship into such a vehicle."

Models in clay were at this same period called "pictures made of earth," the Inventory above cited furnishing us with the following instance among others:—"Item. One picture of Moses, made of earth, and set in a box of wood." See Taylor, *Origin and Progress of the Fine Arts*, &c.

Bernardo Dovizio, Cardinal of Bibbiena, had now returned from France, and having there remarked that the king had no works of any kind in marble, whether ancient or modern, although he took much pleasure in each, the Cardinal promised his Majesty so to manage with the Pope that the latter should be induced to send him something very beautiful in that kind. After the Cardinal came also two ambassadors from the King of France to the Pontiff, and they, having seen the statues of the Belvedere, extolled above all things the group of the Laocoon,* praising it as much as words could praise. Then the Cardinal de' Medici, and Bibbiena who was with them, inquired if such a group as that would be acceptable to their king, to which they replied that it would be too rich a gift; whereupon the Cardinal made answer, "Either this shall be sent to his Majesty, or one so exactly similar that no difference shall be discernible." And having determined to cause one instantly to be executed in imitation of the antique, he remembered Baccio, and sending for him, he asked if he had courage to attempt the execution of a Laocoon which should equal the first. To this Bandinelli replied that he was bold to declare himself capable not only of making a group similar to that, but one which should surpass it in perfection.†

The Cardinal having resolved therefore that the work should be commenced, Baccio, while the marble was being procured, made a model in wax which was very much commended; he also made a cartoon in white lead and charcoal, this last being the size of that in marble. Bandinelli had caused an enclosed scaffolding with a roof, to be erected in the Vatican for the purposes of this work, and when the marbles arrived he commenced his labours: he began the group with one of the Boys, the elder namely; and this he finished in such a manner that the Pope and all who understood the subject were entirely satisfied, since there was scarcely any difference to be perceived between his figure

* Our readers will remember that this precious work had not then been known to the world of art for more than a few years, having been discovered in the Baths of Titus, in the year 1506.

† A print in wood engraving, attributed, but with slight ground only, to Titian, appeared at the time in ridicule of this vaunt, and represented a group of Apes in the attitude of that of the Laocoon.

and the corresponding one in the original group. But having commenced the other Boy, and also the statue of the Father which is between the two, he continued the figures no further at that time, nor had he proceeded far in that part of his work when the Pope died. Adrian VI. being then elected, Baccio returned with the Cardinal to Florence, where he occupied himself with his studies in design.

But Adrian being also dead, and Pope Clement VII. succeeding him, Baccio hurried in all haste to Rome, where he desired to arrive for the coronation of the Pontiff, from whom he received a commission to prepare statues and historical representations in relief, for that occasion. Being subsequently furnished by his Holiness with apartments and paid a stipend, Baccio returned to his Laocoon, a work which he completed in the space of two years, executing the same with a degree of perfection never previously seen in any work from his hand. He also restored the arm of the antique Laocoon; for the right arm of that figure having been broken and not being found, Baccio made one of the proper size in wax, which so closely resembled that of the antique statue in the muscular development, the force, and the manner of the work, uniting with the ancient part moreover to such perfect nicety, that it served to show how well Baccio was acquainted with his art. After this model it was that he executed the arm of his own Laocoon.

When the last-named group was completed, it appeared to the Pontiff to be so excellent a production, that his Holiness changed his previous intention respecting it, and resolved to send a couple of antique statues to the King of France, but to have the Laocoon placed in the Palazzo de' Medici at Florence, commanding the Cardinal Legate, Silvio Passerino of Cortona, who then governed the city, to see it duly fixed at the upper end of the second court, and this was done in the year 1525.* This work of the Laocoon obtained a great increase of fame for Bandinelli, who, after the completion thereof, set himself to design a story on a sheet of royal folio paper, and in compliance with the wishes of the Pope, who desired to have the Martyrdom of S. S. Cosimo

* This group also was subsequently transported to the Casino of San Marco, whence it was transferred to the Public Gallery of the Uffizj, where it still remains; in the western corridor namely.

and Damiano, painted in the principal chapel of the church of San Lorenzo at Florence. This picture Pope Clement wished to see executed on one side of the above-named chapel, proposing that the Martyrdom of San Lorenzo, who was condemned by Decius to the death of roasting on a gridiron, should occupy the opposite wall of the same chapel.

The Martyrdom of San Lorenzo was designed by Baccio with extraordinary care and delicacy, the various figures, clothed and nude, being delineated with much judgment, and the various attitudes of the bodies and limbs proving considerable knowledge of art. The different movements and actions also of those who, surrounding San Lorenzo, are engaged in the cruel office wherewith they are occupied, with the dark and angry countenance of the wicked Decius, may be more particularly remarked: with looks of rage he commands that the fire shall be increased, and hastens the death of the innocent martyr, who, raising one arm to heaven, commends his spirit to God. By this work Baccio so greatly pleased Pope Clement, that the latter caused the Bolognese, Marco Antonio, to engrave it in copper, and this was accomplished by Marcantonio accordingly with much care. His Holiness then conferred the dignity of a knight of San Piero on Bandinelli, as an appropriate recompence for the ability thus displayed.*

After these things Bandinelli returned to Florence, where he found Gio-Francesco Rustici, his first master, engaged with a picture of the Conversion of St. Paul. Baccio thereupon commenced a cartoon, as it were in emulation of his master, with the figure of a San Giovanni, whom he represented as a youth, and in the wilderness ; he has a lamb in the left arm, and is holding the right extended towards heaven. Bandinelli then caused a panel to be prepared, and executed his picture in colours, placing it in the public view when he had finished it, by suspending the same in the shop of his father Michelagnolo, which was situate on the descent leading from Orsanmichele to the new market. The design of this work was commended by the artists, but they were not so well satisfied with the colouring, which was somewhat hard, and the painting was not in a good manner. Baccio nevertheless despatched the picture as a present to Pope

* See the Life of Marcantonio, vol. iii. p. 504, *et seq.*

Clement, and that Pontiff caused it to be placed in his Guardaroba, where it still remains.*

Now in the time of Pope Leo X. there had been a block of marble excavated at Carrara, together with those for the façade of San Lorenzo in Florence, which block was nine braccia and a half high, with a width at the lower end of five braccia. In that piece of marble Michelagnolo Buonarroti had intended to execute a colossal figure of Hercules slaying Cacus, and this he proposed to place on the Piazza beside the colossal figure of David, which had previously been sculptured by his hand, choosing those subjects because both the David and Hercules were devices belonging to the palace.† Buonarroti had prepared several designs and made models of different kinds for this work, and had moreover sought to obtain the favour of Pope Leo X. and of the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, declaring that in the David there was much that deserved censure, because the sculptor Maestro Andrea, who had first sketched the statue, had spoiled it in doing so. The death of Pope Leo had nevertheless caused the façade of San Lorenzo to remain unfinished, and the piece of marble in question was also left unclaimed and without use.

At a later period, and when Pope Clement conceived a wish to avail himself of Michelagnolo's services for the tombs of the great men belonging to the house of Medici, which he desired to have erected in the chapel of San Lorenzo, it became needful that other marbles should be provided, and all the accounts relating to the cost of these excavations were kept by Domenico Boninsegni, who was superintendent of that department. By this Domenico, then, a proposal was made to Michelagnolo, to the end that they, joining company secretly, should make common cause, for their own profit, with respect to the stone-work required for the Sacristy of San Lorenzo. But Michelagnolo excusing himself, and not enduring to have his art degraded by being rendered a means of defrauding the Pontiff, Domenico concieved so bitter a hatred against him, that he ever afterwards did his utmost to humiliate and injure him, opposing himself to all his plans, but always with the utmost secrecy. He con-

* The fate of this work is not known.—*Bottari.*

† Manni, *Sui sigilli antichi*, tom. i. p. 38, informs us that the figure of Hercules was engraved on the seal of the Florentine Republic.

trived among other things that the works of the façade should be laid aside for the time, and those of the Sacristy proceeded with; these two works being, as he said, sufficient to occupy Michelagnolo for many years; and he meanwhile persuaded the Pope to give Baccio the large piece of marble, from which Michelagnolo had intended to make his colossal figure.

Bandinelli had at this time no undertaking in hand, and Domenico suggested to the Pope that, by the emulation of two men so much distinguished, his Holiness would be more diligently, more rapidly, and more effectually served, than by entrusting all to one, since the rivalry and competition between them would stimulate them both to do their utmost for the work. This advice of Domenico pleased the Pontiff, who proceeded to act in accordance therewith, and Baccio obtained the marble. He then prepared a large model in wax, representing Hercules, who, having fixed the head of Cacus between two stones, presses it firmly with one knee, while he keeps him down with the left arm, using immense force, and retaining his antagonist in an attitude of which the pain and suffering are rendered clearly manifest; the legs drawn up in the extremity of the pain inflicted by the violence offered, and by the weight of Hercules, which bears on him with a force that causes every muscle in the frame of Cacus to seem strained to bursting. The figure of Hercules, bent down, is seen with the head brought near his foe; grinding his teeth, which are firmly pressed together, he raises the right arm, and fiercely dealing Cacus a second blow, is about to dash his head to pieces with his club.

When Michelagnolo heard that the marble had been given to Baccio, he felt very much displeased; but whatever were the efforts he made for the purpose, he could not prevail on the Pope to recall his mandate, his Holiness being well satisfied moreover with the model of Bandinelli, and was therefore the less to be moved from his purpose. Baccio added many vauntings and promises likewise, boasting that he would surpass the David of Michelagnolo; and, being assisted in all ways by Boninsegni, who declared that Michelagnolo wished to have everything for himself.

Thus the city was deprived of a fine ornament, which that marble, treated by the hand of Michelagnolo, would indubitably have become. The above-mentioned model of Baccio is

now in the Guardaroba of Duke Cosimo, and is held in very high estimation by his Excellency. The artists also consider it an extraordinary work.* Bandinelli, meanwhile, was despatched to Carrara to examine the marble, and orders were given to the Superintendents of Works at Santa Maria del Fiore, to the intent that they should have it brought by water up to Signa; along the Arno that is to say. The block was thus conveyed accordingly to within eight miles of Florence, when, as they were about to remove it from the river and transport it to the city by land, the water being too low for its conveyance from Signa to Florence, the marble was suffered to fall into the Arno, when the immensity of its weight caused it to sink so deeply in the mud, that the Superintendents, with all the machines which they brought to bear upon it, could find no means for getting it out.

But the Pope now commanded that the marble should be recovered by some means; whereupon Pietro Rosselli, an old builder of much ingenuity, received orders from the Superintendents to that effect, when he proceeded in such sort accordingly, that having first turned the course of the stream, and then levelled the bank of the river at that point, he drew the stone from the Arno with levers and windlass, and finally succeeded in placing it on the land, for which he received great commendation. This accident to the marble gave occasion to many wits for the composition of verses, both in Latin and Italian, wherein they very ingeniously turned Baccio to derision, he being detested for his boastful prating, his perpetual evil speaking of others, and his hatred of Michelagnolo. One among the writers, who took this subject for his verse, declared that the stone, having been destined to the art of Michelagnolo, and then finding that it was to be blundered over and botched by the hands of Baccio, had thrown itself into the Arno in despair, and to avoid so disgraceful a fate.†

While the marble was thus being drawn from the water, and the work was delayed by the difficulty of the operation,

* The ultimate fate of this model is not known.

† The author of these lines, which are in Latin, was Giovanni Negretti; they will be found in the *Viaggi per la Toscana* of Giovanni Targioni, tom. ii. p. 42, Florence, 1768. See also Piacenza's additions to Baldinucci.

Bandinelli found, on making his measurements, that neither the height nor the thickness of the block would permit the figures of the model which he had made to be executed. He therefore repaired to Rome, taking with him the measurements, and making it obvious to the Pope, that he was compelled by necessity to abandon his first design and substitute another. Having prepared several designs, therefore, one among them was found to please his Holiness more than all the rest, and that exhibited Hercules, who, having thrown Cacus to the ground, is holding him by the hair, and pressing him to the earth, thus keeping him at his feet in the manner of a captive; this, therefore, it was determined to commence and carry at once into execution.

Baccio, having then returned to Florence, found that Pietro Rosselli had brought the block of marble to the court of the works at Santa Maria del Fiore; and this he had done by means of large beams of walnut, which he had placed lengthwise beneath the mass, and changing them as the marble advanced, he brought those which had first been placed behind to the front, the block itself resting on cylindrical rollers adjusted carefully to the beams, and, being moved by three windlasses; by all which Pietro gradually brought the stone in safety to its destination. The marble thus made ready, Baccio prepared a model in clay, of equal size, and exactly according to that last mentioned, the one which he had previously made in Rome namely; he pursued his work with much diligence, and completed the same in a few months; but despite all his efforts, there were few artists to whom this appeared to present the animation and movement which the action required, and which Bandinelli had imparted to his first model. Commencing then to work in the marble, the artist brought forth the rough forms up to the middle of the figure, of which the lower limbs were made apparent, Baccio proposing ultimately to bring the figures to an exact similitude with those of the large clay model.

About the same time Bandinelli undertook to paint a picture of considerable size for the church of Cestello, and for this he prepared a very beautiful cartoon. The subject chosen was the Dead Christ surrounded by the Maries, with Nicodemus and other figures; but this picture was never painted, for certain reasons which shall be enumerated

below. He had at the same time prepared a cartoon for a picture representing the Deposition of Christ from the Cross; the Saviour is supported in the arms of Nicodemus, the Virgin Mother stands weeping beside him, and near that group is an Angel, bearing in his hands the crown of thorns with the nails. This Bandinelli at once began to paint; he finished it with great promptitude, and, having done so, instantly placed it to be shown in the shop of the goldsmith Giovanni di Goro, who was a friend of his, desiring to know the opinions of people respecting it, but more particularly that of Michelagnolo. The last-named master was taken to see the work by the goldsmith Piloto accordingly, and when he had minutely examined every part of it, he remarked, that he wondered to see Baccio, who was so good a designer, permit a picture so crude and so destitute of all grace, to proceed from his hands: he added, that he had known no painter, however miserable and ordinary he might be, who did not execute his pictures in a better manner; and declared that painting was not an art for Baccio.

The judgment of Michelagnolo was made known by Piloto to Bandinelli, and the latter, although he detested Michelagnolo, perceived that he did but tell the truth. It is indeed certain that the designs of Baccio Bandinelli were most beautiful, but he managed the colours badly and painted without grace, wherefore he determined to execute his pictures no more with his own hand, but took into his house a young man called Agnolo, who handled the colours very creditably. This Agnolo was a brother of the excellent painter Franciabigio, who had died a few years before, and to him Bandinelli proposed to make over the painting of the picture mentioned above, as intended for the church of Cestello; but the work was not completed nevertheless, and the cause of its remaining unfinished, was that change in the state of Florence which took place in the year 1527, when the Medici left the city after the sack of Rome, and Baccio likewise, not considering himself to be safe, in consequence of a private feud which he had with one of his neighbours at his villa of Pinzerimonte, who belonged to the popular party, left his dwelling and departed to Lucca. But first he buried certain cameos and small antique figures of bronze,

which belonged to the Medici family, in the grounds of that villa.

Bandinelli remained at Lucca until the Emperor Charles V. came to Bologna to be crowned, when he caused himself to be admitted to the presence of the Pope, whom he then accompanied to Rome, and there received, as usual, the apartments which he had previously occupied in the Belvedere. While Baccio was thus residing in the palace, his Holiness bethought him of a vow which he had made, while shut up in the castle of Sant' Angelo, and resolved that it should now be fulfilled. This vow was to place a group of seven large figures in bronze, each six braccia high, on the summit of the round marble tower which is opposite to the bridge of the castle, the whole six represented as cast at the feet of an angel, whom the Pontiff proposed to have erected in the centre of the tower on a column of vari-coloured marble, the figure to be in bronze, with a sword in its hand. By this figure of the angel, Pope Clement proposed to indicate the archangel Michael, the protector and guardian of the castle, by whose favour and assistance it was that he had been liberated and withdrawn from that prison; and by the seven recumbent figures cast down before him, he meant to signify the seven mortal sins, and proposing furthermore to intimate thereby, that with the aid of the conquering Angel, he had overcome and cast to earth the wicked and impious men who were his enemies.

For that work his Holiness now caused a model to be made; and this having pleased him, he commanded that Baccio should begin to execute the figures in terra, and of the colossal size which they were finally to exhibit, intending that they should afterwards be cast in bronze. Bandinelli commenced his labours accordingly, and in one of those rooms at the Belvedere, he completed one of the figures in terra; a work which was very highly applauded. At the same time, partly by way of amusing himself, and partly to try what success he was likely to have in the bronze castings, Baccio executed numerous small figures, two thirds of a braccia high, and in full relief; among these were several statues of Hercules, with many besides of Venus, Apollo, Leda, and others, according to his fancy, all which he caused to be

cast in bronze by the Florentine, Maestro Jacopo della Barba, when they were found to succeed to admiration. These works he afterwards presented to his Holiness, and to different nobles; some of them are now in the study of Duke Cosimo, among works from the antique to the number of more than a hundred, and all of great beauty: some others there are besides of modern workmanship.*

About this time Baccio had executed a story in basso and mezzo-rilievo, the subject a Deposition from the Cross, and the figures small; this work was one of extraordinary merit, and having caused it to be cast in bronze with great care, Baccio presented it when finished to the Emperor Charles V., who was then in Genoa. The gift was highly acceptable to his Majesty, who gave proof of his satisfaction by presenting Bandinelli with a Commandery of St. James, and conferred on him the honour of Knighthood. He received many courtesies from Prince Doria also, and the republic of Genoa commissioned him to execute a marble statue six braccia high, representing Neptune, but exhibiting the portrait of Prince Doria himself, and this was to be placed on the piazza as a memorial of the excellencies of that Prince, and in commemoration of the many important benefits which his country had received at his hands. The price to be paid to Baccio for this statue was a thousand florins, of which he at once received five hundred, when he departed instantly to Carrara for the purpose of having the marble hewn from the quarry of Polvaccio, and of roughly sketching his work on the spot.

After the departure of the Medici from Florence, and while the popular government was in power, Michelagnolo was occupied with the fortifications of the city, and he was then shown the piece of marble which Baccio had diminished for his Hercules and Cacus, together with the model made by Bandinelli, and this was done with the intention that, if this block of marble were not found to have been too much lessened, Michelagnolo should take it for the execution of two figures of his own invention. The master therefore examined the stone, and adopting another subject, determined

* The greater part of the bronzes described as belonging to the Study of Duke Cosimo are now in the Public Gallery, where both the ancient and modern specimens have been separately deposited.

to leave the Hercules and Cacus, choosing instead the figure of Sampson holding two Philistines whom he has vanquished, beneath his feet. One of these is already dead, the other is still living, but Sampson is in the act of dealing him a blow with the jaw-bone of the ass, which cannot fail to cause his death.

But as it frequently happens that the human thought promises itself certain things, whereof the contrary has been determined by the wisdom of God, so did it happen now, for the war against Florence breaking out, Michelagnolo had to consider other matters besides polishing marbles, and was ultimately compelled to withdraw himself from the city; but when the war being at an end, peace was concluded, Pope Clement caused Michelagnolo to return to Florence, with orders to complete the Sacristy of San Lorenzo; his Holiness sent Baccio thither also, commanding him to take measures for bringing the colossal figure to conclusion.

Now while Baccio was busied with this work, he took up his abode in the apartments of the Medici palace, and to give himself the appearance of an extraordinary devotion to the Pope, he wrote every week to his Holiness; but not confining himself to details respecting art, he entered into particulars with relation to the citizens and the acts of those who administered the government, officiously supplying intelligence to the injury of many, and thereby awakening a more bitter hatred against himself than had even previously existed; insomuch that when the Duke Alessandro returned to Florence from the court of his Majesty, the treacherous proceedings of Baccio against them were made known by the citizens to the Duke, and the former likewise did all that they could, to retard and throw impediments in his way as regarded his work of the giant.

At this time and after the close of the war in Hungary, Pope Clement and the Emperor Charles V. held a conference in Bologna, when the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici and the Duke Alessandro also repaired thither. Then Baccio likewise thought fit to go and kiss the feet of his Holiness: he took with him a work in mezzo-rilievo one braccio high and one and a half wide; the subject, Christ bound to the Column and scourged by two nude figures, and the execution exceedingly fine. This relief he presented to Pope Clement,

with a medal whereon was the portrait of his Holiness, which Bandinelli had caused Francesco dal Prato,* who was his very intimate friend, to prepare for him, the reverse of the medal exhibiting the Flagellation of Christ. The gift was accepted by the Pontiff, to whom Baccio described the impediments and vexations which he had suffered in the execution of his Hercules, entreating Pope Clement to prevail on the Duke to afford him opportunity for the completion of the work, and adding that he was hated and envied in the city of Florence. Wherefore being ready of wit, and potent in tongue, Baccio finally induced the Pope to take measures for persuading Duke Alessandro to accept the charge of seeing that the work of Baccio should be finished and fixed in its place on the piazza.

The goldsmith, Michelagnolo, father of Baccio Bandinelli, was now dead, but before the termination of his life, he had undertaken, by command of Pope Clement, to make a large silver cross, with numerous representations of events from the passion of Christ in basso-rilievo, for the superintendents of works to Santa Maria del Fiore; and for this cross Baccio had modelled the figures and stories in wax, to be afterwards executed in silver. When Michelagnolo died this work remained unfinished, and Baccio, who had all the stories, both those finished and those merely sketched, in his hands, together with many pounds of silver, made interest to obtain the Pope's consent to his transference of that undertaking to Francesco dal Prato, who had accompanied him to Bologna; but his Holiness, perceiving that Baccio was not only desirous of withdrawing himself from the engagements of his father, but also designed to gain something by the labours of Francesco, commanded him to give up the silver and the stories, those finished as well as those only commenced, to the superintendents of works,† whom he ordered to close the accounts connected with the same, and bade them melt all the silver of that cross, which they were then to apply to the wants of the church, the latter having been despoiled

* Of this artist some mention has been made in the Life of Alfonso Lombardi, and he is further named in that of Francesco Salviati.

† Gaye, *Carteggio inedito*, quotes a letter from Bandinelli to Niccolò Capponi, wherein the former gives evidence of the vexation caused to him by this command.

of its ornaments during the time of the siege. To Baccio Bandinelli the Pope caused one hundred florins of gold to be given with a letter of recommendation, to the end that, having returned to Florence, he should complete the work of the colossal statue.

While Baccio was still in Bologna, the Cardinal Doria having heard that he was about to leave the court, came to seek him, and with loud outcries, abusive words, and violent menaces, reproached the sculptor for having broken his promise and failed in his duty, inasmuch as that he had neglected to complete the statue of Prince Doria, and had left it in Carrara merely sketched, although he had received five hundred scudi of the price thereof; the Cardinal added that if Andrea* could get Baccio into his hands, he would certainly make him pay for his misconduct at the galleys. The artist excused himself humbly and with gentle words, declaring that he had been impeded by a just and sufficient cause, but that he had a block of marble in Florence of the same dimensions with that from which he had designed to form the figure in question, which he would at once proceed to finish, and, that done, would immediately send it to Genoa. He found means in short to defend himself so well, and said so much, that he contrived to escape unhurt from the presence of the Cardinal.

Having returned to Florence, Baccio instantly set hand to the pedestal of the Giant, and working at the figure himself without intermission, he completed it entirely in the year 1534; but the Duke Alessandro, influenced by the unfavourable disposition of the citizens, did not take measures for having it erected on the Piazza.

The Pope had by that time been several months returned to Rome, and desiring to have a sepulchral monument constructed in the church of the Minerva in that city for Pope Leo as well as one for himself, Baccio, seizing the occasion, repaired thither, where Pope Clement determined that he should erect those tombs, after he had completed the placing of the colossal figure on the Piazza. Thereupon his Holiness wrote to Duke Alessandro, whom he urged to give Baccio the desired opportunity for erecting the figure of Hercules in its place; when an enclosure of planks was at

* Andrea Doria, the renowned admiral of Charles V.

length formed and the marble pedestal was constructed, the lower part exhibiting an inscription as a memorial of Pope Clement VII, with numerous medallions and two busts, the head of his Holiness namely and of Duke Alessandro.

The Colossus was then taken from the house of the wardens of works where it had been executed, and, for the better removal of the same and that it might suffer no injury, a sort of covering was formed of wood-work, when ropes were fastened round the legs, beneath the arms, and at all other convenient parts, so that the figure swung free in the air, suspended between beams, and without disturbing the wood-work by which it was defended: by means of rollers and windlasses, with the aid of ten pairs of oxen, it was then gradually drawn to the piazza. On this occasion much assistance was derived from the use of two thick beams in a semi-cylindrical form, fixed along the length of the wood-work in the manner of a base, and these were placed on two other beams of similar size, but hollowed out or concave, which, being covered with a soapy substance, were successively withdrawn and replaced by the hands of labourers as the progress of the whole mass required. By these arrangements, and with this forethought, the figure was conveyed in safety, and without any great labour, to the piazza.

The care of this work was entrusted to Baccio d'Agnolo, and to the elder Antonio da Sangallo, architects to the cathedral, who then proceeded to raise the statue to its pedestal, and by means of other beams and double windlasses they finally placed it securely on its base.

It would not be easy to describe the concourse and multitude which on this occasion held the whole piazza occupied for the space of two days, all hastening to see the Giant so soon as he was uncovered. Many and various were the discourses and opinions then to be heard respecting the work, from all kinds of men, but all these opinions were more or less in censure thereof. There were besides verses, both in Latin and in the mother tongue, affixed around the pedestal, nor could the reader fail to be amused by the witty conceits, the acute remarks, and the ingenious inventions of these poets. But as these epigrams and satirical effusions finally overstepped all reasonable limits, Duke Alessandro became displeased by the indignity which, as it appeared to him, was

thus offered to a public work, and thought himself compelled to put some of the offenders in prison, such of the evil speakers, that is to say, as, in total disregard of all consideration, proceeded to affix their reproaches publicly to the statue: a proceeding which soon closed the mouths of the scoffers.

When Baccio came to examine this figure in its allotted place, it appeared to him that the open air was not favourable to its appearance, and made the muscles look too soft and feeble; he therefore caused a new scaffolding to be erected around the work, and going over the whole again with his chisels, he gave increased relief to the muscles in certain parts, thereby imparting more force to the forms than they had previously exhibited. The group being finally given to public view, all who were capable of judging, and who took into account all the difficulties of the work, have agreed in considering it to display very careful study and to exhibit exact proportion in the various parts; the figure of Cacus more particularly, has ever been held to be admirable in its attitude.

It must also be remembered that the neighbourhood of Michelagnolo's David, deprives the Hercules of Baccio of much praise which it might otherwise have received, being close beside it, and without doubt the most beautiful colossal statue ever sculptured; for in this all is grace and beauty, while the manner of Baccio is entirely different. But considering the Hercules of Bandinelli entirely apart from other works, and judging it by itself, we cannot do otherwise than commend it very highly, and all the more since it has been seen that many sculptors have subsequently attempted the execution of large statues, but none of them have attained to the point reached by Baccio.* Nay, had that artist received from nature an amount of grace and facility equal to the labour and pains which he was ever ready to impose on himself, he would certainly have been entirely perfect in the art of the sculptor.†

* It is impossible to refuse the praise of impartiality to Vasari, whose disapprobation of Bandinelli as a man is never concealed, but who constantly does justice to the artist, even when inflicting due censure.

† Bottari remarks that a cast of the head and neck of Cacus, which all authorities consider admirably well set together, having been sent to Michael

Desiring to know what was said of his labours, Bandinelli sent a pedagogue whom he kept in his family, to the Piazza; begging him to repeat the exact truth of all that he might hear. The tutor, hearing nothing but censure, returned very sorrowfully home, and being questioned by Baccio, replied, "that all were complaining of the Giants with one voice, and that they pleased no one." "And yourself, what do you say of them?" inquired Baccio. "I speak well of them, and am willing to say that they please me, at your service." "But I will not have them please you," retorted Baccio, "and do you speak as ill of them as others do, for, as you know, I never speak well of any one, therefore we are quits"

Thus Baccio concealed his displeasure, as it was always his custom to do, affecting not to regard the censure of any man whatever; but we may reasonably conclude that he must have been very much dissatisfied nevertheless. All who labour for honour, but obtain censure only, must needs, as we cannot but suppose, be secretly afflicted at heart, however unjust or unworthy may be the blame thus incurred, they cannot but feel aggrieved by the same. One consolation Baccio had in his regret, the possession of a little estate, namely, which the Pope caused to be presented to him over and above the stipulated payment for his work; and this gift was doubly acceptable to the sculptor, first, because the revenue thereof was useful to him; and next, because it was near to his villa of Pinzerimonte, and had previously belonged to his deadly enemy, Rignadori, who was at that time in rebellion, and with whom he had constantly lived in mortal strife on account of the disputed limits of that estate.

At this time Prince Doria wrote to the Duke Alessandro, requesting him to see that Baccio at once bethought himself of completing his Statue, since the colossal figures for the Piazza were now finished, and threatening to avenge himself on Baccio if the latter did not perform his duty. This terrified the artist so much that he dared not trust himself at Carrara, but at length, being assured of his safety by Cardi-

Angelo, that master admitted the beauty of that part, but remarked that he would like to see the remainder, in a manner which made it obvious that he meant to imply his doubt of the other parts corresponding in beauty with that before him.

nal Cibo and the Duke Alessandro, he repaired thither, and labouring there with certain assistants, he brought the figure to a state of considerable forwardness. The Prince inquired daily as to the progress made in that work, and being informed that it did not seem likely to exhibit the degree of excellence which he had been promised, he gave Baccio to understand that if he did not serve him well, he should know how to find the means of taking vengeance. Hearing this, Bandinelli spoke with much disrespect of Prince Doria, and that circumstance reaching the ears of his Excellency, he resolved to get the sculptor into his hands by one means or another. But Bandinelli, seeing that spies were around him watching his proceedings, became suspicious of their intentions, and being a prompt and prudent person, he left the work as it was and returned to Florence.

About that period there was born a son to our artist, the mother being a woman who dwelt with Baccio in his house. To this child the father gave the name of Clement, in memory of Pope Clement VII., by whom he had himself been always favoured, and who had just then departed this life. After the death of that Pontiff, Baccio heard that Ippolito Cardinal de' Medici, Innocenzio Cardinal Cibo, Giovanni Cardinal Salviati, and Niccolò Cardinal Ridolfi, with Messer Baldassari Turini of Pescia, were about to give commissions for the sepulchral monuments in marble which were to be erected in the church of the Minerva, for Popes Leo X. and Clement VII.; now for these Bandinelli had himself prepared the models, but they had since promised to the Ferrarese sculptor, Alfonso Lombardi, by the intervention of Cardinal de' Medici, whose servant Lombardi was. By the advice of Michelagnolo, Alfonso had changed the manner of the tombs, and had already prepared models for them, although he had no written contract for the same, his trust being wholly in certain verbal agreements: he was now making preparation for his departure to Carrara, there to have the necessary marbles excavated. But while Alfonso thus permitted the time to steal on, it chanced that the Cardinal Ippolito died of poison, being then on his way to meet the Emperor Charles V.*

Learning this event, Baccio suffered no time to intervene,

* See the Life of Alfonso Lombardi, vol. iii.

but hastened instantly to Rome, where he first repaired to Madonna Lucrezia Salviati de Medici, the sister of Pope Leo, whom he made potent efforts to convince that none could do greater honour to the remains of those illustrious Pontiffs than would be rendered by his own ability, declaring at the same time that the sculptor Alfonso was destitute of powers in drawing, had no practice, and possessed no judgment in the qualities of marbles; he added moreover, that Lombardi would never be capable of conducting so important an undertaking to conclusion without the aid of others. Many other engines were also put in motion, and by various methods and proceedings Bandinelli found means to change the purpose of those nobles, who finally gave it in charge to Cardinal Salviati to make an agreement with the artist for the work.

The Emperor Charles V. had arrived in Naples about this time, and Filippo Strozzi, with Anton Francesco degli Albezzi, and many other exiles, were contriving, with Cardinal Salviati, to find some means for proceeding to set the Emperor against the Duke Alessandro, and to this end they were with the Cardinal at all hours. Now it chanced that Baccio was likewise constantly in attendance about the halls and chambers of the Cardinal's abode, waiting all day in the expectation of concluding his contract for the sepulchral monuments; and these Signori, finding Baccio morning and evening in the Cardinal's palace, began to suspect that he was there to watch their movements, of which he might then give intelligence to Duke Alessandro; some of the younger among them therefore determined to follow him secretly some evening and rid themselves of his presence.

But Fortune came to his aid at the critical moment, and caused that the other two Cardinals should undertake with Messer Baldassare da Pescia to conclude the agreement with Baccio.* They knew that he was but slightly acquainted with architecture, and had therefore commanded Antonio da Sangallo to prepare a design, which he did to their satisfaction, when it was further ordered that all the stone-cutters' work to be executed in marble, should be accomplished by the sculptor Lorenzetto, but that Baccio should undertake

* Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d' Artisti*, informs us, from a letter written by Baldassare da Pescia to Cosimo I., that Bandinelli received a sum of 1800 crowns for this work, which he never completed.

the marble statues and stories in relief. Having arranged matters in this manner, therefore, they finally made their contract with Bandinelli, who, thus appeared no more about the Cardinal Salviati, but having withdrawn himself in time, the exiled nobles, no longer reminded of their suspicions in relation to him, concerned themselves about his movements no more.

After these things Baccio proceeded to make two models in wood, with the required statues and stories in wax. The basements of these models were solid and without ressaults, and on each base he raised four fluted columns of the Ionic Order, these columns dividing the space into three compartments, a larger one in the centre namely, with a smaller on each side, in the central compartment of each tomb was then placed the seated figure of a Pontiff in papal robes, and in each of the spaces at the sides was a figure four braccia high, standing upright; these figures represent saints, and stood one on each side of the two popes.

The form presented by the whole composition was that of a triumphal arch; and above the columns supporting the cornice was a mezzo-rilievo in marble, four braccia high by four and a half broad, presenting the story of Pope Leo, holding conference with King Francis in Bologna, and this was placed above the statue of Pope Leo, on each side of which stood the figures of San Pietro and San Paolo, placed within the niches or spaces above-mentioned. Together with the conference of Leo and Francis were also two other historical representations, the one above San Pietro, and showing that saint raising the dead to life; the other exhibiting St. Paul preaching to the people, and erected over the statue of that apostle. The central relief placed above the statue of Pope Clement, and which corresponded to that over the figure of Pope Leo, represented the first-mentioned Pontiff crowning the Emperor Charles at Bologna, and in the two smaller rilievi near it, are St. John the Baptist preaching in the Wilderness, and St. John the Evangelist restoring Drusiana from the dead. In the niches beneath are figures of the two saints above named, each four braccia high, standing one on each side of the seated statue of Pope Clement, as do St. Peter and St. Paul on each side of that of Pope Leo.

In this work Baccio displayed either too little religion

or too much adulation, or both together, seeing that he has placed men who are deified,* the first founders of our religion—after Christ himself—and most especially beloved by God, beneath our Popes, to whom he makes them yield the first place; giving them positions unworthy of them, as being inferior to those held by Leo and Clement: a mode of proceeding, which as it must be displeasing to God and the saints, so this his design cannot be pleasing to the Popes or other men, since, as it appears to me, religion—I mean our own, which is the true religion—ought to be placed before all other considerations, and held superior to every other respect by all men. I think also that when we propose to do honour to any man, whomsoever it may be, we ought to restrict and moderate our expressions, restraining them within certain limits, to the end that the intended praise and honour may not become degraded to another purpose,—I mean to say, the base one of flattery, which first disgraces the person offering it, and next does wrong to him for whom it is intended; nor, if the latter have right feeling, can he be pleased therewith, but on the contrary feel offended.

Baccio Bandinelli therefore, by doing as I have described above, made known to all perhaps that he had much devotion in his heart towards the Popes, but very little judgment as to the proper means of exalting and doing honour to those Pontiffs in their sepulchres.

The above mentioned models were taken by the sculptor to Monte Cavallo, where is the garden of Cardinal Ridolfi at Sant' Agata, and where the Prelate was that evening entertaining the Cardinals Cibo, Salviati, and Messer Baldassare da Pescia at supper, they having all assembled there for the purpose of coming to a conclusion, as respected the manner to be observed in the sepulchral monuments. While they were thus at table, there arrived the sculptor Solosmeo, an amusing and free-spoken man, who was much in the habit of declaring his mind of all persons, and was but little disposed to be friendly with Baccio. The message of his arrival being brought, and when Cardinal Ridolfi had given orders for his admission, he turned to Baccio and said, "I wish that we should hear what Solosmeo will say respecting the contract

* Canonized, that is to say.—*Bottari.*

that we have made for these monuments, wherefore do you, Baccio, lift up yon curtain and stand behind it.

Baccio instantly obeyed and Solosmeo entered, when, being presented with wine, and beginning to drink, the conversation was immediately turned on the monuments, and on the fact that the execution thereof had been confided to Bandinelli; Solosmeo instantly reproached the Cardinals for the bad choice they had made, following up his remarks with much evil speaking against Baccio whom he accused of ignorance in his art, as well as of arrogance and avarice, entering meanwhile into very minute particulars in support of his assertions. But Baccio, who stood concealed behind the curtain, could not suffer Solosmeo to finish his speech; rushing forth, therefore, much enraged, and with an enflamed countenance, he exclaimed to Solosmeo, "What have I done to you, that you speak of me with so little respect?" Astounded at the appearance of Baccio, Solosmeo turned to Ridolfi and said, "What kind of tricks are these, my Lords? I will have nothing more to do with priests," and turning about he went his way. All this made the Cardinals laugh heartily, and they amused themselves at the expense of both artists, but Solosmeo had remarked to Baccio as he departed, "You know now what is the opinion of your confreres in the art, and you have but to let your work be such as shall show them to be in the wrong."*

In due time Bandinelli commenced the monuments, but neither in the statues nor the stories did he acquit himself according to the promises which he had given, nor according to the duty which he owed to those Pontiffs; giving very little care to any part of the work, and leaving the whole incomplete and with numerous defects: because he was more solicitous about receiving the money than about the labours that should have been performed on the marble. It came to pass, therefore, that the cardinals, becoming aware of his mode of proceeding, repented them of what they had done, and since the two principal pieces of marble, those for the seated figures of the Popes namely, still remained untouched, they begged Baccio to do somewhat better in those statues, requesting him

* Solosmeo has been enumerated among the disciples of Andrea del Sarto. He was a friend of Benvenuto Cellini, whom he accompanied in his flight to Naples.

at the same time to get forward with and complete the work.

But as Baccio had meanwhile received all the money for the whole undertaking, he now entered into negotiations with Messer Giovan Battista da Ricasoli, Bishop of Cortona,* who was then in Rome on affairs committed to his care by Duke Cosimo, to leave Rome and go to Florence, where he wished to be received into the service of Duke Cosimo, whom he would fain have employ him for the fountains of his villa at Castello, and for the tomb of his father the Signor Giovanni.† To this the Duke replying that Baccio might come, the sculptor set off at once to Florence without saying a word of his intention, leaving the monuments unfinished, and the two statues in the hands of two assistants.‡ Finding what was done, the Cardinals then gave commissions for those figures to two sculptors then in Rome, confiding that of Leo to Raffaello da Montelupo, and that of Clement to Giovanni di Baccio; they commanded, furthermore, that such hewn stone and other parts of the work as were ready should be put together and the monuments erected; but the statues and stories were in many parts not complete and left unpolished, insomuch that they brought Baccio more censure than fame.§

Arrived in Florence, Baccio found that the sculptor Tribolo had been despatched to Carrara to procure the marbles required for the fountains of Castello, as well as for the sepulchral monument of the Signor Giovanni; but he gave himself no rest until he had prevailed on the Duke to take these works from the hands of Tribolo, declaring to his Excellency that there were marbles enough already in Florence for the greater part of those undertakings; and thus by degrees he contrived to render himself so acceptable to the Duke, and so completely to obtain his confidence, that this circumstance and the haughtiness he displayed, caused every

* Ricasoli, called here the Bishop of Cortona, is, in the Life of Tribolo, called Bishop of Pistoja, as he was, until translated to the first-named see in the year 1560.

† *Giovanni l'invitto*, Commander of the *Bande Nere*.

‡ For various details respecting the execution of these monuments, see Gaye, *Carteggio inedito*.

§ The monuments are still to be seen in the choir of the Church of the Minerva in Rome.

one to be afraid of him. He proposed to Duke Cosimo that the monument of Signor Giovanni should be constructed in the church of San Lorenzo, and in the chapel of the Neroni, a narrow, confined, and mean place; not being capable of conceiving, or not choosing to propose, that a chapel should be constructed expressly for that monument, as would best have befitted so great a prince. Baccio also managed to persuade the Duke that he should demand from Michelagnolo certain pieces of marble which the latter had in Florence, when he in his turn obtained them from the Duke; now among these marbles were some which Michelagnolo had sketched, and a statue which he had brought to a considerable degree of forwardness; but of all these Baccio took possession, portioning out and cutting up all he could find, believing that in this manner he was avenging himself on Michelagnolo, and doing him displeasure.

In the same apartment of San Lorenzo, wherein Michelangelo was accustomed to labour, Bandinelli moreover found a block wherein two statues were partly executed by the sculptor Fra Giovanagnolo,* to whom the Duke had confided that group, the subject whereof was Hercules strangling Antæus; and Fra Giovan Agnolo had made considerable progress with the same. But Baccio now persuaded Duke Cosimo that the Frate was spoiling the piece of marble, which Baccio therefore broke into several pieces.

But to return to the sepulchral monument. Bandinelli ultimately constructed the basement of the tomb, to which he gave the form of a square, of about four braccia on every side, making it entirely isolated. The lowermost part is a socle, with the mouldings usual to a basement, and with a cornice to the upper part, such as is ordinarily seen on pedestals; above this is an ornament after the manner of an inverted frieze, the height whereof is three quarters of a braccia, and on this are carved the skulls of horses bound one to another by draperies: then follows a smaller dado, whereon there is a seated statue four braccia and a half high, armed in the ancient fashion, and holding the baton of a commander in the hand, which last was to represent the person of the invincible Giovanni de' Medici. This statue was commenced by Bandinelli in a block of marble, and was

* Fra Giovan Angelo Montorsoli, whose life follows.

brought to some degree of forwardness, but was never completed, nor placed on the basement prepared for its reception.*

It is true that on the front of the pedestal he did finish a story in marble, wherein he represented the said Giovanni in mezzo-rilievo. He is in a seated position, and is surrounded by numerous figures of Captives who are brought before him, soldiers, that is to say, and women with dishevelled hair, as well as many nude figures; but the story is wholly destitute of invention, nor can it be said to produce a good effect in any part.† At the end of this relief is a figure bearing a living pig on his shoulders, which is said to have been made for Messer Baldassare da Pescia, whom Baccio meant thereby to turn into derision, holding Messer Baldassare to be his enemy, because the latter had given the commission for the statues of Leo and Clement to other sculptors, as we have related above; besides that he had so proceeded in Rome as to compel from Bandinelli the restitution of the surplus moneys which he had received beforehand for those statues and figures: which restitution Baccio did not make without great inconvenience to himself.

Meanwhile Baccio was thinking of nothing but how to convince Duke Cosimo of the great extent to which the memory of the ancients had been maintained and their glories perpetuated by the statues and buildings which they had caused to be erected, and was constantly saying that his

* It was erected in the Great Hall of the Palazzo Vecchio, where it still remains, and where there is another statue of the same Commander, also by Bandinelli, of which we have mention a little below.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura Moderna*, gives a plate of this relief, which he considers Vasari to have underrated, his censures being properly applicable to certain parts of the work only. Cicognara instances the figure of the woman dragged forcibly along by a soldier, and which, as he justly remarks, is most admirable for the force and truth of its expression. He concludes by declaring, that "although the work as a whole is not without defects, it must nevertheless be enumerated among the good productions of that age, and if it were equal in all its parts, might even be considered perfect." Another commentator of as much impartiality as Cicognara, if not of equal judgment, declares that the latter has formed a more correct estimate of Bandinelli's work than either Vasari or Bottari; the first having said too little, and the last, who declares the work to approach the antique, too much." The tomb in question was never erected in San Lorenzo, but the pedestal may be seen at the angle of the Piazza on which that church stands.

Excellency should seek to found some memorial whereby himself and his actions should in like manner be made known and immortalized to all future times. And this he did because, having brought the monument of the Signor Giovanni near to its conclusion, he was considering how he might best proceed to make Duke Cosimo begin another great and expensive work, which should take a long time to execute. Now the Duke had ceased to inhabit the Palazzo de' Medici, and had returned with his court to occupy the palace of the Piazza, which had formerly been held by the Signoria. This last he was now therefore daily adorning and re-arranging, and having said to Baccio that he would willingly erect a public audience-chamber, as well for the reception of foreign ambassadors as for the convenience of his own citizens and the subjects of the state, Bandinelli, taking council with Giuliano di Baccio d'Agnolo, began contriving how the Duke might be persuaded into permitting the formation of an ornamental compartment in the hall itself, to be constructed in hewn stone and marbles, the erection to be thirty braccia wide and eighteen high. This they proposed to make serve for the audience-chamber, and would have it constructed in the great hall, as we have said, at that end namely which looks towards the north.

To the audience-chamber thus erected, they proposed to give a platform fourteen braccia wide, the ascent to which should be by seven broad steps, and the front whereof was to be closed by means of a balustrade, leaving open the centre only, where the entrance was to be. At the end of the hall were then to be made three large arches, two of which were to serve as windows, and were to be divided by four columns, two of cut stone and two of marble for each; over these was to be another arch of a round form, decorated with a frieze and range of corbels; and these were to constitute the ornament of the external façade of the palace, as well as of the interior of the hall. But the middle arch, which was not a window but a niche, was to be accompanied by two similar niches, which were to be formed at the two ends of the audience-chamber, the one to the east, and the other to the west that is to say, and each adorned with four Corinthian columns ten braccia high, and with a projecting cornice.

The middle wall was to be furnished with four pillars, placed between the arches, and forming the support of the architrave, frieze, and cornice, which passed entirely around, above the arches that is to say, as well as above the columns intervening between them. Between these pillars there was to be left a space of three braccia, or thereabout, and in each of these spaces was to be formed a niche four braccia and a half high, within which it was proposed to erect statues; these niches being intended to serve by way of accompaniment to the large one of the centre, and the two on the sides before alluded to: in each niche were to be erected three statues.

Now, it was the purpose of Baccio and Giuliano not only thus to adorn the interior, but also to execute a much more extensive and very costly series of ornaments for the external front. By this the Hall, which is awry and out of square, was to be rendered perfectly true on the outer side; and entirely around the walls of the Palazzo Vecchio there was to be formed a ressault of six braccia, with a range of columns fourteen braccia high, whereon there were to be erected arches with other columns, forming a Loggia in the lower part (where the *ringhiera*, or platform, and the colossal figures are, that is to say), while in the upper part there was to be another division by pillars, between which were to be formed arches in the same manner, and these were to pass entirely around the windows of the Palazzo Vecchio, constituting a kind of façade, which should encircle the whole of the palace: there was moreover to be constructed another range of arches and pillars above those described, in the manner of a theatre, and finally, came the balustrade of the palace, which was to form a sort of cornice to the entire edifice.

But knowing well that this was a work of vast expense, Baccio and Giuliano consulted together, and agreed that their whole plan should not be made known at once to the Duke; with whom they spoke only of the decorations for the Chamber of Audience, to be made within the Hall, and of the exterior façade, to be constructed of hewn stone on the side towards the Piazza, the length required being twenty-four braccia, seeing that such was the width of the Hall. Designs and plans for thus much of the work proposed, were prepared by Giuliano accordingly; and Baccio, taking these

in his hand, then went to speak with the Duke, to whom he showed that it was his purpose to place seated statues in marble four braccia high, on pedestals within the larger niches of the sides: Leo X. namely, represented as restoring peace to Italy; and Clement VII., crowning the Emperor Charles V., with two other statues within smaller niches, to be placed inside the larger ones, these last to stand on either hand of the Popes, and intended to signify the virtues possessed by those Pontiffs and exhibited in their actions. On the central wall, moreover, and in the niches of four braccia high, Baccio next told the Duke that he proposed to place statues of the Signor Giovanni, the Duke Alessandro, and the Duke Cosimo himself, with many other decorations and various fanciful ornaments in carved work, to say nothing of a pavement formed entirely of different and vari-coloured marbles.

The Duke was much pleased with this plan, and saw very clearly that an occasion was hereby presented whereby the whole body of the Hall might in time be brought into order, as in effect was done, by the completion of the ceiling, and by the many other decorations since added, and which have rendered it the most beautiful hall of Italy. The desire of the Duke that this work should be performed was indeed so strong that he assigned such a sum of money as Baccio required and was pleased to name, to be weekly paid for the execution thereof.

A commencement was made accordingly, the stones to be hewn being excavated and carved to make the necessary ornaments for the bases, columns, and cornices, Baccio requiring that all should be done by the stone-cutters belonging to Santa Maria del Fiore, and these works were certainly carried forward by those masters with great assiduity. If Baccio and Giuliano, therefore, had been equally diligent, the whole of the stone-work might have been finished and erected with great promptitude; but as Baccio thought only of having statues roughly hewn, of which he brought very few to completion, and of causing himself to be paid the stipend, which the Duke counted to him every month, besides paying him for his assistants, and for every sort of outlay however small, which he made on that account, the business made but slow progress: for one of the marble statues which he did complete, for example, Duke Cosimo paid Baccio five

hundred crowns, so that there could be no very fair prospect that a work thus remunerated should be speedily brought to an end.

Now, if with all this, Baccio and Giuliano, employed as they were for a work of so much importance, had at least brought the head of that Hall into the true square, as they very well might have done, there would have been some good effected; but of the eight braccia, to which extent the structure was awry, they did not rectify the half, leaving much of their work thereby out of proportion; as, for example, the niche of the centre, with the two principal ones of the sides, which have a stunted look, while the members of the cornices appear to be too slight for so large a building; if, moreover, they had carried the columns to a greater height, as they very easily could have done, they would have imparted an air of more grandeur, better manner, and richer invention to the whole work: had they done these things indeed, and had they raised the last cornice to the level of the old ceiling, they would have displayed more ability and judgment, nor would so great a labour have been expended in vain, or so large an amount of money squandered inconsiderately, as it was afterwards found to have been by those to whom it appertained to set all in order and to finish the whole undertaking, as will be related hereafter.*

Nor, in despite of all the pains taken and all the labours endured at a later period, does the observer fail to perceive numerous defects and errors in the entrance to this fabric, as well as in the disproportions and inequalities of the niches in the side walls: it has, indeed, been necessary to change the form of some parts entirely, but whatever might be done, it has not been found possible, without totally demolishing the whole, to remedy the defect of the walls being out of square, or to prevent this fault from being apparent, both in the floor and ceiling. It is true that much labour and pains must have been given before the work could have been arranged as Baccio and Giuliano have placed it, and as it now stands; nor is it to be denied that they merit commendation for those portions of the masonry which are exe-

* "It devolved on Vasari himself," remarks Bottari, "to complete the architectural embellishments, as well as to add the paintings of the whole of this Hall."

cuted with the *Calandrino*, and which recede at a sharp angle, on account of the wall being awry, and because of the consequent irregularity in the direction of the Hall. Nothing can be done more perfectly indeed, as regards the masonry, which is admirably put together, and shows great care.

But the whole work would have succeeded much better if Baccio, who never would be persuaded to take the requirements of architecture into account, had called to his aid a more enlightened judgment than that of Giuliano, who, though he was a good master in wood-work, and had some knowledge of architecture, was yet not equal, as the event proved, to the demands of such a work as that in question. Wherefore, in all the many years that this fabric was proceeding by slow degrees, there was but little more than one half of it erected. It is true that in the smaller niches of the front wall, Baccio did place the statue of the Signor Giovanni, with that of Duke Alessandro, both finished;* he also fixed the statue of Pope Clement VII.† on a pedestal in the large niche, and completed the statue of the Duke Cosimo likewise; but with respect to this last statue, it is to be remarked that Baccio gave himself considerable labour and took especial pains with the head; but the Duke and the men of his court declared, nevertheless, that it did not in the least resemble his Excellency.

Bandinelli had previously executed a bust of the Duke in marble, which is now in one of the upper rooms of the same palace; this was one of the best heads that Baccio ever produced, and stood admirably; wherefore he now excused himself, and sought to shelter the defects of the present work beneath the excellencies of the past. But hearing that every one censured the head of the statue, he one day struck it off in anger, intending to execute another, and fix it on the statue in place of that broken, but this purpose he never accomplished.

It was the custom of Baccio Bandinelli to join large and small pieces of marble together in the figures which he executed, not regarding the trouble occasioned by doing so,

* They are still in the niches beside the large recess, wherein is the statue of Leo X., commenced by Bandinelli, but completed after his death by Vincenzio Rossi.—*Masselli.*

† The figure of Clement in the act of crowning Charles V. is not in the principal recess, but in one of the lateral niches.—*Ibid.*

and making light thereof; he did this with one of the heads of the Cerberus in the group of the Orpheus; and to the San Piero, which is in Santa Maria del Fiore, he joined on a piece of the drapery. In the Giant of the Piazza, Baccio likewise made two of these joinings, as may be seen, putting a shoulder and a foot to the figure of Cacus, to say nothing of many other works, wherein he did the same thing, but these are proceedings which are much condemned by sculptors.

Having finished the statues here named, Baccio set hand to that of Pope Leo X., also for this work, and with that he made considerable progress. But as he now saw that the work was a very long one, and that he should never be able to bring his first design, in respect to the façades to be constructed entirely around the Palace, to bear, seeing too that a great sum of money and much time had been already spent, while the work was nevertheless not half finished, and gave but little satisfaction to the community, he began to project other undertakings, and did his utmost to lead the Duke away from his purpose as regarded the palace, the rather as it appeared to him that his Excellency was become weary of that work and took little pleasure in it.

Having made many enemies therefore in the house of the wardens of works, where he claimed to govern all, and where he had offended the Proveditores as well as the builders, stone-cutters, and every one else, treating all the statue, executed there, for the purpose of being placed in the audience-chamber, entirely after his own fashion, those finished and set up as well as those which were but sketched, he began to suggest to the Duke, by way of concealing the many defects committed, and making gradual preparation for the ultimate abandonment of the whole work, that the Administration of Works to Santa Maria del Fiore was but throwing away his money, and no longer did any thing that was of the least value.* He added that, things being thus, he had been considering how much better it would be for his Excellency to spare all the expenses so uselessly caused by the Ad-

* The extent of the confidence placed at this time in Bandinelli by the Duke may be gathered from Gaye, *Carteggio inedito*, tom. ii. p. 498, where he cites the *Deliberazioni dell' Opera*, 1529—1542, and quotes a decree addressed to the Administration, dated 24th November, 1540.

ministration, and employ the whole sum in the construction of the octagonal choir of the church, and in the ornaments required for the altar: or to use those moneys for the embellishment of the stairs, the seats for the Duke, and the magistracy, and the stalls for the canons, chaplains, and clerks required in the choir, all which he said ought to be executed in a manner worthy of so important a building.

Now in respect to this choir, Filippo di Ser Brunellesco had left the model of that simple frame-work of wood, which first served as the choir of the church, intending that it should be ultimately constructed of marble, in the same form, but with a richer and more elaborate decoration. Baccio therefore perceived clearly that, if he could prevail on the Duke to complete this choir, it would furnish him with occasion for executing many statues and stories in marble and bronze for the high altar as well as around the whole choir, to say nothing of the two pulpits which were to be of marble; he furthermore considered that on the external side of the choir there might likewise be placed various historical representations in bronze, inserted within the ornamental frame-work of marble, forming the basement on all the eight faces of the choir. Above this basement, moreover, Baccio intended to erect a range of columns and pilasters, which were to support the cornices all round, with four arches, one directed towards each aisle and transept, divided according to the cross-aisles of the church, the principal entrance to the choir being one of these arches, and being opposite to that of the high altar, while two others, standing one on the left and one on the right hand, were to receive beneath them the two pulpits. Lastly, Baccio designed to raise a gallery above the cornice and round the eight walls, which gallery was to be surmounted by a range of chandeliers, to the end that the choir might be in a manner crowned with lights at fixed times and on certain occasions, as had ever been the custom while the model in wood erected by Brunellesco was still there.

Placing all these things before the Duke, Baccio assured his Excellency that the revenues of the Administration of Works, that of Santa Maria del Fiore namely, and of the Superintendents of Works to that cathedral, with the sums to be expected from his own liberality, would suffice in a

short time to adorn that temple most richly; thus adding infinite grandeur and magnificence to the building, and by consequence to the whole city, of which Santa Maria del Fiore was the principal church: the Duke also, as he furthermore urged, would leave a perpetual and most honourable memorial of himself in such a fabric. Nor did Baccio fail to remark in addition to all this, that his Excellency would thus afford to himself (Bandinelli,) an occasion for the execution of many beautiful and excellent works, giving him thereby the opportunity of labouring in such sort as to prove his abilities, by which means he might acquire name and fame to after ages; a thing which ought to be dear and interesting to his Excellency, seeing that Baccio was his servant and brought up under the house of Medici.

By these discourses and the exhibition of the various designs which he had prepared, Baccio moved the Duke to his wishes, and induced him to give orders that he should make a model for the said choir, his Excellency consenting that such fabric should be constructed. Departing from the Duke therefore, Baccio repaired at once to his architect, Giuliano di Baccio d' Agnolo, and having conferred with him, they went to the place together, and after examining every part of the edifice carefully, they determined that the form of Filippo's model should not be departed from, but closely followed at all points; merely adding certain decorations of columns and ressaults, and enriching the whole as much as they could consistently with the maintenance of the original figure and first design.

But it is not by the extent of the additions, nor by the number of the ornaments, that a building is most effectively enriched and embellished; it is by the excellence of these things, even though they be few, provided only that all are arranged in their proper places, and set together with due proportion, and in just measure. Such as these it is that please and are admired; for having first been executed with the best care and judgment of the artist, they then receive such commendation as they merit from all others.* But this Giuliano and Baccio do not appear to have considered or

* "An admirable remark," observes one of the compatriots of our author, "and well worthy of the excellent architect which the works of our Vasari have amply proved him to have been."

attended to, seeing that they undertook and set on foot a work of infinite labour and long-enduring pains, but of very little grace, as experience has sufficiently proved. The design of Giuliano, as we perceive, was to erect pilasters at the angles of all the eight sides, and these were to bend around the angles, and the whole work was to be composed in the Ionic Order; but as in the ground plan these pilasters, as well as every other part of the work, required to be diminished towards the centre of the choir, and were not of equal size, they were necessarily made broader on the exterior side of the fabric, while they were narrowed within. This has the effect of distorting the proportions, and as the pilaster is formed in accordance with the angles of the eight sides of the interior wall, it thence becomes so greatly diminished towards the centre that the two columns which stand one on each side of the pilaster cause the latter to appear disproportionately slender, thereby contributing to the ungraceful effect of that portion, as well as every other part of the work, not only as regards the external side of the structure, but as respects the interior also, and this notwithstanding the fact that the measurements are there correct.

Giuliano likewise prepared the model for every part of the altar, which he erected at the distance of a braccio and a half from the marble incrustation of the choir, and for which Bandinelli afterwards modelled a group in wax, representing the Dead Christ accompanied by two Angels, one of whom holds the right arm of the Saviour, and supports his head on one knee, while the other bears the Mysteries of the Passion.* The figure of Christ occupied almost the whole of the altar; insomuch, that there would scarcely have been left room for the celebration of the mass, Baccio proposing to make the statue of about four braccia and a half in height. Behind the altar, and connected by its centre with the same, Baccio likewise erected a pedestal, with a seat or throne, whereon was placed the figure of the Almighty Father in the act of extending his benediction to the people. This figure, six braccia high, was accompanied by two Angels, each four braccia high, which were placed in a kneeling position at the

* Few of our readers will need to be reminded that the objects thus designated by the Catholic Church, consist of the implements used in the Crucifixion, the spear, nails, sponge, &c., &c.

corners of the gradino or predella, and on a level with the platform whereon rested the feet of the Almighty Father. This gradino was more than a braccio high, and on it were numerous representations, delineating the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ, all of which were to be executed in bronze.

At the angles of the predella, then, were the two Angels, both kneeling, as we have said, and each holding a chandelier in his hand. There were besides eight other great chandeliers, three braccia and a half high, and which were placed between the Angels, for the increased decoration of that altar, the figure of the Almighty Father being in the midst of all; and behind that figure was left a space of about half a braccio, to the end that he whose office it was to kindle the lights might ascend to the altar for that purpose.

Beneath the arch which stood opposite to the principal entrance of the choir, and in the centre of the projecting basement, encircling the exterior walls, Baccio had erected a Tree of the Fall, around the trunk of which was entwined the form of the Old Serpent, bearing a human countenance; while beneath the Tree were two nude figures, the one representing Adam, the other Eve. On the exterior wall of the choir, towards which those figures turned their faces, was a space in the basement of about three braccia in length, and destined to receive a representation, either in marble or bronze, of the Creation of Man; the same to be followed by other delineations, to the number of twenty-one, occupying the entire surface of the basement, and all to be taken from the Old Testament.* For the further enrichment of this basement, moreover, it was intended to place a statue, either nude or draped, and representing some one of the prophets, on the socles whereon the columns and pilasters reposed; and the figures of these prophets Bandinelli had prepared, proposing to execute them afterwards in marble:†

* These works were never executed, and the spaces were afterwards covered with plain marble.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† Cicognara speaks very highly of these figures, which were executed in low relief, and of which two plates will be found in the *Storia della Scultura Moderna*. They are also engraved in outline by Lasinio in *La Metropolitana Fiorentina illustrata*. They were engraved at Naples likewise in the last century by Filippo Morghen and his scholars, six of them being executed by the celebrated son of Filippo, Raphael Morghen, then a child of eleven years old. See Niccolò Palmerini, *Catalogo delle Opere*

a great work beyond all doubt, and a most important opportunity, presenting an admirable occasion for the display of all the art and genius of a perfect master, and one of whom the memory should never be extinguished. The model of the whole work, with a double series of drawings, which Baccio had made, were shown to the Duke, and these, as well for their number and variety as for their beauty, for Baccio worked boldly in wax and designed extremely well, pleased his Excellency very greatly. He commanded, therefore, that a commencement should be made forthwith in the hewing and preparation of the stone, employing for that purpose all the funds belonging to the Administration of Works, and ordering, moreover, that large quantities of marble should be brought from Carrara.

On his part also Bandinelli began to make a commencement with the statues, and among the first was one of Adam with an arm outstretched, the size of which was about four braccia. This figure was finished by Baccio, but finding it to prove too narrow in the flanks, and somewhat defective in other parts, he changed it into a Bacchus, which he afterwards presented to the Duke, by whom it was retained many years in an apartment of his palace; subsequently, however, and no long time since, that figure was removed to those lowermost chambers which his Excellency uses in the summer, and where it occupies one of the niches.* Bandinelli had likewise prepared a seated figure of Eve, of similar size with that of the Adam, which he half finished; but this figure remained incomplete, on account of the failure of the Adam which it was to have accompanied. Having commenced a second Adam therefore, in a different form and attitude, it became needful that he should change the Eve also; and the first or seated figure he converted into one of Ceres, which he gave to the most illustrious the Duchess Leonora, together with an Apollo; the last being another nude figure, executed by the hand of Baccio Bandinelli. These her Excellency caused to be placed in front of the fish-ponds formed in the Pitti Gardens, and designed by Giorgio Vasari, who likewise directed the construction of the same.†

d'Intaglio di Raffaello Morghen. The Roman sculptor, Cavaceppi, and the painter, Raphael Mengs, caused these reliefs to be cast in plaster.

* The present locality of this work is not known.

† These figures are now in the Boboli Gardens.

Baccio worked at these two figures of Adam and Eve with great zeal, expecting to please the artists as well as the whole world by those works, wherein he had given entire satisfaction to himself; he finished and polished them therefore with the utmost care and affection. Having completed them, he then erected the two statues of Adam and Eve in their place; but when they were given to public view they experienced a fortune similar to that of his previous works; they were indeed assailed too cruelly with sonnets and Latin verses, the purport of one even being to the effect that, as Adam and Eve, having polluted Paradise by their sin, had justly merited to be driven thence, so these statues, having cumbered the earth sufficiently, did justly merit to be expelled the church.* It is nevertheless a truth, that the figures are well proportioned, and in many parts very beautiful; for if there be not that grace in these works which some other masters have given to their performances, but which Baccio was not able to impart to his productions, they yet display so much art and excellence of design, that they merit considerable praise.

A gentlewoman who was examining these statues, being asked by certain nobles of her company, what she thought of the same, replied that she could not judge of the Adam; and, when further pressed to say what she thought of the Eve, ultimately answered, that there seemed to her to be two good things in the statue, and which merited commendation, namely, that it was white and firm; thus ingeniously censuring the artist, while she seemed to be giving him praise; seeing that she commended those qualities which are peculiar to the forms of woman, and which were likewise such as belonged of right and verity to the material, but not to the art and knowledge of the artist; in such sort that this ingenious lady did not really commend the master, but in fact expressed an opinion that there was nothing in the statue to deserve praise, unless it were the marble.

* They were removed in 1722, but not on account of their demerits, the cause being simply that undraped statues were then considered inappropriate to the place; but Bottari remarks that by their removal the harmony of Bandinelli's work was entirely destroyed, his intention having been to represent the Fall of Adam, with its remedy in the Death of Christ, which followed; but by the abstraction of the two first-named works the last mentioned was deprived of a portion of its significance.

Baccio afterwards commenced the figure of the Dead Christ, but this also, not succeeding as he had expected, he left it unfinished after he had brought the work to a considerable degree of forwardness. He then took another piece of marble and began a second figure in a different attitude, nor did he give himself repose until he had completed the same, with the Angel who sustains the head of Christ with his knee, while he holds the arm of the Saviour in one hand. Arrangements were then made for placing that work on the altar, but the group was found to be so large in proportion to the space reserved for it, that no place remained for the priest to perform his ministrations, and although the statue of Christ was a very good one, nay, one of the best ever executed by Bandinelli, the people, priests as well as others, were never weary of speaking ill of it, and not unfrequently carried off pieces of the work.*

Baccio well knew that the public display of an unfinished performance tends to injure the reputation of the artist in the judgment of all those who do not belong to his vocation or do not understand the subject, and have not seen the models thereof; he proceeded to complete the altar therefore, by the addition of a figure representing the Almighty Father, for which a most beautiful piece of marble had been brought from Carrara. This he had already brought to a forward state of advancement, making it partially nude, after the manner of the statues of Jupiter, when, finding that it did not please the Duke, and perceiving himself that there were certain defects in the work, he left it as it was in the house of the Wardens of works, where it still remains.†

Bandinelli concerned himself but little with the strictures of the people, and was much more occupied with the effort to make himself rich and the increase of his possessions: he bought a beautiful estate called the Spinello, on the heights of Fiesole, and in the plain above San Salvi on the bank of the river Affrico, he purchased another, with a very handsome dwelling called the Cantone. He bought a large house in the Via de' Ginori likewise, a purchase wherein he was assisted by the moneys and favours of the Duke.

* These figures still remain on the above-mentioned altar.—*Masselli.*

† It is no longer in the place indicated by the text, nor do we know what has become of it.—*Ibid.*

But having thus secured his own affairs, Baccio now cared little for work, and would labour but rarely. Nay, although the tomb of the Signor Giovanni was still unfinished, and the audience-chamber of the hall in its commencement, while the choir and the altar were in a very backward state, he was not to be moved by the remarks made concerning these matters, nor did he regard the censures heaped on him on that account. It is true that he did at length cause the altar to be erected, and the marble base whereon the figure of the Almighty Father was to stand, to be prepared ; when, having made the model for the figure, he ultimately set hand to the work and having stone-cutters in abundance, he went at last slowly forward therewith.

In those days there came from France Benvenuto Cellini, who had served King Francis in the matter of goldsmiths' work, a calling in which he was the most renowned artist of his time : he had also prepared certain castings in bronze for the same monarch. Benvenuto having been presented to Duke Cosimo, his Excellency, desiring to promote the beautifying of the city, gave him a very gracious reception, and accorded him many favours. He was furthermore commissioned by the Duke to execute a nude figure in bronze about five braccia high, representing Perseus standing over the nude form of a female, Medusa namely, whose head he has just taken off : this group was to be placed under one of the arches in the Loggie of the piazza.

While Benvenuto was engaged with the Perseus, he executed other works for the Duke, but as the potter is ever envious of the potter, and the sculptor always ready to do wrong to the sculptor, so was Baccio incapable of enduring the sight of the many favours conferred on Benvenuto ; it seemed to him also to be a very strange thing that, from being a goldsmith, Cellini should suddenly have become a sculptor, nor could he rightly comprehend by what means Benvenuto, who had hitherto been occupied with medals and small figures, should now be executing colossal statues and giants. Baccio could not conceal his thoughts on this subject, nay, rather he gave them full expression, nor did he fail to find one capable of replying to him, and when Baccio gave Benvenuto certain of his caustic words in the presence of the Duke, the goldsmith, who was no less haughty than himself,

would return him all that he had said in full measure. Thus, while conversing on subjects connected with art, or speaking of their own works, each would point out the defects of the other and would frequently utter very offensive remarks to each other in the presence of the Duke, in all which his Excellency found no little amusement, since there was of a truth much spirit and acuteness in these bitter discourses, insomuch that Duke Cosimo gave them free scope and permission to say whatever they pleased to each other in his presence, but with the understanding that neither was to recur to these quarrels when they had gone forth.

This contention, or rather this enmity, caused Baccio to proceed all the more zealously with his figure of the Almighty Father, but the Duke did not show him so much favour as formerly, a circumstance for which Baccio sought to console himself by paying homage to, and devoting himself to the service of, the Duchess. One day among others that the masters were as usual attacking each other, and mutually accusing each other of the errors that both had committed, Benvenuto looked fixedly at Bandinelli, and with threatening gestures exclaimed to him, "Prepare thyself for another world Baccio, for I mean to be myself the means of sending thee out of this." "Let me know a day beforehand," retorted Bandinelli, that I may confess and make my will, so as not to die like a brute beast such as thou art."* Hearing this, the Duke, although he had for many months found diversion in their strife, now bade them hold their peace, fearing lest some evil should ensue; he commanded moreover that each should prepare a half-length figure of the portrait of himself, to be cast in bronze, saying that he who succeeded best would secure all the honour.

In the midst of these turmoils and contentions, Bandinelli completed his figure of the Almighty Father, which he then made arrangements for placing on the base beside the Altar.† This statue, which is six braccia high, the master draped, erecting and finishing it entirely himself, he then, and to the end that the figure might not remain without fitting accompaniment, caused the sculptor Vincenzio de' Rossi, his

* Benvenuto Cellini has described this conversation in his well-known Autobiography.

† It is not now beside, but in the centre of the altar.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8

scholar, to come from Rome, determining that all which was then wanting to the altar, and was not finished in marble, should be executed in terra, and employing Vincenzio to assist him in the completion of the two Angels which bear the chandeliers at the corners, as well as in the execution of the greater part of the stories on the predella and in the basement.*

The decorations were in this manner all arranged in their respective places, to the end that the effect which the whole was to have when finished might be seen, and Bandinelli took much pains to prevail on the Duke to go and look at the work, before it should be given to public view. But his Excellency could never be persuaded to go, nay, even though the Duchess, who desired to favour Baccio in this matter, requested him to do so, he would not comply; nor did he ever go to see the work, being displeased that, of so many labours Baccio had never completed any one, although he, the Duke, had enriched that artist and conferred various honours on him as well as done him many favours, to the infinite displeasure of the Florentine citizens. His Excellency was nevertheless disposed to assist and bring forward Clemente, the natural son of Baccio, a youth of considerable promise, and who had made very commendable acquisitions in drawing, the Duke believing that it would eventually rest with him to complete the undertakings of his father.

About this time, which was in the year 1554, the Aretine Giorgio Vasari arrived from Rome, where he had been in the service of Pope Julius III., and having thus returned to Florence, was employed for many works which his Excellency had a wish to see done, more particularly in the restoration of certain edifices, the decoration of the palace on the Piazza, and the construction of the Great Hall, as was seen at a later period. In the following year, moreover, Giorgio Vasari caused the sculptor Bartolommeo to come from Rome, and engaged him in the service of the Duke, to the end that he might execute the other façade, that opposite to the audience-chamber, commenced by Bandinelli namely. with the fountain which was to be constructed in the centre

* The Angels and other works in terra no longer remain.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

thereof; when a certain part of the statues which were to be erected there was at once begun.

When Baccio perceived that the Duke would no longer accept his services, but was employing others, he was much displeased and grieved; he had indeed become so fanciful and eccentric, that neither in the house nor out of it could any one venture to speak to him. His conduct to his son Clemente was of the most extraordinary kind, since he permitted him to endure every species of suffering; wherefore, the latter, having made a large bust of the Duke in clay, and proposing to execute the same in marble, requested permission from his Excellency to depart and go to Rome, that he might thereby avoid the unreasonable treatment to which his father subjected him. The Duke replied that his favour should not be wanting to him; but Bandinelli, on the contrary, of whom he also requested leave to depart, would do nothing for him, although Clemente had always been of great use to himself in his works; nay, that youth was the right hand of Baccio in all his affairs in Florence, yet the father did not in the least regret his departure, but saw him leave his sight with indifference.

The young man arrived in Rome at an unfavourable season, and whether from too zealous an attention to his studies, or from some other irregularity of life, he died in the same year. He had left a bust of the Duke Cosimo in Florence, which was almost finished; this Bandinelli afterwards placed over the principal door of his house in the Via de' Ginori, and a very beautiful work it is.* Clemente also left a group of the Dead Christ, supported by Nicodemus, in an advanced state of execution; Nicodemus being the portrait from the life of Baccio himself; these statues, which were tolerably good ones, Bandinelli subsequently placed in the Church of the Servites, as will be related in the proper place. The death of Clemente was a great loss to Baccio, as well as to art, and this Bandinelli discovered after the life of the youth had departed.

When Baccio gave the Altar of Santa Maria del Fiore to public view, the figure of God the Father was much cen-

* The bust here alluded to is not now to be seen in the Via de' Ginori. —*Ed. Flor.*, 1838.

sured. The altar itself has remained as we have described it above ; nor has anything more ever been done to it,* but the works of the choir were continued.

Many years before these things, there had been excavated in Carrara a block of marble of large size, being ten braccia and a half high, and five braccia in width ; of which Bandinelli having received intelligence, he posted off to Carrara, and finding the owner thereof, he gave him fifty crowns as earnest money, and having made his bargain returned to Florence. Here he so besieged the Duke, that at length, and by the intervention of the Duchess, he obtained permission to execute a colossal statue in that block of marble ; this figure was to be placed at the corner of the Piazza, whereon the Lion stood, and where there was to be a large fountain constructed, with a copious jet of water: the figure of Neptune in his chariot, drawn by Sea-horses, was proposed as the central ornament, and this Bandinelli was to make from the block of marble above mentioned.

For that figure Baccio made more than one model, which he showed to his Excellency; but the matter went no further, until the year 1559, when the proprietor of the marble, having come from Carrara, required payment of the sum due to him, or in default of that payment, he proposed to break the block into various pieces, and sell it thus; seeing that he had numerous demands for such pieces. The Duke thereupon commanded Giorgio Vasari to see that the marble was paid for ; but when, this being heard among those of the Art, it was perceived that Baccio had not obtained absolute possession of the block, Benvenuto, and with him Ammanato, quickly bestirred themselves in the matter, each of them entreating the Duke to permit him to prepare a model in competition with Baccio, and requesting that his Excellency would then be pleased to give the marble to him who should display the highest art in the model.

The Duke did not forbid either of those artists to prepare a model, nor did he deprive them of the hope that he who should acquit himself the best should be the one chosen to execute the work. He knew that Baccio was superior as regarded ability, knowledge, judgment, and the power of

* The Angels and rilievi *in terra* were not executed *in marble* that is to say.—Ed. *Flor.* 1832-8.

design, to any sculptor in his service, provided only that he would labour industriously, and was not displeased with this competition, which he hoped might incite Bandinelli to acquit himself better than he had done, and to produce such a work as he was well able to perform, if he did his best. Baccio therefore, perceiving himself to be beset by this competition, was greatly troubled, and fearing the displeasure of the Duke more than anything besides, he set himself anew to the making of models.

Meanwhile, he was very assiduous in waiting on the Duchess, and so wrought with her, that through her means he obtained permission to proceed to Carrara, for the purpose of having the marble brought to Florence. Arrived there accordingly, he caused the block to be diminished in such sort (as he had previously determined to do), that he reduced it to very mean proportions; thus depriving both himself and others of all opportunity for the production of a truly great and magnificent work of art therefrom, the accomplishment of anything really fine from that block being rendered thenceforth impossible.

Having returned to Florence, there was a long contention between Benvenuto and himself, the former having declared to the Duke that Baccio had spoiled the marble even before he had laid hands on it. But the Duchess nevertheless contrived at length that the block should be given to Bandinelli, and commands were accordingly issued for its transportation from Carrara to the sea shore, the barque which was to bring it up the Arno so far as Signa being also prepared. Baccio likewise caused an enclosed space to be walled about in the Loggia of the piazza, and within this it was his intention to execute his statue.

Meanwhile he had employed himself in the preparation of cartoons from which certain pictures for the decoration of the Pitti Palace were to be painted; and these pictures were to be executed by a youth called Andrea del Minga, who handled the colours with tolerable ability. The subjects of these delineations were the Creation of Adam and Eve, with their Expulsion from Paradise by the Angel; a figure of Noah, and one of Moses with the Tables of the Law.*

* Still in the Pitti Palace, in the room called the Hall of Prometheus.

These works being finished, Bandinelli gave them to the Duchess, whose favour he was anxious to secure, for the sake of the assistance which he obtained therefrom in his various troubles and difficulties. It is indeed true, that if it had not been for that lady, who valued him for his abilities and upheld him accordingly, Baccio would have been totally ruined with the Duke, and must have lost his favour entirely. The Duchess availed herself of his assistance, moreover, in the Pitti garden, where she had caused a grotto to be constructed of tufa and various petrified substances, with a fountain in the midst of it; for this Baccio had commissioned Giovanni Fancelli, his disciple, to execute a large Vase in marble, adorned with Goats the size of life, throwing forth water. He furthermore caused Fancelli to complete a figure for the decoration of a fish-pond, after a model prepared by himself, this last representing a Peasant, employed in pouring water from a large vessel in the form of a cask or barrel.

For all these things the Duchess constantly promoted the interests of Baccio with the Duke, who was ultimately induced to give that sculptor permission to commence the great model for the Neptune; for which reason Bandinelli once more sent to Rome for Vincenzio de' Rossi, who had already left Florence, intending that the latter should assist him in that work.

While these matters were in preparation, Baccio took it into his head to complete the statue of Our Saviour, represented as already dead and supported by Nicodemus, which had previously been commenced and brought to an advanced state of forwardness by Clemente his son. And this he did because he had heard that Michelagnolo was finishing a work of somewhat similar kind in Rome. The group of Buonarroto was one of five figures executed in a single block of marble, and had been commenced by the master with the intention of placing it on his own tomb, in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore.* Incited by this spirit of rivalry, Baccio set himself to work at his group with the most earnest care, and so laboured, with the aid of assistants, that he

* This group, which is of four and not five figures, was left unfinished by Michael Angelo, but was subsequently placed by command of Cosimo III., behind the High Altar of the Cathedral, where it now remains.

finished this work entirely, and then went about among the principal churches of Florence, seeking for a place whereon he might erect the same, and there construct himself a sepulchre.

In this search he was long unsuccessful, and could not content himself with any site; but at length resolved on choosing a chapel in the church of the Servites, that belonging to the Pazzi family namely;* when at the request of the Duchess, the proprietors consented to accord Bandinelli a place, but without divesting themselves of their right to the property, or permitting the arms and devices, which were those of their own house, to be disturbed. They did but allow the sculptor to erect a marble altar in the chapel, that is to say, and thereon to place the above-mentioned statues, constructing his own tomb at the foot of that altar. He had furthermore to make an agreement with the monks of the convent, in respect to all other matters connected with the installation of the same.†

Baccio then caused the altar to be erected accordingly, and had the marble pedestal for the reception of the statues duly placed thereon. Now it was his wish to have the bones of his father Michelagnolo, whose remains he had caused to be deposited in that church at his death,—it was his wish, I say, to cause these relics to be placed in that tomb, together with his own mortal spoils, when he should himself depart, and those of his wife. The bones of his father he determined piously to place with his own hands in that final resting-place; but it then happened, that Baccio, either from the sorrow and emotion that he felt in removing those remains of his progenitor, or that he exerted himself too much and endured too heavy a labour in replacing them with his own hands, and in the arrangement of the marbles, or from both these causes acting together, disturbed himself to such a

* Gaye, *Carteggio inedito*, vol. iii. p. 17, has given a letter from Lelio Torelli to Cosmo I., in which he remarks that Baccio wishes to remove the tomb of a soldier who had been killed in a duel, and place his *Pietà* on the site; Torellia dding, that he does not think the place belongs to any man of condition, nor does he know that any such is concerned to prevent the arrangement contemplated by the sculptor.

† The tomb of Bandinelli, with his own portrait, and that of his wife, in basso-rilievo, are still to be seen in the above-named chapel.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

degree that he was taken ill and compelled to retire to his house. Here his malady became daily more serious, and at the end of eight days he died, being then in his seventy-second year, and having up to that time been robust and healthy, without having ever suffered many bodily ailments. He was buried with honourable obsequies, and his remains were placed beside those of his father in the above-named sepulchre, executed, as we have said, by himself, and whereon was inscribed the following epitaph:—

D. O. M.
BACCIUS BANDINELL. DIVI JACOBI EQUES
SUB HAC SERVATORIS IMAGINE
A SE EXPRESSA CUM JACOBA DONIA
UXORE QUIESCIT AN. S. MDLIX.

Bandinelli left sons and daughters, who were the heirs of his large possessions in houses and land, in gold and silver; and to the world he left the works in sculpture by us described, with designs in great numbers, most of which are in the possession of his children, but some of them we have in our book of drawings, and these are so good that better could scarcely be.

After Baccio's death the contest respecting the block of marble became more eager than ever. Benvenuto being constantly about the Duke respecting it, and considering himself to have the best right to the same, in virtue of a small wax model which he had prepared, and for which he desired that the Duke would give him the block; while Ammannato, as being a sculptor of marbles, and more extensively experienced in such works than Benvenuto, thought that for many reasons the work did more justly appertain to himself.

Now at that time it happened that Giorgio Vasari had to go to Rome with the Cardinal, the son of the Duke, at the period of his receiving the Hat namely, when Ammannato gave to the former a small model in wax, according to the figure which he desired to extract from that marble, with a piece of wood of the exact size in length and width of the marble in question, and of similar shape and inclination to that presented by the block, to the end that Giorgio might take them to Rome, and there show them to Michelagnolo

Buonarroti, requesting the latter to give his opinion of the matter, and afterwards to move the Duke to let Ammannato have the marble. All this Giorgio did very willingly, and the Duke was thereby induced to command that an arch of the Loggia in the Piazza should be enclosed, and that Ammannato should there prepare a model as large as the colossal statue was required to be.

Having heard this, Benvenuto rode off in a great fury to Pisa, where the Duke then was, and told his Excellency that he could not endure to behold his own talents trampled under foot by one whom he knew to be inferior to himself; he therefore begged permission to prepare a large model in competition with Ammannato, and in the same place. The Duke who desired to content him, thereupon gave Benvenuto leave to enclose another arch of the Loggia for himself, causing materials at the same time to be given to him, to the end that he might make the large model in emulation of Ammannato, as he desired.*

While these masters were both thus occupied in preparing these models, and that both were keeping their rooms carefully closed, to the end that neither might see what the other was doing, although the enclosures were placed back to back, there rose up the Flemish sculptor Giovan Bologna, a youth of great talent and of spirit, equal to that of either of the others. This last-mentioned artist being attached to the service of the Signor Don Francesco, Prince of Florence, requested permission from his Excellency to make the model of a colossal figure, of size equal to the dimensions of the marble in question. Not that Maestro Giovan Bologna had any expectation of being permitted to execute the statue in marble, but he hoped at least to have an opportunity for the display of his skill, and for showing what he could do; having received the permission of the prince, therefore, he also then commenced his model, which he prepared in the convent of Santa Croce.

* The reader will not fail to perceive that Benvenuto Cellini, in his Autobiography, very frequently permits a feeling of rancour against Vasari to appear in his remarks; whereas Vasari, in speaking of Benvenuto, invariably maintains his impartiality of judgment, and certainly does not make the sculptor appear nearly so extravagant and eccentric a person as his own writings prove him to have been.

Nor would the Perugian sculptor, Vincenzio Danti, remain idle in this competition of masters; younger than any one of the others, he did not concur with them in the hope of obtaining the marble, but merely with the intention of making known his determination and the amount of his ability; he therefore set himself to prepare his model, which he made in the house of Messer Ottaviano de' Medici, and wherein there were many parts of great merit; the size of this work was equal to that of those exhibited by the other artists.

The models being completed, his Excellency the Duke then went to see those of Ammannato and Benvenuto; and preferring the work of the former to that of the latter,* he resolved that Ammannato should have the marble and execute the statue, partly because he was younger than Benvenuto, and had besides more experience in marble-work than had the goldsmith Cellini. The purpose of the Duke was strengthened by Giorgio Vasari, who performed many good offices with his Excellency for Ammannato, because he perceived that the latter, to say nothing of his knowledge, was prompt and patient of labour, for which reason Giorgio hoped that from his hands a good work would be seen to proceed without any long delay.†

The Duke would not at that time examine the model of Maestro Giovan Bologna, for not having yet seen any work in marble from his hand, he did not feel disposed to confide so great an undertaking to one who was to make it his first performance, although he was assured by many artists and others conversant with the subject, that the model of Giovan Bologna was in many respects superior to any of the others. Had Baccio been alive, there would indeed not have been all these contentions among the artists, since it would undoubtedly have appertained to him to have prepared the model of clay, and executed the statue in marble.

* It is to be supposed that Benvenuto Cellini must have acquitted himself unusually ill on this occasion, or that the judgment of the Duke must have been already warped to some extent in favour of Ammannato, since the statue of the latter is of so little merit as to render it highly improbable that the work of Benvenuto could have failed to be a better one.

† In this expectation Vasari was manifestly disappointed, the statue by Ammannato, commonly called the *Biancone*, being far from a work of excellence.—*Ed. Fior.*, 1838.

But of this work Bandinelli was deprived by death, yet he did not fail to derive much glory from the same, seeing that the preparation of those four models which his own departure had caused to be made, presented clear evidence of his superiority, and showed how much greater had been the knowledge, judgment, and power of design, of him who had placed the Hercules and Cacus almost alive in marble, on the Piazza; for the beauty and excellence of that work were rendered much more fully obvious by the productions which those other masters have executed since Baccio's death, seeing that these artists, although they have acquitted themselves creditably, have yet not been able to attain to the beauty and excellence which he displayed in his work.*

Seven years after the death of Bandinelli, and on the occasion of the nuptials of the Queen Joanna of Austria, his daughter-in-law, Duke Cosimo caused the audience chamber in the great hall, which had been commenced by the sculptor Baccio, as we have before related, to be finished by Giorgio Vasari; to whom he committed the chief direction and care of that completion, and who has endeavoured with all diligence to correct the many errors and defects, that must have appeared in that structure, if it had been continued and completed in accordance with the first arrangements, those namely which had been made by Baccio Bandinelli: but by the help of God this imperfect work is now brought to conclusion, and is enriched by the addition of niches and statues now duly placed in their respective sites. Where the fabric was awry and out of square, moreover, we have done all that could be effected to bring it into order, and have besides considerably raised the same by means of a corridor of Tuscan columns, which we have erected over it; the statue of Leo X., likewise commenced by Baccio, has been also finished; this last being effected by Vincenzio de' Rossi, the disciple of Baccio Bandinelli.†

* This remark is correct as regards the *Biancone*, but not as respects the works of Cellini and Gio Bologna, which still adorn the Piazza; it is to be remarked however, that when Vasari wrote, these figures had not been fixed in their places.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1838.

† Now in the principal niche which adorns the front of the Audience Chamber, occupying the centre of the same.—*Ibid.*

The building has likewise been adorned with friezes in stucco, amply decorated with figures both large and small, as also with devices and other ornaments of various kinds: while beneath the niches, and in the compartments of the ceilings, are numerous and beautiful inventions of carved work and stuccoes: all which has enriched the whole work in such a manner that its appearance is entirely changed, and it has gained considerably, both in grace and beauty. And whereas, according to the first design, the audience chamber did not rise beyond the height of eighteen braccia, the roof of the hall being twenty-one, and a space of three braccia being left between them, the roof of the latter has now been raised to such an extent that it stands twelve braccia above its previous height, and fifteen above the audience chamber of Baccio and Giuliano, insomuch that the roof of the hall is now thirty-three braccia high.

Duke Cosimo certainly gave proof of much promptitude of determination, when he formed the resolution to complete this entire work, of which more than one third was still wanting, for the occasion of the above-mentioned wedding, and in the space of five months; although it had taken more than fifteen years to bring it to the condition in which it was then found. His Excellency nevertheless would have it brought to perfection, and did so within the time specified: nay, not only did he cause all that Baccio had commenced to be completed, but he also furthermore commanded Giorgio Vasari to execute a work designed by the latter; whereupon, recommencing from the basement which encircles nearly the whole of the building, Vasari formed a passage or corridor bordered with a balustrade, and from which, in walking around the edifice, you discover the interior of the hall on one side, while you obtain a view of the entire piazza from the other. By favour of this corridor therefore, the princes and nobles can now commodiously behold whatever spectacles and festivities there may be proceeding in the piazza or the hall, without being seen themselves, to their great enjoyment; and may afterwards withdraw to the apartments, passing at their pleasure by the private or public staircases through all the chambers of the palace.

There are nevertheless many who are dissatisfied, that in a work so great and so beautiful, the building was not

rendered true to the square and not a few would have had the whole taken down and rebuilt for that purpose, and to the end that it might be exactly in the square. But it was ultimately decided that it would be most advisable to continue the work as it had been commenced; this determination being arrived at, partly to avoid appearing presumptuous or malevolent towards Baccio, and partly that we might not seem incapable of discovering and correcting the errors and defects committed by others.

But let us now return to Baccio, and not omit to remark that although his advantages were always perceived and acknowledged even during his life, yet he will be much better known and more earnestly desired, now that he is dead. Nay, much more effectually would all that he was capable of effecting have been acknowledged and appreciated even during his life, if he had received from nature the favour of a more amiable and obliging disposition, but the fact that this was not so, but that he was on the contrary discourteous in action and most rude of speech, deprived him of the good will of his contemporaries, and obscured his reputation, causing his talents to be less clearly perceived, and himself to be regarded with prejudiced eyes by the whole people, insomuch that he could never please or satisfy any one. Nay, although attached to the service now of this noble and now of that, and very capable by his knowledge of art, of performing such service effectually, he nevertheless did everything with so bad a grace that there were none who gave him any great thanks for his pains. His constant habit of evil speaking moreover, and of censuring all the works of others, was a cause for which no one could ever endure him; nay, whenever it was in the power of those whom he thus offended to repay him in the like coin, they took care to give him back his own both principal and interest.*

* We have an amusing illustration of the truth of this remark in the Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini, who was precisely the person to give back any man "his own both principal and interest," if that "own" consisted in abusive words. Let us hear what he relates of himself in this particular.

"I resolved to kill the scoundrel whenever I could catch him, and set off for the purpose of seeking him; then it chanced that as I entered the Piazza di San Domenico, Bandinelli came into it from the opposite angle, and I hurried directly towards him with intent to accomplish that sanguinary

Baccio was also much addicted to litigation, and would go to law for all kinds of matters; he lived in a perpetual succession of law-suits in short, and seemed to delight and triumph therein: even before the magistrates he would assail his fellow citizens with the most opprobrious words and without the least respect, for which reason he was compelled to hear the like from them, insomuch that his life was a never-ceasing contention. But since his attainments in the

purpose, but seeing that he was unarmed, and on a wretched mule but little bigger than a mouse, pale as death too, and trembling from head to foot, I felt that I was about to commit an act of frightful baseness, and contented myself with saying to him, 'You need not shake so violently, pitiful coward; you are not worthy of the blows I had intended for you:' at this he looked somewhat re-assured, but said never a word." And again, "One festival day I went to the palace after dinner, when the Duke called me to him, and in the most gracious manner said, 'You are welcome, Benvenuto, let us examine the contents of this case which Stefano da Palestrina has just sent me.' When the case was opened, I perceived a beautiful statue, and said, 'This is a Greek production of admirable workmanship; among all the antiquities possessed by your Excellency, there is no figure of a child more beautiful, or in a purer style than this is.' The Duke was delighted, and answered in these words, 'Explain to me wherein the great merit of the artist who executed this work consists, my dear Benvenuto." I spoke therefore at considerable length on that subject, and perceived that the Duke heard me with pleasure. In the midst of this agreeable conversation, Baccio entered, and the Duke, seeming almost angry, asked him in a severe tone what he came to do. To this Bandinelli did not reply, but looking at the statue and smiling maliciously, he said, 'My Lord, here is one of the things of which I have often spoken to you. You may easily see that the ancients knew nothing of anatomy, for which cause their works are full of errors.' When this blunder-head had finished his prate, the Duke said, 'You hear that, Benvenuto; it is exactly the contrary of what you were affirming but now, wherefore defend your opinion as you may.' To this I replied in these words, 'Your Excellency does not need to be told that Baccio Bandinelli is himself a very compound of all evil, insomuch that whatever he looks on with his viperous eyes, that thing becomes instantly bad: but I, who see the good as it is, can assure your Excellency that this beautiful work is a figure of the highest perfection.' While I spoke, Bandinelli was making the most hideous contortions, and exhibited the most detestable visage in the world, for he was indeed ugly to such a degree that nothing human could well be more so."

Instances of the kind are not rare in the Autobiography of Cellini, but this specimen shall suffice. The passage is taken from a French copy of the work, which is not for the moment accessible to the present writer in the original, but it is without doubt sufficiently faithful for our purpose, although the French are not to be depended on, as the Germans so safely may be, for their fidelity as translators.

art of design, to which he principally devoted his attention, were so distinguished, and he was in that respect of so much excellence as to counterbalance all his defects of nature, and to prove himself a most extraordinary master in that art, so have we not only enumerated Baccio Bandinelli among the greatest of the artists, but have ever paid the utmost respect to his works, and have laboured, not to destroy but to preserve, to complete, and to do them honour; because it does of a truth appear to us that Baccio was indeed one of those who have merited honourable commendations and ever-during fame.

The mention of his family name we have deferred to the last, but now remark that he was not constantly called by one name; he bore various designations on the contrary, now causing himself to be called De' Brandini, now De' Bandinelli. In his earlier day the name De' Brandini is seen to follow that of Baccio in the inscriptions on his works engraved in copper-plate; but at a later period it pleased him better to use that of De' Bandinelli, which last he retained to the last, (and still retains) affirming that his ancestors belonged to the Bandinelli of Siena, who removed long ago from Siena to Gaiuole and from Gaiuole to Florence.

THE FLORENTINE PAINTER, GIULIANO BUGIARDINI.

[BORN 1481—DIED 1556.]

AT a period long prior to the siege of Florence, the inhabitants of that city had increased to so great a degree, that the extensive suburbs stretching from every gate, with their churches, monasteries, and hospitals, were almost, as it were, another city, inhabited by many persons of good condition, as well as by able artificers of all kinds; although they were for the most part less opulent than those of the city, and dwelt in the suburbs at less expense of taxes, &c.

In one of these suburbs then, that which leads from the gate opening on the road to Faenza namely, was born Giuliano Bugiardini, and there he dwelt, as his forefathers had done, until the year 1529, when all the suburbs were ruined. But at an earlier period, and while Giuliano was yet a boy, the commencement of his studies was made in the

garden of the Medici, on the piazza of San Marco; where ne pursued the labours of his vocation, and acquired the art of design, under the sculptor Bertoldo. Here he formed a strict intimacy with Michelagnolo Buonarroti, and this grew to so perfect a friendship, that Giuliano was ever after much beloved by Michelagnolo, who distinguished him, not so much because of any depth of manner which he perceived in the drawing of Giuliano, as on account of the great diligence and love with which he devoted himself to his art.

There was besides a certain natural goodness and a kind of simplicity in the manners and mode of life of Giuliano who was wholly devoid of all malice or envy, and these qualities infinitely pleased Michelagnolo; Giuliano had indeed no one remarkable defect in his character, unless we may call the love which he bore to the works of his own hands a fault. It is true that this is a point in which all men are given to err, but in Giuliano the propensity passed all bounds, either because the great pains and diligence which he bestowed in the execution of his labours caused him to set a high value on the result, or for some other reason. But however this may have been, Michelagnolo used to designate Giuliano "the blessed," because he ever appeared to be so heartily content with what he produced, while he called himself "the unhappy," because he could never fully satisfy himself with any of his works.

When Giuliano had studied drawing for a certain time in the above-named garden, he attached himself, still in company with Michelagnolo Buonarroti, and with Granacci also, to Domenico Ghirlandajo, under whom he worked when the latter was painting the chapel of Santa Maria Novella. Increasing in stature and having ultimately rendered himself a tolerably good artist, he settled down to work in company with Mariotto Albertinelli in the Gualfonda, where he executed a picture which is now in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore at Florence, and near the door of entrance; the subject is Sant' Alberto, a Carmelite monk, who has the devil under his feet in the form of a woman, a work that was very highly commended.*

* The work of Bugiardini is no longer in the place described, which is occupied by one by Cigoli, also from the life of Sant' Alberto.—*Masselli.*

Previous to the siege of Florence in 1530, it was the custom in that city to carry before the bier, at the burial of the nobles or of those connected with them, a range of small banners affixed to, or hung around some picture, and borne on the head of a porter; these banners it was then usual to leave in the church as a present, and in perpetuation of the memory of the deceased and the family. When Cosimo Rucellai the elder expired therefore, his sons Bernardo and Palla, thinking to do something new, resolved to have no banners, but a large picture forming a standard in their stead: this they determined to have made of four braccia wide, and five high, with certain pendants, bearing the arms of the Rucellai family, affixed to the lower edge thereof. Having committed the work to Giuliano accordingly, he painted four large figures, admirably well executed in the body of the standard; S.S. Cosimo and Damiano namely, with San Pietro and San Paolo, all works of great beauty and finished with more care than had ever before been bestowed on the painting of a banner.

These and other works of Giuliano having been seen by Mariotti Albertinelli, the latter having remembered the extraordinary care with which Bugiardini studied the drawings laid before him, and from which he did not permit himself to depart by a hair's breadth, resolved, as he was in those days preparing to abandon the study of art, that a picture which had been formerly left merely sketched on the gypsum of the panel and shadowed, after his manner, with water-colours by Fra Bartolommeo, the companion and friend of Mariotto, should be confided for its completion to Giuliano Bugiardini. The latter therefore set hand to the painting, which he finished with great labour and pains, and the picture was placed in the church of San Gallo; but that church, with the convent attached to it, having been destroyed at the siege, the painting was then carried to the Hospital of the Priests, in the Via San Gallo, and there fixed within the building. It was afterwards taken thence to the convent of San Marco, and was finally deposited in San Jacopo-tra-Fossi, at the corner of the Alberti, where it may still be seen on the high altar.* The subject of the work is Our Saviour dead,

* This work is now "admired among those adorning the regal Palace of the Pitti."—*Masselli.*

with the Magdalen embracing his feet, and San Giovanni Evangelista supporting the head, which he sustains on one knee. San Pietro weeping in great sorrow, is also in this picture, with San Paolo, whose arms are cast wide apart, and who mournfully contemplates the body of his departed Lord.* And of a truth, Giuliano completed this picture with so much love, consideration, and judgment, that as it was then highly commended, so will it ever continue to be so, and with good reason.

At a later period Giuliano painted the Abduction of Dina, for Cristofano Ranieri, and this too was a picture which had in like manner been left unfinished by the above-named Fra Bartolommeo. A work similar to this, and also by Giuliano Bugiardini, was sent into France.†

No long time afterwards, having been induced to visit Bologna by certain friends of his, Giuliano executed some portraits from the life, with a picture in oil for a chapel in the new choir of San Francesco. The subject of the latter was Our Lady with certain Saints; and in Bologna, as there were not many masters there, it was held to be a good and praiseworthy performance.‡

Returning to Florence, Giuliano painted five pictures from the life of Our Lady, for a person whose name I do not know, but the works are now in the possession of Maestro Andrea Pasquali, Physician to his Excellency, and a highly distinguished man. Messer Palla Rucellai likewise gave him a picture, which he desired to have placed on the altar belonging to his family, in the church of Santa Maria Novella: in this Giuliano began to depict the Martyrdom of the Virgin St. Catherine—but what did he make of it? Twelve years did he keep the work in hand, nor in all that time could he once bring it to a conclusion; and all this for lack of invention, he not knowing how to represent the many and varied circumstances that must be delineated by him who would describe that martyr-

* The figures of S.S. Peter and Paul are no longer to be distinguished, having been covered over with whitewash, but at what time this barbarous operation was performed we cannot say.—*Masselli.*

† St. Anthony of Padua namely, and St. Catherine of the Wheels, with San Giovannino. The work is now in the Gallery of Bologna.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

‡ Not because there were no masters in Bologna, but because the greater part of them were then absent.—*Ibid.*

dom, although he was perpetually cogitating on the different ways in which those wheels might be accomplished, and how the lightnings and fires by which they were consumed should be represented; but, changing one day what he had done the day before, he could thus never come to an end in all the time thus consumed, as we have said, over that work.

It is true that in the meantime Giuliano accomplished many other works, and among these may be mentioned, the portrait of Messer Francesco Guicciardini, who, having returned from Bologna, was then writing his history at his villa of Montici. This was a tolerably good resemblance, and gave considerable satisfaction. He also painted the portrait of the Signora Angiola de' Rossi, sister of the Count of Sansecondo, which he did for the Signor Alessandro Vitelli, the husband of the lady, who was then engaged in the defence of Florence.

For Messer Ottaviano de' Medici, moreover, Giuliano executed a picture wherein he delineated two whole length figures, the one of Pope Clement seated, and the other of Fra Niccolò della Magna, standing upright. This he copied from a work by Fra Sebastiano del Piombo. In another picture he also painted a seated figure of Pope Clement, with Bartolommeo Valori kneeling before the Pontiff, to whom he is speaking. This he executed with incredible care and patience

Now the before-mentioned Messer Ottaviano had secretly begged Giuliano to make him a likeness of Michelagnolo Buonarroti, and the painter commenced his work accordingly. Having kept Michelagnolo, who took much pleasure in his conversation, fixed for some two hours in one position therefore, Bugiardini then exclaimed, "Michelagnolo, if you have any mind to see your very self, get up and look at this, for I have now caught the exact expression of the countenance." Michelagnolo having risen accordingly, and glanced at the portrait, cried out, laughing, to Giuliano, "What the devil have you been about here? you have painted me with one eye up in the temple; give heed a little to what you are doing."

Hearing this, Giuliano, who had been mightily elated, looked first at the portrait and then at the living original many times, after which he replied very seriously, "I do not

perceive it, and it does not appear to me to be so; but sit down again, and I will examine a bit, and comparing my work with the life, shall be able to see if it be so." Buonarroto, who saw whence the defect proceeded and knew the want of judgment of Giuliano, instantly sat down again laughing, and Bugiardini, having looked many times, now at Michelagnolo and now at the portrait, finally rose to his feet and exclaimed, "To me it appears that the thing is as I have drawn it, and that what I have done is true to the life." "In that case it must be a defect of nature," replied Michelagnolo, "go on, and do not spare either pencils or art." Giuliano finished the picture accordingly, and having done so, he gave it to Messer Ottaviano, with the portrait of Pope Clement from the hand of Fra Sebastiano; as Michelagnolo, who had caused the latter to be brought from Rome, had desired.

For Innocenzio, Cardinal Cibo, Giuliano made a copy of the picture, wherein Raffaello da Urbino had delineated Pope Leo, with Giulio, Cardinal de' Medici, and the Cardinal de' Rossi; but in place of Cardinal de' Rossi, Giuliano here painted the head of Cardinal Cibo himself. In this work the artist acquitted himself extremely well, and executed the whole picture with much care and pains.* At the same time Giuliano took the likeness of Cencio Guasconi, who was at that period an exceedingly beautiful youth; and subsequently he painted in fresco a Tabernacle at the villa of Baccio Pedoni, which is situate near Olmo-a-Castello. In this work there is not much design, but it is well and very carefully executed.

Meanwhile Palla Rucellai was urging Giuliano to finish the picture of which we have made mention above; the painter, therefore, determined to request Michelagnolo to look at the work, and having conducted him to the place where he had it, he plainly asked Buonarroti, after he had related to him with what trouble he had executed the lightnings, which, descending from heaven destroy those wheels, and kill the men who are turning them, as also the pains with which he had produced a figure of the Sun, that bursting through the clouds effects the liberation of Santa Caterina from death: having related all this I say to Michelagnolo,

* Bottari tells us that the last Cardinal Cibo sold this picture to Cardinal Valenti Gonzaga, on whose death it passed to the heirs of that prelate.

who could with difficulty restrain his laughter on hearing the troubles of the poor Giuliano, the latter begged that Buonarroti would tell him how to make eight or ten figures in the foreground of his picture, soldiers standing in a line, in the manner of a guard namely, but being, some in the act of flight, some fallen down, some wounded, and others dead, respecting all which Giuliano was at a loss, not knowing how to manage the foreshortening, nor being able to comprehend in what manner they could all find room in so small a space, if placed in the manner he desired, in a line that is to say.

Buonarroti, who had compassion on the poor man, agreed to help him; he approached the picture, therefore, with a piece of charcoal, and by a few strokes, sketched the outline of a range of admirable nude figures, which were foreshortened in various attitudes, and fell in divers manners, some backwards, others forwards, with dead and wounded, all represented in the judicious and excellent manner peculiar to Michelagnolo. Having done this, the latter departed much thanked by Giuliano, who, no long time afterwards, took his intimate friend Tribolo to see what Buonarroti had done, relating the whole affair to him at the same time. But, as Buonarroti had merely sketched the figures in outline, as we have said, Giuliano could not execute them, because there was neither shadow nor anything more than the mere outline; wherefore Tribolo, in his turn, resolved to assist him, and made sketches of several beautifully-executed models in clay, to which, by means of the gradina, which is a curved instrument, he imparted all the boldness that Michelagnolo had given to the drawing, and having worked them with this, to the end that they might have more firmness and force, he then gave them to Giuliano.

But this manner did not please the fancy of Bugiardini, with whose love of smoothness it was not in accord; wherefore, when Tribolo had departed, he took a brush, and, gradually passing over them with water, rendered the models so smooth as to efface entirely all the effect produced by the gradina, and polished them in such sort that whereas the lights should have appeared and given depth to the shadows, he ended by taking all that was good away, and destroying that which formed the perfection of the work. These doings being afterwards declared to Tribolo by Giuliano himself, the

former could not but laugh at the excessive simplicity of that poor good man, who afterwards delivered his work, completed in such a fashion that none would suppose Michelagnolo had ever cast eyes upon it.*

Finally, having become old and being poor, with but few works to employ his time, Bugiardini put himself to incredible pains and labour in the execution of a Pietà, which he painted in a tabernacle destined to be sent into Spain; the figures were not very large and were completed by the painter with so much care, that one cannot but wonder to see a man of advanced age have the patience to perform such a work for the love which he bore to art. To express the darkness which fell upon the earth at the death of the Saviour, Giuliano painted on the doors of that tabernacle a figure of Night on a ground of black, and this figure he copied from the Night which stands in the Sacristy of San Lorenzo, and is by the hand of Michelagnolo. But the statue of Buonarroto having no other sign or indication than a night-owl, Giuliano gave the reins to his fancy in his picture of the Night, and added thereto various inventions of his own, a net with a lanthorn for catching thrushes in the night, and a little vessel holding an end of candle, such as people use to go about with through the darkness, to say nothing of many other matters, all having relation to twilight or darkness, such as night-caps for men and women, pillows, hats, and I know not what; insomuch that Buonarroto had like to choke with laughing when he saw this work, and beheld in what fashion Bugiardini had enriched his Night.

At length and after having always remained such a person as we have described, Giuliano died at the age of seventy-five years, and was buried in the church of San Marco at Florence in the year 1556.†

* Still in fair preservation, and, according to Lanzi, exhibiting many good points: it may be seen in the Rucellai Chapel of the Church or Santa Maria Novella, and there is an engraving of the work in the *Etruria Pittrice* of Malvasia. The artist is said not to have confined himself to one style, but to have sometimes imitated that of Leonardo da Vinci, and at other times to have rather affected the manner of Fra Bartolommeo della Porta.

† Piacenza, in his additions to Baldinucci, cites a MS. which he found in the Magliabecchiana, and according to which Giuliano Bugiardini died at the age of sixty-five, and in the year 1566.

Giuliano was once relating to Bronzino the circumstance of his having seen a most beautiful woman, and after Bugiardini had extolled this lady to the skies, Bronzino inquired if he knew who she was; "No," replied Giuliano, "but she is exquisitely beautiful; figure to yourself, in short, that she is a picture executed by my hand, and then you will have the truth, that will be enough."

THE PAINTER, CRISTOFANO GHERARDI, CALLED DOCENO OF BORGO-A-SAN SEPOLCRO.

[BORN 1500—DIED 1556.]

RAFFAELLO DAL COLLE,* of the Borgo-a-San Sepolcro, who was a disciple of Giulio Romano, and assisted him in the fresco works of the Hall of Constantine in the papal palace at Rome, as well as in painting the apartments of the T at Mantua—Raffaello, I say, on his return to his native place of the Borgo, undertook to paint the chapel of S.S. Gilio and Arcanio, a work in which he depicted the Resurrection of Christ, and was very highly commended for the same; in this painting the artist imitated the manner of the above-mentioned Giulio, and of Raffaello da Urbino. He likewise executed another picture of an Assumption for the Barefooted Monks, whose abode is just without the Borgo, as he did also some other paintings for the Servite Monks of Città di Castello.

But while occupied with these and other productions, Raffaello dal Colle was thus labouring in his native Borgo, and was acquiring riches as well as fame, there was in the same place a youth, then but sixteen years old, called Cristofano, and for his surname Doceno, the son of Guido Gherardi, a man of an honourable family resident in that town, and who, devoting himself by a natural inclination and with much profit to painting, drew and coloured so well and with so much grace, that it was a marvel.

* Lanzi, in his *Storia Pittorica*, so frequently cited, gives certain details of this artist, whose life Vasari has not written, although he has frequently alluded to him in the biographies of other artists. Notices of Raffaello dal Colle will also be found in a letter from the Advocate Mancini, which appeared in the *Giornale Arcadico* for May, 1826.

Wherefore the above-mentioned Raphael dal Colle, having seen certain animals, as dogs, wolves, hares, and various kinds of birds and fish, from the hand of this youth, all very well done; finding, moreover, that he was of most pleasing conversation, was well content to make his acquaintance. Cristofano was also exceedingly facetious and acute, while at the same time he lived much apart, withdrawn amidst his own thoughts, and leading as it were the life of a philosopher, insomuch that Raffaello dal Colle was very glad to have him studying and learning his art in his work-shops. Passing his days in designing under the discipline of Raffaello, therefore, Cristofano had for some time been thus employed, when there came to Borgo-a-San Sepolcro the painter Rosso, with whom Doceno likewise formed a friendship, and obtained some designs from his hand, which he studied and worked on with much diligence; these works appearing to him (who had never seen any but from the hand of Raffaello*), to be, as in truth they were, most beautiful.

But the studies of Cristofano did not proceed without interruption, for as it chanced that Giovanni de' Turini, who was then Captain-General of the Florentines, led a band of soldiers from the Borgo and from Città di Castello to the relief of Florence, which was then besieged by the Imperial forces, and by those of Pope Clement, Cristofano went thither with the other soldiers, having been over-persuaded and led away by several of his friends. It is true that he took this step no less for the purpose of studying with some degree of convenience the works of art to be found in Florence, than for military purposes; but in this intention he failed to succeed, since his leader did not take up his quarters in any part of the city, but undertook the defence of the bastions on the hills outside the walls.

The war having been brought to a close, and the Signor Alessandro Vitelli, of Città di Castello, having taken it on himself to provide for the defence of Florence, Cristofano, still following the counsels of his friends, and impelled also by his desire to study the pictures and sculptures of the city, attached himself to the corps commanded by Vitelli, taking service as a soldier of the guard. While thus engaged, the Signor Alessandro, having heard from the painter and

* Raffaello dal Colle, that is to say.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1838.

soldier Battista della Bilia,* of Città di Castello, that Cristofano employed himself with painting, immediately obtained a very beautiful picture from his hand; whereupon he determined to despatch him, with Battista della Bilia, and another Battista, also of Città di Castello, to that city, there to decorate a Loggia and garden which he was then erecting and laying out with hatchings and paintings of various kinds. While the garden was in preparation, the first-named Battista died, and the second Battista stepped into his place, when, whatever may have been the cause, the work came to a stand, and nothing further was done therein.

Meanwhile Giorgio Vasari returned from Rome, and was sojourning in Florence with the Duke Alessandro, until the Cardinal Ippolito, his lord, should arrive from Hungary; when he was to commence the decoration in fresco of certain apartments in the Medici palace, the subjects chosen being events from the life of Cæsar: Giovanni da Udine having adorned the ceilings of that building with stucco work and paintings. Now Vasari, who had his abode appointed him in the convent of the Servites, had become known to Cristofano at Borgo, at the time when he (Giorgio) had gone thither to visit Il Rosso, and had taken much notice of the youth, who, on his part, had treated Giorgio very kindly. Cristofano therefore now resolved to fix himself with Vasari, and to avail himself of that opportunity for studying the art much more zealously than he had ever done before. After having been a year with Giorgio, therefore, the latter, observing him very closely, clearly perceived in him the materials for making an able artist, and finding him moreover to be of most gentle disposition, pleasing in conversation, and in all things greatly to his liking, he conceived a very strong affection for the youth.

Now it chanced about this time that Vasari had occasion to visit the Città di Castello, having been commissioned by the Duke Alessandro to repair thither, in company with Antonio di San Gallo, and Pier Francesco of Viterbo; these two masters having been at Florence, engaged in the construction of the Fortress, or rather the Citadel,† and now,

* A painter known only by favour of the mention thus made of him by Vasari.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† The Fortress of San Giovanni Battista, or *Fortezza da Basso* namely.

being on their return, took their way by the Città di Castello, for the purpose of repairing the boundaries of the before-mentioned garden of Vitelli, which were in a grievously ruinous state. To this place, then, Vasari took with him the above-named Cristofano, proposing that he, together with that Battista previously mentioned, should execute all the decorations and stories of a certain apartment, together with the friezes which were to be added in other chambers, and such sketches as it was the design of Vasari to prepare for the Loggia; all which these young artists, but more particularly Cristofano, completed to such perfection, that the most able and experienced master in the art would scarcely have done so much.* Nay, what is more, by the practice thus afforded to him, Cristofano profited to so great an extent, that having used the opportunity with much zeal and industry, he was found to have thereby attained to an extraordinary degree of facility both in drawing and colouring.

In the year 1536, the Emperor Charles V. came into Italy and to Florence, as we have related in other places, when there were magnificent solemnities prepared for his reception, as before described. On this occasion, the care of such decorations as were required for the Gate of San Pietro Gattolini was entrusted by Duke Alessandro to Vasari, as were also the works for that façade of San Felice in Piazza which looks on the end of the Via Maggio, and the ornaments erected over the Portal of Santa Maria del Fiore. Vasari was furthermore commanded to prepare a Standard of Cloth for the Citadel, the length of which was forty braccia, and its breadth fifteen, while in the gilding of the same there were employed some 50,000 leaves of gold. But this caused the Florentine artists and others to declare that Vasari was too partially favoured by the Duke Alessandro; wherefore, in the hope of bringing him to disgrace, as regarded his part in those preparations—certainly a very laborious, as well as important one—they so contrived matters that Giorgio could obtain the assistance of no stone-worker or other assistant, whether old or young, among all those who dwelt in Florence; nor was any one of them permitted to afford him help of any kind.

* These works are still to be seen in the Palazzo Vitelli, called *Della Macchia.—Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

Perceiving this state of things, Vasari sent at once for Cristofano, for Raffaello dal Colle, and for Stefano Veltroni,* of Monte Sansovino, his kinsman, by whose aid and that of certain painters from Arezzo and other places, he succeeded in completing the above-named works. And on this occasion Cristofano acquitted himself in a manner which caused amazement in every one, doing honour to himself as well as to Vasari, who was very largely commended for the decorations in question. These being finished, Cristofano still remained several days in Florence, assisting Giorgio Vasari in the preparations which were made for the marriage of the Duke Alessandro, the festivals in honour of which were solemnized in the palace of Messer Ottaviano de' Medici; and here, among other things, Cristofano executed the Coat of Arms of the Duchess Margherita of Austria, adding the balls for the Medici, the whole upheld by a most beautiful Eagle, and by figures of boys, which were also very well done.

No long time after this, and when Duke Alessandro had been assassinated, there was a compact made at the Borgo with Piero Strozzi, to the effect that one of the gates of the city should be thrown open to him on his way from Sestino, and letters touching this conspiracy were therefore written to Cristofano by certain soldiers of the Borgo, who had been exiled from their country, the purport of the same being to entreat that he would be helpful to them in that enterprise. Now when he had received these letters, Cristofano, though he did not consent to the wishes of those men, yet resolved to destroy the papers, that he might not cause injury to the writers, instead of making them known to and laying them before Gherardo Gherardi, who was then commissioner for the Duke Cosimo in the Borgo, as by the laws and by published orders, he was bound and commanded to do.

When the troubles had been brought to an end therefore, and this affair became known, Cristofano, with many other natives of the Borgo, received sentence of banishment; and although the Signor Alessandro Vitelli, knowing perfectly the whole truth of the matter, might have assisted Doceno therein, he did not do so, and the motive for this was his

* Stefano Veltroni, the cousin of Vasari. He afterwards assisted the latter in the Vigna of Pope Julius at Rome, and subsequently accompanied Giorgio, first to Naples, and then to Bologna.

desire that Cristofano should be in a manner compelled to remain in his own service and work for that garden at Città di Castello, of which we have more than once made mention. But having there consumed much time, without profit or advantage, Cristofano at length resolved, as one in despair, to depart with other exiles to the village of San Justino, which is in the States of the Church, but is close upon the Florentine frontier, and not more than a mile and a half from Borgo.

In this place, where he lived in much peril, he nevertheless abode for some time, and then painted for the Abbot Bufolini of Città di Castello, who has a most beautiful and commodious dwelling at San Justino, a certain chamber in one of the towers, forming the divisions of his work by figures of boys and others, which appear foreshortened as they are looked at from below, and are in a truly admirable manner: Cristofano added grottesche, garlands or festoons, beautiful masks, and many other decorations, all of which are as graceful and fanciful as can be imagined. That apartment being finished, so greatly pleased the Abbot, that he wished our artist to execute the ornaments of another chamber for him. In this it was the purpose of Doceno to introduce certain embellishments of stucco, and not having marble to grind into powder for mixing the same, he took stones veined with white from the brook, and with the powder which he obtained from them produced a good, firm, and even hard stucco: within the framework formed of the stucco thus composed Cristofano then painted scenes from the Roman History, and these are so admirably depicted in fresco that they are a marvel to behold.*

About that time Giorgio Vasari was engaged with the rood-loft of the Abbey of Camaldoli, the upper part of which he was adorning with fresco, while the lowermost portion was decorated with two pictures on panel, these last he wished to surround with a frame-work of stories in fresco and would fain have had Cristofano at hand, as well for the good of that artist, and in the hope of reinstating him in the favour of his sovereign, as for the assistance which he did himself desire to obtain from him. But although Messer Ottaviano de' Medici made great efforts to procure permission from the

* These works still exist.

Duke for Doceno's return, it was not found possible to secure the desired leave, so injurious had been the reports of Cristofano's proceedings, which the Duke had received. Not having succeeded in this attempt, Vasari, as one who much loved Cristofano, set himself to work for the purpose of removing him at least from San Justino, where he, together with the other exiles, was daily living in the utmost peril.

In the year 1539, therefore, and when Vasari received commission from the Monks of Monte Oliveto to paint three large pictures in the Refectory of their Monastery of San Michele-in-Bosco, which is situate at a short distance from Bologna,* he wrote instantly to Cristofano, to the effect that the latter should at once depart from San Justino, and should repair to Bologna, in company with Battista Cugni, also of the Borgo and a compatriot of Doceno, which Battista had previously been in the service of Vasari for seven years. The pictures were to be in oil, each four braccia in height, they were to occupy the upper end of the Refectory, and to have a frieze or bordering of historical scenes around them, the height thereof to be three braccia, the figures very small, and the subjects, twenty in number, to be taken from the Apocalypse. Views of the various monasteries which belong to that Order were likewise to be added, each to be separated from the other by grottesche and other ornamental divisions. Around each window, moreover, there were to be depicted garlands fourteen braccia long, with the addition of fruits drawn from nature.

Cristofano and Battista repaired to Bologna accordingly, where Giorgio had not yet arrived, he being still at Camaldoli, occupied with the cartoon for a Deposition from the Cross, which he had undertaken to execute for the High Altar of that place, after having completed the rood-loft as above-named, and which was subsequently placed on that altar accordingly. The two artists, therefore, set themselves to prepare the intonaco for the three pictures, so as to have the ground ready by the time of Giorgio's arrival.

Now the latter had given directions to the Jew Dattero, a man well known to Messer Ottaviano de' Medici, and who

* The Olivetine Monks of San Michele-in-Bosco were suppressed in the year 1797.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

was a banker in Bologna, to the intent that he, Dattero, should provide Cristofano and Battista with whatever might be needful to them. This Dattero was a very friendly person and exceedingly obliging to the two artists, to whom he offered many courtesies and conferred on them favours innumerable. Doceno and Battista, therefore, going about with him very familiarly in Bologna, and Cristofano having a great mark on one eye, while the eyes of Battista were large and prominent, the two painters were believed to be Jews, as Dattero truly was. One morning a certain shoemaker being despatched by Dattero to Cristofano with a new pair of shoes for his use, repaired to the Monastery, and encountering Cristofano himself, who stood looking on while the customary dole was distributed, he said to him, "Messer, can you tell me where are the rooms of those two Jew-painters who are working in this convent?" "Jews, or no Jews, what hast thou to do with them?" returned Cristofano. I have to give these shoes, rejoined the cordwainer, to one of them who is called Cristofano." "I am Cristofano," quoth the painter, "an honest man and a better Christian than thyself." "Say what you please," retorted the shoemaker, "I call you Jews, not only because you are so considered and known to be, by every one, but also because your strange looks, which are not of this land, convince me that you are Jews." "Say no more," answered Cristofano, "Thou shalt see when the time comes that we know how to make Christian work."

But to return to the matter in hand. Vasari having arrived in Bologna, a month had not elapsed, before, Giorgio himself designing, and Cristofano, aided by Battista, sketching the pictures with his colours, they were all three completely outlined, to the great praise of Cristofano, who acquitted himself to admiration in the matter. The paintings being thus all sketched, they commenced the frieze, which Cristofano was to have executed entirely with his own hand; yet it chanced that he had a companion, for Stefano Veltroni, the cousin of Giorgio, having come from Camaldoli, where he had sketched the Deposition from the Cross above-named, both laboured at this work together, and completed it so well that all admitted them to have succeeded wonderfully. Cristofano was indeed so good a painter of grottesche that few could be better, but he did not give them the nicety of finish required

to ensure perfection; Stefano on the contrary, was somewhat deficient in the requisite force and grace, the first strokes of his pencil rarely sufficing to place the object depicted in its due position, but as he was very patient, he did finally succeed in completing his grottesche, although not without increased labour, yet with superior delicacy and neatness. These two artists, therefore, executing this frieze in company, laboured so earnestly, both the one and the other, that Cristofano learned to finish from Stefano, while Stefano learned from Cristofano to be more firm of hand, and to work in a more masterly fashion.

The artists next commenced the large festoons or garlands which were to be carried in thick masses around the windows; and of these Vasari executed one with his own hand, the various fruits being placed before him, that he might copy from nature. Having done that, he commanded that Cristofano and Stefano, pursuing the same method, should complete the remainder, one on one side and one on the other of each window, to the end that all might be finished, one after the other; Giorgio, meanwhile promising that to him who should have acquitted himself best at the end of the works, he would give a pair of nether hose of a scarlet colour: wherefore amicably and even affectionately competing for the honour and the profit, these two young men set themselves to draw the most minute as well as the most important objects from nature, millet-seed, bunches of fennel, and the like, in such sort that these garlands turned out to be a most beautiful work, and both Doceno and Stefano received from Vasari the prize of the scarlet hose.

Vasari took great pains to prevail on Cristofano to design a part of the stories which were to go into the frieze with his own hand, but the latter would never attempt it; wherefore, while Giorgio was preparing them himself, Doceno executed the buildings required in two of the pictures, with so much grace and so fine a manner, to such entire perfection, in short, that there are few masters, of however good a judgment, and even though they had the cartoons before them, who could have done as much. It is indeed a certain truth that no painter ever performed so much on the impulse of the moment, and without previous study or preparation, as was effected by Cristofano.

Having completed the buildings required to be delineated in the two pictures, while Vasari was engaged with the twenty stories from the Apocalypse for the frieze, Cristofano next painted all the utensils for the service of the table, which were demanded for that picture, wherein San Gregorio (whose head is a portrait of Pope Clement VII.) is seated at supper with those twelve poor men: * all which he depicted with the utmost accuracy and truth.†

The third picture was then commenced,‡ Stefano being meanwhile occupied with the gilding of the framework for the other two; and a sort of scaffolding being erected on two tressels, Vasari worked on one end thereof, painting the three Angels, who appeared to Abraham in the Valley of Mamre, while Cristofano was employed on the other end in the delineation of certain buildings, which made part of the picture. But Cristofano was perpetually contriving supplementary modes of raising himself to the various levels at which he desired to be, and would make steps of whatever came to hand; not only benches and such things, but even pails or pots turned upside down, were used by him for that purpose; and on all these things, piled up one on another, he would mount without consideration, after a thoughtless fashion of his own. On a certain occasion, however, desiring to draw back somewhat for the purpose of examining the effect of what he had done, one of his feet slipped, when the piled up mass turning over, he fell from a height of five braccia, and injured himself very severely: it even became necessary that he should be bled, and many cares besides were demanded, but for which he would without doubt have died. Nor was this all; so negligent was Cristofano of his own person, that he one night suffered the bandages to become unfastened from the arm wherein he had been bled, to the imminent peril of his life; nay, if Stefano, who slept with him, had

* This well-known legend is agreeably related in the frequently cited work of Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art.* The reader who may desire to recall the particulars will find them in that work, vol. i. p. 305, *et seq.*

† This Supper of Gregory the Great is now in the Gallery of Bologna, and is considered one of the best of Vasari's works.

‡ Giordani, *Catalogo della Pinacoteca Bolognese*, informs us that this third picture was sent to Milan

not discovered his condition, he must have died where he lay. There was, indeed, the utmost difficulty in restoring him, the bed having become a lake of blood, and Cristofano himself being almost at the last gasp. Vasari then took him into his own especial care, and caused him to be attended with as much solicitude as if he had been his brother, but all that could be done was only just sufficient; and it was not until after the whole work had been some time completed, that Cristofano was entirely restored.

Having afterwards returned to San Justino, Cristofano there finished some of the apartments belonging to the before-mentioned abbot, and which had been left incomplete; he subsequently executed a picture, which his intimate friend Battista had been commissioned to paint, at Città di Castello, entirely with his own hand; and further undertook the decoration of the lunette above the lateral door of San Fiorido, depicting three figures in fresco therein.

Giorgio Vasari being then summoned by the intervention of Messer Pietro Aretino, to Venice, there to arrange the preparations for a most sumptuous festival, to be given by the nobles and gentlemen of a company called Della Calza, with the scenic decorations for a drama composed for those nobles by Messer Pietro himself; Vasari being thus employed, I say, he, not being able to conduct so extensive a work without aid, sent for Cristofano and the above-named Battista Cugni; and these artists did at length arrive in Venice; but first they had been carried by the chances of the sea into Sclavonia: when they finally reached Venice, therefore, they found that Vasari had not only arrived in that city before them, but had already designed everything, insomuch that there remained nothing for them to do but at once to set hand to the painting.

Now the above-mentioned nobles and gentlemen of the Calza had hired a large unfinished house, situate at the end of the Canareio, and this building, having only its principal walls erected and the roof put on, Giorgio had at his disposal a space which formed an apartment seventy braccia long, by sixteen braccia wide; herein he caused to be erected two ranges of seats formed of wood and raised four braccia from the ground, these being intended for the accommodation of the gentlewomen, who were to be seated thereon. The walls

of this chamber Giorgio decorated with four pictures, each ten braccia in extent, and separated one from the other by niches four braccia wide, within which were placed statues; on each side of every niche was a terminus in relief, nine braccia high, in such sort that there were five niches and ten termini on each side, the whole room presenting ten niches, twenty termini, and eight historical pictures.

In the first of these pictures, which were in chiaro-scuro (that on the right hand namely, and next to the stage), there was a beautiful figure representing Venezia Adriatica, seated on a rock in the midst of the sea, and holding a branch of coral in her hand. Around her were Neptune, Thetis, Proteus, Nereus, Glaucus, Palemon, and other marine gods and nymphs, all of whom presented to her gold, jewels, pearls, and other riches of the sea. There were besides troups of Loves shooting their arrows, with others hovering in the air and scattering flowers; the remaining space of the picture was filled with beautiful palm-trees.

In the second picture were the rivers Drave and Save, represented by nude figures with their appropriate urns. The third painting presented the river Po, depicted as a large and corpulent figure with seven sons, to signify the seven arms or branches which proceed from the Po, and all of which pour themselves into the sea, as though each were a royal and independent stream. In the fourth picture was the Brenta with other rivers of Friuli.

The picture placed opposite to that of the Venezia Adriatica represented the island of Candia, wherein was perceived the infant Jove suckled by the goat and surrounded by numerous nymphs. Beside this, and opposite to the Drave and Save, was the river Tagliamento with the mountains of Cadore, beneath which, and standing opposite to the river Po, was the lake Benacus with the river Mincio, which are represented as falling into the Po. Beside this last, and opposite the Brenta were the Adige and the Tesino, both of which fall into the sea.

In the niches between the pictures decorating the right-hand side of the apartment were the following allegorical figures or virtues, Liberality, Concord, Piety, Peace, and Religion; while on the other side were Fortitude, Civic Prudence, Justice, a figure of Victory with War beneath

her feet, and lastly a figure of Charity. Above all these pictures were a large cornice and architrave with a frieze, along the whole extent of which were ranged lamps in globes of glass filled with distilled spirits, and these lamps, being kindled, illuminated the entire apartment.

The ceiling was divided into four large compartments, filled each with a picture extending ten braccia in one way and eight in the other; the width of all the niches, each of which was four braccia wide, was surmounted by a frieze, which passed around the cornice, and immediately over every niche was a picture three braccia long and of equal breadth, being in the whole twenty-three, while one of double the size, six braccia namely, was placed above the stage and made the entire number twenty-four. In these delineations were represented the Hours, twelve of the night that is to say, and twelve of the day.

In the first of the pictures described as being ten braccia in length, and which was placed over the stage, there was represented Time distributing the Hours to their places; he is accompanied by Eolus the god of the winds, by Juno, and by Iris. In another picture, that immediately before the door of entrance, was Aurora, rising from the arms of Tithon and scattering roses from her chariot, which is drawn by cocks. The third picture represented the chariot of the Sun, and in the fourth was that of the Night drawn by Owls. The figure of Night bore the Moon on her head, she was preceded by numerous Bats, but all around her reigned darkness.

The greater part of these pictures were executed by Cristofano, and he acquitted himself so admirably well that every one who beheld the work was amazed therewith; more particularly was the chariot of Night admired, the artist having displayed almost incredible ability in his oil sketches for that picture, as well as for that of the Adria, wherein he produced marine animals of so much variety and beauty, that all who looked at them stood astonished at such an amount of knowledge displayed by an artist of his rank. In short, Cristofano acquitted himself in every part of this work like a most able and much experienced painter, but most particularly did he distinguish himself in the foliage and grottesche.

After all the preparations for this festival had been

completed, Vasari and Cristofano still remained several months in Venice, painting for the magnificent Messer Giovanni Cornaro, the ceiling, or rather the entire wainscot work of an apartment, for which they executed nine large pictures in oil. Vasari was indeed much entreated by the Veronese architect, Michele San Michele, to fix himself in Venice, and might perhaps have agreed to remain there for some years, but Cristofano constantly dissuaded him from doing so, declaring that Venice was no place to settle in, good design being but little regarded there, and the painters of that city giving but slight attention to that matter, nay, being as he affirmed, rather a hindrance to the progress of art than promoters of the same, seeing that they felt but little zeal for the labours of their vocation; better would it be therefore, he maintained, to return to Rome, which is the true school of the noble arts, and where ability is much more highly valued than in Venice.

These dissuasions of Cristofano, therefore, coming in aid of the indifference, not to say disinclination, of Vasari to remain in Venice, they departed from that city together, but as Cristofano, being considered a rebel to the state of Florence, could not accompany Vasari thither, he returned to San Justino. Here he constantly found something wherewith to occupy himself for the above-mentioned Abbot Bufolini; but he had not remained long at San Justino before he set off for Perugia, and this he did at the period when Pope Paul III. made his first visit to that city, after the war with the Perugini. Preparations being made for the reception of his Holiness, Cristofano took part in the execution thereof, and did himself much credit in some of them, more especially in those made at the gate called that of the Frate Rinieri, where he depicted a colossal figure of Jupiter in anger, with another of the same deity, but propitiated. These subjects were chosen by command of Monsignore Della Barba, who was then governor of the city. The figures were both very beautiful, and on the other side Cristofano delineated a figure of Atlas bearing the globe of the world on his shoulders, and having a female form at each side, one holding a sword, the other a balance in her hand.

These works, with many others which Cristofano executed for the same festival, caused that artist to be employed for

the decoration of certain rooms in the citadel which was at that same period constructed in Perugia by Pope Paul III., and these he painted by command of Messer Tiberio Crispo, who was then governor and castellan of the fortress; others having previously been executed by Lattanzio,* a painter of the March. Not only did Cristofano now assist Lattanzio therefore, but he depicted with his own hand the greater part of the best works now to be seen in the apartments of that fortress, wherein Raffaello dal Colle and Adone Doni of Ascoli† also laboured, the latter a much experienced and able artist, by whom many works have been performed in other parts of his native place. The Cortonese painter, Tommaso del Papacello was likewise employed in the same fortress, but the best among all who worked there, and the artist who obtained for himself the highest degree of praise, was Cristofano; wherefore, being recommended by Lattanzio to the favour of the above-named Crispo, he was ever afterwards much employed by that ruler.

While the works at the fortress were in progress, Crispo had built a small church in Perugia, which had been named Santa Maria del Popolo, though first called Del Mercato. Here Lattanzio began to paint a picture in oil, but Cristofano executed the whole of the upper part with his own hand, and it is indeed most beautiful, nay, worthy of the highest praise,‡ but Lattanzio afterwards turned from being a painter to be the principal thief-taker or bailiff of Perugia, when Cristofano returned to San Justino, where he remained several months, again working for the above-named Signor Abbate Bufolini.

But in the year 1543, Giorgio Vasari, having to execute a painting in oil by command of the most Illustrious Cardinal Farnese, for the grand Chancery, with another for the church

* Lattanzio di Vincenzio Pagani of Monte Rubbiano. See Mariotti, *Lettere Perugine.*

† Of Assisi rather, since he calls himself "I, Dono of the Doni of Assisi."

‡ Mariotti, *ut supra,* may be consulted for further details relative to this work, as well as to others by Lattanzio Pagani, and Adone Dono.

Lanzi remarks that the upper part of the painting, or that done by Cristofano, is as elegant and graceful as that by Lattanzio is coarse and rude. It appears, nevertheless, that it was Lattanzio who had received the commission for the work, and that Doceno was but employed by him to assist. See Mariotti, as before cited.

of Sant' Agostino by commission from Galeotto da Girone, sent for Cristofano, who repaired to him most willingly, he having a great wish to see Rome. And here Doceno remained many months, doing very little indeed but seeing the city, yet he acquired a great increase of knowledge during that time, insomuch that when he had once more returned to San Justino, he painted certain figures of his own invention in one of the halls there, which were so beautiful that he might have been supposed to have studied them for twenty years.

It then happened that in the year 1545, Vasari was summoned to Naples, where he was commissioned to construct a refectory for the monks of Monte Oliveto, and this was to be a work of much greater importance than that of San Michele-in-Bosco at Bologna; he therefore sent for Cristofano, Raffaello dal Coller and Stefano, his friends and scholars before mentioned, all meeting at the appointed time in Naples accordingly, with the exception of Cristofano, who had remained behind because he was sick. Nevertheless, being much urged by Vasari, Doceno did get as far as Rome on his way to Naples, but was there detained by Borgognone his brother, who was like himself an exile, and who would very fain have taken him into France, there to make him enter the service of the Colonel, Giovanni da Turrino. Cristofano's opportunity for going to Naples was therefore lost, but Vasari having returned to Rome in the year 1546, with a commission to execute twenty-four pictures, which were then sent to Naples and placed in the Sacristy of San Giovanni Carbonaro,* as also to paint the doors for the organ of the Piscopio,† which were six braccia high,—Vasari I say, then availed himself of Cristofano's services, which were of the utmost value to him, since he executed both figures and landscapes in these works, after a manner which was most excellent. The subjects of the twenty-four pictures were chosen from the Old Testament and from the life of San Giovanni Battista, the figures are about one braccio and a half high. Giorgio had in like manner designed to employ

* Galanti, *Descrizione di Napoli e dei suoi Contorni*, may be consulted for details respecting these works, now reduced to fifteen. The Church is that of San Giovanni *a Carbonara*.

† The Cathedral, that is to say. Vasari's large pictures are now on two of the side doors. See Galanti, *ut supra*.

the services of Cristofano for the hall of the Chancery, which was painted for the Cardinal Farnese after cartoons by his (Vasari's) hand, and the whole of which were completed in a hundred days ;* but herein also he was prevented, Cristofano again falling sick ; and no sooner had he begun to recover than he returned to San Justino, so that Giorgio finished the hall without his aid, but receiving assistance from Raffaello dal Colle, from the Bolognese, Gian Battista Bagnacavallo, and from the Spaniards, Roviale and Bizzerra, as well as from many others, his friends and scholars.

Leaving Rome and returning to Florence, Vasari was invited to Rimini, for the purpose of painting a chapel in fresco, with an altar piece also, in the church of the monks of Monte Oliveto, the commission for which he received from the abbot, Gian Matteo Faettani. On his way Giorgio passed through San Justino, intending to take Cristofano away with him, but the abbot Bufolini, for whom Doceno was then painting a hall, would not suffer him to depart at that time, although he promised Vasari to despatch Cristofano soon after, and to take on himself the care of his journey even into Romagna. But notwithstanding all these promises, Bufolini delayed so long to send him, that when Cristofano arrived he found all the works for the abbot of Monte Oliveto completed, nay, Giorgio had furthermore painted a picture for the high altar of San Francesco d'Arimini, and this he did by commission from Messer Niccolò Marcheselli. He had also executed a picture at Ravenna, in the church of Classi, which belongs to the monks of Camaldoli namely, receiving his commission for that last from the father Don Romualdo da Verona, the abbot of that abbey.

Now about this time, in the year 1550 that is to say, Giorgio Vasari had painted the Marriage of Queen Esther, in the refectory of the Abbey of Santa Fiore, which belongs to the Black Friars, and in Florence he had delineated the

* "Vasari has done well," remarks a compatriot of his own, "to tell us the time employed on this work (the subject of which is the Life of Pope Paul III.), but unless he was compelled to the haste here indicated, that haste forms no excuse for the mediocrity of the performance, since it avails little to us that the work was done quickly, unless it had also been done well."

picture of San Gismondo for the chapel of the Martelli family in the church of San Lorenzo,* when Pope Giulio III. being elevated to the papal chair, Vasari was invited to Rome, there to enter the service of his Holiness. Giorgio then thought that he should certainly be able to find the means of reinstating Cristofano in his country, and of restoring him to the favour of the Duke Cosimo; and this he hoped to effect by the intervention of the Cardinal Farnese, who went at that period to spend some time in Florence. But it was found impossible to succeed at that moment, and the poor Cristofano had to remain in his exiled condition until the year 1554, at which time Vasari, being summoned to the service of Duke Cosimo, was thus furnished with an opportunity for procuring the liberation of Cristofano.

And the matter was on this wise. The Bishop of Ricasoli, knowing that he should be thereby doing a thing that would be pleasing to his Excellency, resolved to have the three fronts of his palace, which stands beside the bridge of the Carraja, painted in chiaro-scuro,† when Messer Sforza Almeni, cup-bearer as well as first and most favoured chamberlain to the Duke,‡ determined that he also would have his house in the Via de' Servi painted, and this he did in competition with the Bishop. But not having found a painter to his liking in Florence, he wrote to Giorgio Vasari who had not then returned to that city, desiring him to choose a subject and to send him designs of such pictures as he should judge expedient for the decoration of the façade in question.

Thereupon Giorgio, who had known Almeni in former times, and was indeed his intimate friend, they having been together in the service of the Duke Alessandro,—Giorgio, I say, arranged the whole matter in accordance with the extent of surface presented by the façade, and sent Messer Sforza a design of most beautiful invention. According to

* Bottari tells us that this picture was removed from the Church towards the middle of the last century, because the colour had disappeared so completely that no part of it remained intelligible.

† These pictures have long been white-washed.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

‡ Who killed him, nevertheless, with his own hand, in an ecstacy of rage, on finding that Sforza had spoken of a matter which the Duke desired to keep secret. This tragedy took place on the 22nd of May, in the year 1566.

this design, the windows were surrounded by various ornaments, while every compartment of the whole front was filled with rich historical pictures, the subjects of which, to say it briefly, was the whole Life of Man, from his birth to his death. Being despatched to Messer Sforza, this design pleased him so greatly,* as it did the Duke also, that he determined to permit no further steps to be taken in the matter until Vasari himself should have returned to Florence.

But Giorgio having at length arrived, and having been received by his most Illustrious Excellency, as well as by the above-named Messer Sforza, with many proofs of kindness, began to consider by whom it would be desirable to cause the façade of Almeni's house to be executed; then not suffering the opportunity to escape him, Vasari assured Messer Sforza that there was no one better able to undertake that work than Cristofano, adding, that neither in that nor in the other decorations which were to be undertaken for the palace, would he (Vasari) be able to proceed without the help of that artist. Thereupon Messer Sforza, having spoken of that affair with the Duke, the fault committed by Cristofano was found on inquiry to have been by no means so grave a one as had been represented, and the poor fellow was at length fully restored to the favour of his Excellency. This intelligence being despatched to Vasari, who was then in Arezzo, revisiting his country and friends, the latter instantly sent a special messenger to Cristofano (who knew nothing of the measures taken in his favour), to give him that excellent piece of news, at the receipt of which he was on the point of fainting for joy.

Greatly exulting, therefore, and declaring that never had any man been so good a friend to him as Vasari, he started early the following morning from Città di Castello, where the intelligence had found him, to the Borgo, where he presented the letters of his reinstation to the Commissary, and thence repaired to the house of his father, where his mother, with the brother who had also been in exile, but who had long before received permission to return to his country, were struck with amazement at the sight of him. Two days

* Four letters on the subject of this work from Vasari to Almeni are still extant, and may be seen in the Florentine Edition of our author's works, published by Audin in 1822-3.

after, he departed for Arezzo, where he was received by Giorgio with more gladness than if he had been his brother, as was indeed due to one by whom Vasari knew himself to be so much beloved, and who desired nothing more earnestly than to pass the rest of his life beside him. From Arezzo they both then proceeded to Florence, where Cristofano instantly went to kiss the hand of the Duke, who was much pleased with him, and not a little surprised also, for whereas he had expected to see some great ruffianly bravo, he beheld before him the most good-natured looking little man in the world.

Cristofano was in like manner received with the utmost kindness by Messer Sforza, who took a great liking to him, and our artist then at once set hand to the often-mentioned façade, Giorgio, who could not yet begin his labours in the palace, sometimes assisting him, at his earnest request, more especially in the preparation of designs for certain of the stories. Vasari also drew portions of the work for him on the fresh intonaco, many of the figures now seen there being by his hand.* But although there are some parts re-touched by Vasari, yet that façade, with the greater part of the figures, and all the ornaments, festoons, and large compartments, are by the hand of Cristofano, of whom it may of a truth be said, that he handled the colours in fresco with so much ability (as may be clearly seen), and was so well-skilled in his art, as to merit the reputation—and Vasari confesses it—of knowing more than he (Giorgio) did himself.†

It may indeed be very truly affirmed, that if, in his youth, Cristofano had devoted himself zealously to the studies of his art (but he never practised drawing unless when he had some work for execution immediately before him), and had he given himself heartily to the pursuits connected therewith, he would scarcely have had an equal, seeing that by the excellence of his judgment, the strength of his memory, and his facility

* The paintings of this façade are no longer in existence.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† Bottari notices this among other proofs of the good faith and sincerity with which Vasari maintains his character as an impartial historian, speaking of himself as well as others, the *pro* and the *con*, as they presented themselves to his apprehension. Vasari was not infallible—where is the man who can pretend to be so?—but he was most strictly honest and impartial, of which we have here one proof among very many.

of hand, he could do things, as it were, on the spur of the moment, and without any previous preparation, whereby he would surpass many who did, in fact, know much more than himself. Nor would it be possible adequately to describe the skill and rapidity with which he executed his works, they were incredibly great; once Doceno set himself to his labour, at whatever time it might be, he gave his whole heart to it, and always made it a pleasure: never did he lift his head from his task; and very safely might the utmost success be predicted for whatever was undertaken by Cristofano. He was besides so amusing in conversation, and would talk so pleasantly while he laboured, that Vasari would sometimes remain working in his company from morning till night, without ever feeling fatigued.

This façade our artist completed in a ew months, to say nothing of the fact that he passed some weeks at the Borgo, visiting his family, and enjoying his restoration to his coun try and civil rights. Nor will I refuse the labour of enumerating the compartments, and describing the figures of the work in question; for, exposed as it is to the air, and liable as the pictures are to all the injuries of the seasons, it may perhaps not have a long life; the façade was indeed scarcely finished before it received considerable damage from a torrent of rain and a violent hail-storm, the intonaco having been in some places torn from the wall.*

In this façade, then, there are three compartments: the first beginning from below, and being at that part of the front where are the two windows and the principal door; the second is from the cornice of those windows to the windows of the next floor; and the third extends from the last-mentioned windows to the cornice immediately beneath the roof. Now in each range of windows there are six, which gives seven compartments for each range; and it was in accordance with this number that the divisions of the whole work were made, from the cornice of the roof to the ground. Immediately beneath the roof is a cornice painted in perspective, with corbels which project over a frieze composed of children, six of whom stand upright, along the width of the building, one on the uppermost

* In the first volume of the *Lettere Pittoriche*, p. 48, the reader will find this work described in a letter by Frosino Lapini.

point of each window namely; and these support most beautiful garlands of fruits, foliage, and flowers, which pass from window to window, the fruits and flowers being so arranged that they symbolize the periods of human life, as well as the seasons of the year; these the boys sustain on their shoulders, while other children in various attitudes are placed in the central or pendant portion of each festoon.

Beneath this frieze, and in the seven spaces which are between the upper windows, Cristofano depicted the seven Planets, with the seven celestial signs above them, as a finish and ornament. Beneath the cornice of those windows are figures of the Virtues, placed two and two, and supporting two large oval medallions, within which are depicted stories significant of the Seven Ages of Man, each age being accompanied by the virtues which are considered the most appropriate to it: under the ovals which are between the spaces of the lower windows, are the three Theological and the four Moral Virtues. On the frieze above the door and the windows of the lower range, which are furnished with curved gratings, are the seven Liberal Arts, each being in a line with the oval which contains that portion of the Life of Man to which it is considered the most appropriate; while in the same line, and ascending upwards, are the Moral Virtues, the Planets, and the Zodiacal Signs, all the symbols used being in exact correspondence. Between the grated windows is furthermore depicted Life, active and contemplative, with appropriate stories and figures, even to the last scene of our death, the Descent to the lower regions, and our final Resurrection.

The entire cornice, the festoons, the children, and the seven Signs of the Zodiac, were executed by Cristofano almost entirely alone; then beginning with one side, he first depicted the Moon, painting as her representative a figure of Diana, with her lap full of flowers, as Proserpine is frequently delineated, and bearing a moon on her head; while over all is the Sign of the Crab. The oval beneath is that which contains the story of Infancy, or the Birth of Man, and here are represented nurses suckling infants, while the women who have given birth to those infants are seen in their beds; all depicted by Cristofano with infinite grace and propriety. This oval is supported by one figure only, that of Determina-

tion, represented by a young girl of most graceful form and aspect; she is partially draped, and is sustained by a figure of Charity, who is also represented as suckling children. Beneath the oval and within the parapet is a figure signifying Language, or Grammar, and engaged in teaching children to read.

Beginning again at the upper part of the building, we find Mercury holding his Caduceus, and accompanied by his appropriate sign; in the oval is Childhood, represented by numerous children, some of whom are proceeding to school, while others are engaged in play. This oval is sustained by Truth, represented by a figure of the purest simplicity and beauty; a very young girl namely, entirely nude; beside her is a male figure with trussed up garments, to represent Falsehood: his countenance is exceedingly beautiful, but the eyes are cast to the earth. Beneath the oval and between the windows is Faith, who is administering the rite of Baptism to an infant from a shell filled with water, while in the left hand she holds a Cross: beneath is a figure representing Logic; she is covered with a veil, and has the serpent beside her. Next follows the Sun, represented by a figure of Apollo, with his Lyre in his hand, and his attributes in the ornament above.

In the oval beneath this figure is Boyhood, intimated by two figures of equal age, one of whom, holding an olive-branch in his hand, is climbing a mountain, which is illumined by the sun, while the other is pausing midway to admire the beauties which are exhibited from the middle upwards by a figure of Fraud; he not perceiving that she conceals a most abhorrent countenance behind her smooth and fair-looking mask, and being consequently conducted by her flatteries and attractions to the brink of an abyss, down which he must fall headlong. This oval is supported on one side by a heavy and corpulent figure, who nods sleepily over his task, and represents Indolence, the nude figure resembling that of a Silenus; and on the other by a powerful laborious peasant, surrounded by the implements of agriculture, and intended to personify labour. In the decoration between the windows is Hope, with her Anchor at her feet; and beneath this figure is that of Music, with various musical instruments around her.

After the Sun—to begin again with the upper part of the work—comes Venus, who is holding Love in her arms, and is kissing him with the fondness of a mother; she also has her appropriate attribute above her. In the oval beneath her is Youth, a young man namely, seated amidst books, instruments for mensuration, and other requisites to the arts of design, with maps and globes, celestial and terrestrial: behind him is a Loggia, within which are other young men, who sing, dance, play on various instruments, and amuse themselves to their hearts' content; while a second company of similar age is seated at table, and appears to be wholly given up to pleasure in every form. This oval is supported on one side by Self-knowledge, with compasses, a sector, an armillary sphere, the quadrant, and numerous books around her, while she holds a mirror, in which she is regarding her own visage, in her hand, and on the other side is seen Deceit, a most repulsive old woman, meagre and toothless, who laughs mockingly in the face of Self-knowledge, while she is concealing her own revolting countenance behind a fair and lovely mask. Beneath the oval is Moderation, with the bridle of a horse in her hand; and under this figure is that of Rhetoric, who stands in a line with Logic, and the other figures of similar import and signification.

Venus is followed by Mars fully armed, and surrounded by numerous trophies; above him is the sign of the Lion. In the oval beneath is Manhood, represented by a man of mature age, with the figure of Memory on one side, and that of Determination on the other; they hold before him a golden tazza, within which lies a pair of wings, and they point towards the Path of Safety, which lies up the ascent of a mountain. The oval of Manhood is sustained on the one side by Innocence, represented by a young girl, with a lamb beside her, and on the other by Cheerfulness, smiling and joyous, who exhibits the frankness of aspect which is truly her own. Beneath the oval and between the windows is Prudence, decorating her person before a mirror, and on the parapet below stands Philosophy.

Re-commencing at the upper part of the work, we then find Jupiter, who stands next to Mars; he bears his thunderbolt, and is attended by the bird sacred to him, the Eagle namely: he too has his appropriate sign above his head. In

the oval beneath him is Age, figured by a man well advanced in life, he is clothed in the vestments of a Priest, and kneels before an altar, on which he places the golden tazza, containing the pair of wings. This oval is upheld on the one side by a figure representing Compassion, engaged in covering naked infants, to shield them from the cold: on the other side it is sustained by Religion, also wrapped in sacerdotal vestments; beneath is Fortitude fully armed, and this figure, proudly planting one foot on the fragment of a column, is placing balls within the jaws of a Lion. In the compartment beneath this oval is the figure of Astrology.

The last of the seven Planets, again beginning with the uppermost part, is Saturn, represented by an aged man of melancholy aspect, devouring his own children; near him is a large serpent, which holds its tail within its mouth: above the figure of Saturn is the sign Capricorn. In the oval beneath is Decrepitude, and here there is added the figure of Jupiter in the air, receiving into Heaven a naked and decrepit old man, who is kneeling before him, but is in the act of being raised by Happiness and Immortality, who are casting his mortal habiliments into the world. This oval is sustained in part by a figure of Beatitude, who is aided in her task by that of Justice, which is executed in the decorations beneath. The figure of Justice is seated, she has the sceptre in her hand, and on her shoulder is the Stork; around her are scattered arms and symbols of law: in the compartment beneath is Geometry.

The lowest portion of all, that namely which is about the grated windows and the portal, exhibits in a niche on the one side a figure of Leah, as the representative of Active Life, as distinguished from life passed in Contemplation, and on the opposite side of the same division is Industry, with the Cornucopia, and holding a pair of spurs in her hand: close to the portal is a story wherein are exhibited numerous workmen, architects and stonemasons, all engaged in the examination of the Gate of Cosmopoli, a city built by the Signor Duke Cosimo, in the Island of Elba, and which he constructed after the plan of Porto Ferrajo.

Between this story and the frieze whereon are displayed the Liberal Arts, is seen the Lake Thrasymenus, around which are moving Nymphs, who have issued from the waters,

and who bring forth tench, pike, eels, and mullet from those depths. Beside the Lake there stands a nude figure representing Perugia; she holds a dog in her hand, which she is showing to a figure intended to represent Florence, and which is placed opposite to her, but on the other side of the door. Florence is accompanied by the River Arno, by whom she is embraced and caressed.

Beneath this figure follows the story of Contemplative Life, or Life as passed in Contemplation; the niche which corresponds to that of Leah being occupied by Rachel her sister, and, like herself, the daughter of Laban, who is intended to represent Life in Contemplation: in the story are exhibited numerous Philosophers and Astrologers, who are studying the Heavens, and appear to be engaged in casting the Nativity of the Duke.

The last story and that which concludes the whole invention, is a figure of Death, mounted on a meagre horse and placed between two niches; the scythe is in his hand, and with him are Famine, War, and Pestilence, by whose aid he is rushing upon and hunting down people of every age and condition. In one of the niches beside him is the god Pluto, beneath whom is Cerberus the dog of hell; the other niche is occupied by a large figure, who is seen to rise from a sepulchre, the time here prefigured being the last day.

In addition to all these things, Cristofano furthermore depicted nude figures holding the various devices of his Excellency; in the pediments of the grated windows and over the portal were placed the ducal arms, the six balls whereof were borne aloft in the air by nude figures of children, their forms intertwined as they hover about in attitudes of exceeding grace. Last of all, and in the basement beneath all the above-described stories, Cristofano painted the arms of Messer Sforza himself, triangular obelisks or needles namely, placed on three balls, with a motto around formed of the word IMMOBILIS.

The work being completed was largely commended by his Excellency, as well as by Messer Sforza himself, who, courteous and amiable as he was, intended to mark his sense of the painter's merits by the addition of a handsome present: but Cristofano would not hear of it, declaring that he was amply repaid, and but too well content to have obtained the favour

of the Duke, and the good will of Messer Sforza, who was indeed ever afterwards more kindly disposed towards him than words could express.

While this undertaking was in progress, Vasari had Cristofano to dwell with himself, as he had ever been wont to do: they abode in the house of the Signor Bernardetto de' Medici, and perceiving how greatly that noble delighted in painting, Cristofano depicted two stories in chiaro-scuro on an angle of his garden: one of these was the Rape of Proserpine, the other exhibited Vertumnus and Pomona, the tutelary deities of Agriculture. In this work moreover, Cristofano executed figures of children and termini, by way of ornament, all which are so beautiful and richly varied, that better could not be seen.*

Orders were meanwhile issued for commencing the paintings in the palace, when the first thing commenced was a certain hall belonging to the apartments newly erected. This room, though twenty braccia wide, had a height, according to the arrangements of Tasso, of nine braccia only, wherefore it was raised three braccia, being then twelve braccia high that is to say, and this was done, according to a very beautiful invention by Vasari, without altering the roof, one half of which was in the form of a tent. But since it was needful to do all these things, there was so much time required in reconstructing the wood-work and other parts, that no painting could be at that time commenced, wherefore Giorgio requested permission to pass two months in Arezzo, taking Cristofano with him.

But he was not able to give himself much repose during that period, seeing that he could not refuse to repair to Cortona, there to paint the ceiling and walls of a chapel for the Company of Jesus; this work he executed in fresco, assisted by Cristofano, who acquitted himself admirably well, more particularly in the twelve sacrifices, much varied in circumstance, which he painted in the lunettes and between the corbels of the vaulting, the subjects being taken from the Old Testament. Nay, to describe the matter exactly, almost the whole of that work may be said to be by the hand of Cristofano, Vasari not having done more than make certain sketches, design some other portions on the intonaco, and

* These works are no longer in existence.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-3.

occasionally retouch some few parts where it seemed to be required.

That chapel, which cannot be considered otherwise than a grand and praiseworthy and very well executed performance, the great variety of the objects there depicted being taken into account,—that chapel, I say, being completed, the two artists returned to Florence, which they reached in the month of January, 1555, and where they instantly began to paint the Hall of the Elements. While Vasari employed himself on the ceiling, Cristofano executed escutcheons of arms, which serve to connect and support the uppermost frieze, depicting therein heads of Unicorns and Tortoises, which are devices of his Excellency.

But the part in which Cristofano distinguished himself most remarkably, and was indeed truly wonderful, were certain garlands and festoons of fruits which decorate the lower side of the beams, and which are so beautiful that any thing more exquisite, more natural, or more perfectly coloured could not possibly be imagined; and the beauty of this frieze is furthermore increased by the masks which Doceno has mingled with the festoons, the ligatures of the garlands being held in the mouths of these masks. Nay, for this kind of work it may be safely affirmed that Cristofano was superior to any of those artists who have made this department their especial vocation.*

Doceno furthermore depicted on the wall whereon is the Birth of Venus, certain large figures which he painted after the cartoons of Vasari, and a landscape also with numerous figures of very small size, but which were admirably executed. On that side, moreover, wherein is the story of the Loves, represented as little children preparing the arrows of Cupid, Cristofano also painted figures, the Cyclops namely, who are forging the thunderbolts of Jupiter. Over six of the doors he furthermore executed six large ovals, the ornaments in chiaro-scuro, and the ovals themselves containing stories in bronze colour, which are very beautiful. In the same hall Cristofano then painted figures of Mercury and Pluto which he placed between the windows and which are also exceedingly fine.

* The works of the Hall of the Elements here described are still to be seen.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

The room called that of the goddess Ops, and which is beside the hall just described, was then begun, and here Cristofano painted the Four Seasons in fresco, with festoons in addition to the figures, which last were justly considered to be miracles of varied beauty, those appertaining to Spring presenting flowers in endless variety, while those of Summer were equally rich in fruits and ears of corn, the garlands of Autumn exhibiting grapes and vine tendrils, and those of Winter, onions, radishes, turnips, carrots, parsnips, and other roots, with dry leaves, &c. The four lions by which the chariot of Ops is drawn were also by his hand, and these are so beautiful that it would not be possible to produce anything better, but it may be truly affirmed that in painting animals Cristofano had no equal.

In the chamber of Ceres, which is near this, Doceno painted children in certain of the angles, with festoons which are indescribably beautiful, and in the central picture, where Vasari had delineated Ceres borne on a chariot drawn by serpents, and seeking Proserpine with a lighted pine torch, Cristofano likewise executed many parts with his own hand, Vasari being then sick and having left the above-named picture of Ceres unfinished, with other works commenced before his illness.

There was then a question of decorating the terrace, which had been erected behind the Hall of Jupiter, and beside that of Ops, when it was decided that the History of Juno should be there depicted. Rich ornaments in stucco and carved work, with various compositions of figures executed after the Cartoons of Vasari, were completed accordingly, when Giorgio commanded that the works in fresco should be entrusted to Cristofano alone, Vasari desiring that as this was a work which would be liable to be examined closely, the figures not being more than one braccio high, so Cristofano should here have an opportunity for executing something that should be eminently beautiful, in his own peculiar walk of our vocation.

In an oval compartment of the ceiling, therefore, Doceno executed a story of the Espousals of Juno, who is seen in the air, and two other pictures; one with Hebe, the goddess of youth, on one side of that first-mentioned, and the second, exhibiting Iris with her rainbow, on the other. Three pic-

tures besides were likewise painted in the same vaulting by Doceno, two of these being opposite to the oval with the Espousals, and the third, which is a very large one, in the same line therewith; in that last named is seen the goddess Juno in her chariot drawn by Peacocks, and in those on each side are, in the one the goddess of Force, and in the other Abundance with the Cornucopia at her feet. Beneath these pictures, on the surface of the walls that is to say, are two other stories from the life of Juno, these are placed over two doors, and the subject of the one is the Goddess, changing Io, the daughter of Inachus, into a cow; that of the others, the same deity changing Calisto into a bear.

While these works were in process of execution, his Excellency, perceiving the unwearied diligence of Cristofano and his extraordinary zeal for the work, took a great liking to him; scarcely had the first grey light of dawn appeared, before Cristofano was at his labour, in which he took such extreme delight, and so entirely did he devote all his thought and care thereto, that he would sometimes set off without waiting to finish dressing himself. And it would not only occasionally but even frequently happen that in his haste he would put on a pair of shoes (he keeping all that he possessed under his bed) that were not fellows; his cloak too was for the most part put on the wrong side out, so that the cape was turned in. One morning among others that he was going to his work thus accoutred, it chanced that the Signor Duke with the Signora Duchess were about to set forth for the chase, and standing to look at the paintings, while the ladies and others were getting themselves into order, they perceived Cristofano with his mantle as usual wrong side out, and the cape or hood turned in, whereupon both laughing, the Duke said, "Cristofano, how does it chance that your cloak is so often wrong side out?" to which Cristofano replied, "I don't know how it happens, Signor, but I must needs see to getting myself a kind of cloak that shall be alike on both sides, and have neither right nor wrong, for I have not patience to endure this sort of cloak, seeing that when I dress myself and leave the house in the morning it is for the most part dark, besides that one of my eyes has been so much weakened that I can see nothing at all with it. But let your Excellency look at what I am painting, and not at what I am wearing."

The Signor Duke made no further remark, but in a few days he caused a mantle of the very finest cloth to be made, with the parts put together in such a manner that the inside was not to be distinguished from the outside; the collar was trimmed with an edge which was exactly the same within as without, and in like manner was arranged the bordering of the cloak. This he sent by one of his attendants to Cristofano, commanding the man to present it to that artist on the part of the Duke. The latter having, therefore, received the mantle early one morning, tried it at once, without making further ceremony, and finding that it was exactly what he wanted, he said to the messenger, "The Duke is a sensible man, tell him that this cloak suits me perfectly."

Cristofano being thus careless of his person, and hating nothing so much as new clothes, or the feeling himself too much straitened and confined in what he wore, it was the custom of Vasari, who knew this peculiarity, to observe when he required any kind of new garment, and he would then get the requisite article made for him in secret; taking it some morning early into his room, and carrying off the old dress he would leave the new, Cristofano being thus compelled to put on what he found. But it was a marvellous piece of sport to hear him while he was angrily clothing himself with these new vestments: "Look at this," he would cry, "what a murder is here, why can't a man live at his ease in this world? and why the devil should these enemies of all comfort give themselves so much trouble to invent these torments?"

One morning among others, he had put on a pair of white nether hose, when it chanced that Domenico Benci, who was extensively employed in the palace as an assistant to Vasari, persuaded him to go with himself and other young people to the Madonna dell' Improneta. Here they walked about and amused themselves all day, and it was not until after supper in the evening, that they returned to the house. Being weary, Cristofano at once went off to his room and to bed, but when he would have drawn off his hose, they being new and himself very much heated, he could by no means get off more than one of them.

Entering his room to see how he had got on, Vasari thus found him fast asleep with one leg clothed and the other unclothed, whereupon he made one servant hold him by the

shoulders while another drew off the hose, Cristofano all the while abusing the clothes, and all who contrived such things, as well as Giorgio himself, declaring that those fashions kept men imprisoned as if in chains; nay, he threatened to get away by God's blessing from them all and go back to San Justino, where they permitted him to live as he pleased, and where he was not subjected to those intolerable restraints; it was indeed not without great difficulty that he could be pacified.

Cristofano was a man who loved to speak but little, and liked that others also should be brief in discourse, he would even have had all the names of people be very short, greatly approving that of a slave belonging to Messer Sforza, and who was called M. "Yes," said Cristofano, "such as those are good names, but your Giovan-Francesco and Giovan-Antonio! why one has to work for an hour before they can be brought out." He was of a most amiable disposition, and saying these things, as he did, in his Borghesian dialect, it was enough to make Weeping itself laugh to hear him.

It was a favourite amusement with Cristofano to go on festival days to the places where legends and printed pictures are sold, and there he would remain the live-long day: he would generally buy some, but while he looked at the others he would for the most part lay down these purchases and leave them behind him. He would never mount a horse unless compelled to do so, although descended from a family of noble rank in his country, and possessing a fair amount of wealth. When his brother Borgognone died, Cristofano had to go to Borgo, and Vasari who had received a large amount of his stipend and had taken care of it for him, remarked to him, "Here, I have all this money of yours, you had better take it with you for your various requirements." "I want no money," replied Cristofano, "take it for yourself; it is enough for me to have the luck of being with you, and to have had leave to live and die by your side." "That is not my way," quoth Vasari, "to profit by other people's labours, and if you will not take your money, I will send it to Guido your father."

"By no means do that," returned Cristofano, "for he would throw it away, according to his custom." Finally, he took the money and set off for Borgo-a-San Sepolcro, but he departed

unwillingly, arriving there much indisposed and in great depression of spirits. His grief for the death of his brother whom he had loved extremely, brought a grievous aggravation to a nephritic disease from which he was suffering, and this became so violent that in the course of a few days Cristofano died, having first received the sacraments of the church, and distributed to those of his own family and to the poor, all the money which he had brought with him. A short time before his death he declared that he regretted his approaching departure only because he was leaving Vasari in so much embarrassment, and with so many heavy labours before him, those namely to which he had set hand in the palace of the Duke.

No long time after, and when Duke Cosimo heard of Cristofano's death, which he did with much regret, his Excellency commanded that the Bust of the artist should be executed in marble, and this he sent from Florence to Borgo, with the under-written inscription, when they were both placed in the church of San Francesco.

D. O. M.
Christophoro Gherardo Burgensi
Pingendi Arte præstantiss.
Quod Giorgius Vasarius Aretinus Huius
Artis facile princeps
In exornando
Cosmi Florentin. Ducis palatio
Illius operam quam Maxime
Probaverit.
Pictores hetrusci posvere
Obiit, A.D. MDLVI.
Vixit An. LVI. M. III. D. VI.

THE FLORENTINE PAINTER, JACOPO DA PUNTORMO.*

[BORN 1494—DIED 1556.]

THE ancestors or forefathers of Bartolommeo di Jacopo di Martino, the father of Jacopo da Puntormo, whose life we

* Puntormo, or as it is now called Pontormo, is on the road leading from Pisa to Florence, and is about seventeen miles distant from the last-named city.

are now about to write, derive their origin, according to the assertions of certain authorities, from Ancisa, a fortified place in the Upper Val d' Arno, and which is of some celebrity from having been the birth-place of Messer Francesco Petrarca. But whether it were from that place or from some other that his forefathers came, the above-named Bartolommeo, who was a Florentine, and as I have been told, of the family of the Carucci,* is reported to have been a disciple of Domenico Ghirlandajo, and being a painter of tolerably good repute in those times, he is affirmed to have executed numerous works in the Val d' Arno.

Having been summoned to Empoli therefore, on a certain occasion, and being there employed in the execution of different works, he took up his abode for some time in that place and its neighbourhood, eventually choosing a wife from Puntormo, Alessandra namely, a virtuous and well-born maiden, the daughter of Pasquale di Zanobi and of Mona Brigida his wife.

To this Bartolommeo, then, there was born in the year 1493, a son, whom he called Jacopo, but the father dying in 1499, the mother in 1504, and the grandfather in 1506, the child was left to the care of Mona Brigida, his grandmother. With her he resided accordingly for some years at Puntormo, where she caused him to be taught reading, writing, and the first principles of the Latin grammar; but at the age of thirteen, his grandmother took him to Florence, where she placed him under the care of the Court of Minors, to the end that his small property might be managed and preserved by that magistracy, as is the custom. The boy himself Mona Brigida placed in the house of a certain Battista, a cordwainer, who was some sort of distant connection of his family, and having done that she returned to Puntormo, taking with her a sister of Jacopo's.

But no long time had elapsed before Mona Brigida herself also died, when Jacopo was compelled to take his sister to himself, and accordingly found an abode for her in the house of one of his relations called Niccolaio, who dwelt at Florence in the Via de' Servi. But even this maiden did

* The family name of Jacopo was Carrucci or Carucci.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

not survive to become a wife, she died like the rest of her family, and this happened in the year 1512.

Returning to the personal affairs of Jacopo himself however, I have to relate, that he had not been many months in Florence when he was placed by Bernardo Vettori with Leonardo da Vinci, and a short time afterwards with Mariotto Albertinelli, next with Piero di Cosimo, and finally with Andrea del Sarto, to whom he went in the year 1512. But neither did he stay very long with Andrea; and it would appear that after Jacopo had prepared the cartoons for the arch of the Servites, of which there will be further mention hereafter, he was never regarded with favourable eyes by Andrea del Sarto, whatever the cause may have been.

The first work undertaken by Jacopo at the time of which we are now speaking was a very small picture of the Annunciation, and this he painted for a tailor who was his friend, but the tailor having died before the completion of the painting it was left in the hands of Jacopo, who was then with Mariotto Albertinelli, by whom the picture, of which Mariotto was very proud, was displayed, as something marvellous, to all who entered his workshops.

Now it chanced that in those days Raffaello da Urbino came to Florence, when he saw this work and the youth who had accomplished it, with infinite amazement, prophesying that Jacopo would ultimately become what he was in fact seen to be.* No long time afterwards, Mariotto having left Florence and gone to Viterbo, there to execute the painting which had been commenced by Fra Bartolommeo, Jacopo, still but a youth, was left without a master. Alone and melancholy, he then went of his own accord to fix himself with Andrea del Sarto; this happened just at the time when the latter had completed those stories from the life of San Filippo which he painted in the court of the Servites, and these works pleased Jacopo, as indeed did all the productions of Andrea, as well as the manner and design of that master.

Devoting himself therefore with the utmost care to the

* The unhappy manner in which Jacopo da Pontormo afterwards forsook the path on which he had entered with so much honour, has been already alluded to.

imitation of his teacher, no long time had elapsed before Jacopo was perceived to have made astonishing progress, both in design and colouring, insomuch that the facility he had acquired might have made the observer suppose he had already passed many years in the practice of the art.

It happened about this time that Andrea del Sarto had finished a picture of the Annunciation, for the church of that name, which belongs to the monks of San Gallo, which church has since been destroyed,* as we have related in the life of Andrea; and the predella of this work he gave to Jacopo, whom he directed to paint it in oil. This Jacopo did accordingly, depicting thereon a figure of Our Saviour Christ lying dead, with two little Angels standing beside him weeping, and holding torches in their hands; at each end of this predella, moreover, he painted the figure of a Prophet standing within a circular framework; and these are so ably executed, that they appear not to have been done by a youth but by an experienced master. It is however possible that Il Rosso likewise worked at this predella, as Il Bronzino assures us he remembers to have been told him by Jacopo da Puntormo himself. But Andrea was not only assisted by Jacopo as regarded the predella, that disciple took part in many other works also, carrying forward and helping to finish many of the panel pictures and paintings of other kinds, numbers of which Andrea continually had on hand.

About this time it was that the Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici was raised to the Supreme Pontificate, and took the name of Leo X., when escutcheons of the arms of that Pontiff were made in vast numbers by his friends and by the adherents of his House in Florence, some in marble or stone, and others painted, either on cloth or in fresco. The Servite monks, among others, were desirous of having some sign made, whereby they also might give evidence of their service and devotion towards that House and Pontiff, wherefore they caused the arms of Pope Leo to be executed in stone; and this they placed in the centre of the arch over the principal portico of their church, on that side namely which is turned

* This was done in the year 1529, when Florence was menaced with a siege by the Prince of Orange, and the Church was demolished, lest it should afford shelter to his troops. Admirable instance of how things were managed in the "good old times!"

towards the Piazza. Shortly afterwards, the same monks commissioned the painter Andrea di Cosimo to enrich the abovo-mentioned escutcheon with gilding, and furthermore commanded him to surround the same with decorations of grottesche, of which he was an excellent master, and with the devices of the house of Medici; there were besides to be figures on each side, that of Faith on the one hand namely, and that of Charity on the other.

But Andrea di Cosimo, perceiving well that he should not be able to execute all these things with his own hand, determined to have the figures done by some other artist, and having summoned Jacopo, who was then not more than nineteen years old, he commissioned him to paint those two figures. He had, however, no small difficulty in prevailing on Jacopo to undertake them. Conscious of his youth, the latter was unwilling to subject himself to such a trial, and to begin by a work which was to be exhibited in a place of so much importance: but taking courage at length, although not so well practised in fresco as in oil-painting, Jacopo finally accepted the charge of those figures, and withdrew to prepare the cartoons (he being still with Andrea del Sarto) at Sant' Antonio, near the Gate of Faenza, where he had his abode.

In a short time he brought them to completion, and having done that, he one day took his master Andrea del Sarto, to see them; the master examined them, accordingly, to his great admiration, and even astonishment. He praised them also in the highest terms, but afterwards, as it is said, whether moved by envy, or from some other cause, he never again could look on Jacopo with a favourable eye, as I have before related; nay, when the youth went afterwards to his workshops, either he found them closed against him, or was so insolently jeered by Andrea's boys, that he withdrew himself altogether, beginning to live in the most frugal manner, seeing that he was very poor, and to study with the utmost assiduity.

When Andrea di Cosimo had completed the gilding of the escutcheon and had decorated the whole arch, Jacopo set himself, without any assistance, to execute the remainder of the work, when, inspired by the wish to distinguish himself, and by his desire for occupation, being also well aided by

Nature, which had endowed him with infinite grace, and an extraordinary fertility of genius, he brought the whole to completion with remarkable promptitude, and to such perfection, that an old and experienced master, though one of great excellence, could hardly have done it better.

Taking courage from this successful experiment, and thinking he could produce a still better picture, Jacopo formed the resolution, but without saying a word to any one, of destroying all that he had done, and recommencing the work anew, after another design which he had in his thoughts. But the monks, meanwhile, seeing that the work was finished, and that Jacopo came to it no more, repaired to Andrea di Cosimo and urged him so pressingly, that he determined to have the painting uncovered.

Going to seek Jacopo, therefore, with the purpose of enquiring whether there were anything more that he proposed to do to it, but not finding him, because, absorbed in his new design, he had shut himself up, and would not reply to or be seen by any one, Andrea caused the enclosure, with its roof, to be removed, and gave the painting to view. But that same evening Jacopo left his house with the intention of repairing to the Servites and throwing down all that he had done, so soon as it should be night, intending then to begin the new work, when he found the scaffolding removed, the painting discovered, and a large crowd of people engaged in the examination thereof.

Much displeased, Jacopo sought out Andrea, and complained of his having permitted the work to be given to view without first asking his consent, describing at the same time what he had intended to do. To this Andrea replied, laughing, "You have but little cause to complain, Jacopo, since what you have done is so good that it could not, I am firmly persuaded, have been made better had you changed it as you proposed. Keep your design, therefore, for some other occasion, since it is certain that you will not want commissions."

The work was indeed very beautiful, nay is, as may be seen:* it was found to be new in manner moreover, and those two female heads exhibited so much softness and beauty,

* There is scarcely anything now to be seen of this work, which has been grievously injured by the inclemencies of the weather. In the year 1831 it was examined by command of the authorities, but the artists em-

to say nothing of the loveliness distinguishing the graceful and exquisite children, that it was considered the most admirable work in fresco which had ever then been seen. Beside the children that are with the figure of Charity, there are two others floating in the air, and holding a drapery attached to the Papal Arms; these are so beautiful, that better could not be; but all the figures have indeed very extraordinary relief; the colouring and every other particular are such, in short, that they could not be sufficiently commended.*

Michelagnolo Buonarroti was one day examining this work, and considering that he who had accomplished it was but a youth of nineteen, he said, "This youth will be such, to judge from what we here see, that if he lives, and should go on as he has begun, he will carry this art to the very skies."

The fame and credit thus obtained, having reached to the men of Puntormo, they sent for Jacopo and caused him to paint the Arms of Pope Leo over that gate of the castle which looks upon the high road, with two boys which are very beautiful; but the work has unhappily been already much injured by the rain.

The Carnival of the next year found all Florence rejoicing and in great exultation, on account of the elevation to the Pontificate of Leo X.: many great festivals were commanded, and among them two very magnificent and costly ones, to be given by two companies or associations of nobles and gentlemen belonging to the city. The chief of one of these companies, which was called that of the Diamond, was the Signor Giuliano de' Medici, brother of the Pope, and it had received that name because the diamond is one of the devices of Lorenzo the Elder,† father of Giuliano and of Pope Leo. Of the other, the name and symbol of which was Il Broncone, the Signor Lorenzo, son of Piero de' Medici, was the

ployed found the intonaco so frail as to forbid all hope of its restoration; the few vestiges still remaining must therefore soon perish.

* Thirteen crowns was the sum which, according to the records of the Convent, was paid, at different times, to Jacopo Pontormo for this work.

† Our readers have been reminded in a previous note that Vasari hereby means to distinguish between Lorenzo the Magnificent, father of Leo X., and Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, the name of *Lorenzo Vecchio* being generally understood to mean the brother of Cosmo, *Pater Patriæ*, who was the grand-uncle of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

head or chief; and this, I say, had for its device the Broncone, a dead branch of laurel, that is to say, with new leaves springing forth, to signify that he was to revive and restore the name of his grandfather.

Messer Andrea Dazzi, who was then Lecturer on Greek and Latin to the schools of learning in Florence, received charge of their festival from the company of the Diamond, and was required to invent a Triumph; he thereupon arranged one after the manner used by the Romans in their triumphal processions, consisting of three splendid chariots, beautifully carved in wood, and painted with the most exquisite art. In the first of the cars was Childhood, or more properly Boyhood, or Early Youth, represented by a range of most beautiful boys: in the second was Manhood, indicated by many persons who had distinguished themselves at that period of life, and in the third was Old Age, impersonated by men advanced in years, who had also performed great things at the close of their lives. All the personages of each chariot were most richly robed and adorned, insomuch that a finer show could scarcely be seen.

The architects of these chariots were Raffaello delle Vivole, the carver Carota, the painter Andrea di Cosimo, and Andrea del Sarto: those who prepared and arranged the dresses were Piero da Vinci, father of Leonardo, and Bernardino di Giordano, both men of great ability; while the painting of all the three cars was left entirely to Jacopo da Puntormo, who decorated the same with various scenes and stories in chiaro-scuro, the subjects taken from the transformations of the Gods: the designs for the same are now in the possession of the excellent goldsmith Pietro Paolo Galeotti.* On the first chariot was inscribed in large letters the word *Erimus*, on the second *Sumus*, and on the third *Fuimus;* that is to say, "We shall be," "We are," and "We were." The chant or song began with the following words: "The years fly on."

The Signor Lorenzo, chief of the company of the Broncone or Branch, having seen these triumphal chariots, desired that those of his own society should surpass them; he gave charge of the whole to Jacopo Nardi,† a noble and most learned

* And who prepared the dies for the Mint of the Duke.—*Masselli.*

† The historian of Florence, and who also translated Livy.

gentleman, by whom his native city of Florence was afterwards laid under great obligation, and this Jacopo invented six triumphal chariots, being double the number of those exhibited by the company of the Diamond.

The first of these cars was drawn by a pair of oxen, decorated with garlands, and was intended to represent the age of Saturn and Janus, called the Golden Age: it was occupied by two figures, one of Saturn, holding his Scythe; the other of Janus, with his two heads, and bearing the key of the Temple of Peace in his hand; beneath his feet lies Anger, fettered and bound; while around the figure of Saturn were innumerable circumstances appropriate and pertaining to that god, all beautifully executed in divers colours by the hand of Pontormo. This chariot was accompanied by six couples of Shepherds, all nude except where partially covered with skins of the marten and sable; they wore sandals of various patterns after the antique manner, and had their shepherd's scrips in their hands, with garlands of many kinds of leaves on their heads. The horses on which these shepherds were mounted had no saddles, but were covered with the skins of lions, tigers, and lynxes, the claws of which, gilt with gold, hung down at the sides with a very graceful effect. The stirrup-leathers and other parts of the housings were ornamented with gold cord, and the stirrups were formed of the heads of sheep, dogs, and other animals of similar character; the reins and bridles were of silver ribbon, twined with leaves of different kinds. Each shepherd was attended by four servants in the garb of herdsmen, they being simply dressed in the skins of animals; they bore torches in the form of dry boughs and branches of the pine, which made a most goodly show.

The second chariot was drawn by two pairs of oxen covered with very rich draperies of cloth, and bearing garlands on their heads, with large beads depending from their gilded horns: it was occupied by Numa Pompilius, second king of the Romans, who was surrounded by the books of religion, and by all things appertaining to the sacerdotal order, and to the offering of sacrifices, he being the founder and institutor of religious rites and sacrifices among the Romans. This chariot was accompanied by six Priests, riding on beautiful mules, their heads were covered with hoods of fine linen, em-

broidered with ivy leaves, in gold and silver, after a most masterly fashion; and on their shoulders they wore the sacerdotal vestments of antiquity, all richly surrounded with borders and fringes of gold: one bore in his hand a thurible, another a golden vase, and others carried other things of similar character. At their stirrups walked attendants in the manner of Levites, they bore torches in their hands, which were formed after the fashion of ancient candelabra, and made with the most judicious artifice.

The third chariot represented the Consulate of Titus Manlius Torquatus, who, having been made Consul after the close of the first Carthaginian war, had governed in such a manner, that during his time all the virtues and talents flourished in Rome, while the city enjoyed the utmost prosperity. This chariot, on which was a person representing Titus himself, was adorned with many ornaments made by Puntormo, and was drawn by eight magnificent horses; before it went twelve senators, wearing the toga, and riding two and two on horses covered with cloth of gold: they were attended by numerous servants, representing Lictors, and bearing the fasces, axes, and other things pertaining to the administration of justice.

The fourth chariot was drawn by four buffaloes accoutred after the fashion of elephants; and the story represented was the Triumph of Julius Cæsar on the occasion of the victory obtained over Cleopatra; the most remarkable events of Cæsar's life being depicted by Jacopo Puntormo on the chariot, which was accompanied by twelve men, walking two and two, all dressed in rich and resplendent armour, finely decorated with gold; they bore lances in their hands, and the torches carried by their half-armed attendants had the form of trophies arranged in various fancies.

The fifth car was drawn by winged horses which had the forms of Griffins, and bore a personage representing Cæsar Augustus, lord and master of the universe; he was accompanied by twelve poets, riding on horseback in double file, and all crowned with laurel, as was Cæsar himself, they wore vestments suited to the different countries of which they were supposed to be natives, and these bards were chosen to be the followers of Cæsar Augustus, because that Emperor was ever most favourable to the poets, who exalted

him to the skies by their works; but to the end that they might be the more certainly known, each bore on his forehead a band, in the manner of a diadem, on which was inscribed his name.

On the sixth chariot, which had been very beautifully painted by Puntormo, and was drawn by four pairs of oxen richly arrayed, was the just and good Emperor Trajan; he was seated, and before him, on handsome and well caparisoned horses, went six couples of doctors of laws, wearing the toga reaching to the feet, and with capes of grey miniver, as it was the ancient custom for doctors of the law to be apparelled. The servants who bore their torches and who were in vast numbers, were writers, copyists, and notaries, with books or writings in their hands.

After these six cars came the chariot or triumphal car of the period represented, the Age of Gold namely: it was constructed with the best and richest powers of art, Baccio Bandinelli having adorned it with beautiful figures in relief, while Puntormo had decorated the same with exquisite paintings, between which were figures of the four Cardinal virtues in relief, and these were more particularly extolled. In the midst of the car was a large sphere or ball, as it were the globe of the world, and on this was the prostrate figure of a man lying dead with his face to the earth, and wearing armour covered with rust. This armour was cleft, and from the fissure there proceeded the figure of a child entirely naked, and gilded all over, to represent the age of gold reviving, as the dead man represented that of iron come to an end; all which, the resuscitation and the restoration namely, it was hereby intimated would result from the elevation of Pope Leo X. to the papal chair, and the same thing was signified by the dry branch putting forth new leaves, although there are some who affirm that the dry branch reviving, alluded rather to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino.

But I will not omit to mention that the gilded child, who was a baker's boy, and who had been hired to perform the part for ten scudi, obtained that reward as the payment for his life, seeing that the sufferings which he endured in the course of the festival were so severe as to cause his death, and he expired shortly after the conclusion thereof.

The Canzone which was sung in that masquerade was composed by the above-mentioned Jacopo Nardi, and the first stanza ran thus :—

Colui che dà le leggi alla Natura,
E i varj stati, e secoli dispone,
D'ogni bene è cagione :
E il mal, quanto permette, al Mondo dura :
Onde, questo figura
Contemplando si vede,
Come con certo piede
L' un secol dopo l'altro al Mondo viene,
*E muta il bene in male, e'l male in bene.**

For the work performed by him on occasion of this festival Jacopo Puntormo obtained so much commendation in Florence, to say nothing of the profit, that perhaps few young men of his age ever acquired so much ; wherefore, when Pope Leo afterwards visited Florence, Jacopo was much employed in the festive preparations then made. He associated himself with Baccio da Montelupo, a sculptor somewhat advanced in years, and the latter constructed an Arch in wood at the head of the Via del Palagio, which descends from the steps of the abbey ; this arch Puntormo painted all over with beautiful stories, but the negligence of those who had charge of the place caused that work to come to an evil end, one of the stories only remaining, that namely in which Pallas is seen to be bringing with much grace a musical instrument, which she holds, into accord with the lyre of Apollo: but from the perfection of this story the observer may judge of the excellence of the rest.

On the same occasion, the care of arranging and adorning the Sala del Papa, which is attached to the convent of Santa Maria Novella, and was the ancient residence of the Pontiffs in Florence,—the care of embellishing this hall, I say, was given to Ridolfo Ghirlandajo; but he, being pressed for time, was compelled to avail himself in some parts of the assistance of others ; when the greater portion of the rooms were all

* He who gives laws to nature, and disposes
Of time and state, of every good is source,
Nor comes aught ill, but as His word commands.
Contemplate then this image, and behold
How, with firm foot, one age pursues another,
Now changing good to ill, now ill to good.

finished therefore, he gave a commission to Jacopo Puntormo for certain pictures in fresco to be executed in the chapel where his Holiness was to hear mass every morning. Putting hand to the work accordingly, Jacopo painted a figure of God the Father surrounded by numerous Children, with another representing Santa Veronica, who has the portrait of Jesus Christ, impressed on the handkerchief; a work which, though performed by Jacopo in so much haste, was nevertheless greatly extolled.

In a chapel of the church of San Ruffello,* which is situate behind the archiepiscopal palace in Florence, Jacopo then painted a fresco, the subject of which is Our Lady with the Divine Child in her arms; she has the archangel Michael on one side, and Santa Lucia,† with two other Saints, kneeling, on the other. In the lunette of the chapel Puntormo furthermore depicted a figure of the Almighty Father, with Seraphim around him.

Having then received a commission which he had long desired, from the Servite monk, Maestro Jacopo, that of painting a portion of the court of the Servites namely, Andrea del Sarto having then gone into France, and left that work unfinished, Puntormo set himself with great care and zeal to the preparation of the cartoons; as he was however very poorly provided with all things, and while working for the acquirement of honour had also to live, he undertook at the same time to paint two figures for the Nuns of Santa Caterina of Siena, who desired to have such executed in chiaro-scuro, over the door of the Hospital for Women, which is situate behind the church of the Hospital for Priests, between the Piazza di San Marco, and the Via di Sangallo, exactly opposite that is to say, to the convent wall of those Nuns of Santa Caterina. The subject of this work, which is an exceedingly beautiful one, is Our Saviour Christ, in the guise of a pilgrim, awaiting the arrival of a certain poor woman, to whom he is about to offer hospitality, the

* San Raffaello that is to say, but popularly called San Ruffillo, or Ruffello. The church has been demolished, and the picture was some years since removed to the Chapel of the Painters in the Church of the Annunciation.

† The English reader will find the legend of this Saint very agreeably related in the *Sacred and Legendary Art* of Mrs. Jameson.

painting was highly commended at the time, and by all who understand the subject is much admired in our own day.*

About the same period, our artist executed various pictures and small stories in oil on that chariot which the masters of the Mint, from whom he received the commission, are accustomed to send every year to make part of the procession of San Giovanni, the chariot having been constructed by the hand of Marco del Tasso.† For the company of Cecilia moreover, Jacopo likewise painted a fresco, a figure of that Saint namely, with roses in her hand: this also is an exceedingly beautiful thing, it stands over the portal of the Company's house on the heights of Fiesole, and is so well suited to its position, that for a work of such a kind it may be considered among the best examples of fresco to be seen.‡

These works being made known to Maestro Jacopo, the Servite monk, his desire to have the paintings of the Court of the Servites finished by Puntormo was greatly increased, and he determined to ensure their completion by that artist without delay, persuaded that the emulation awakened by the works of the other masters who had laboured there would incite him to produce something extraordinarily beautiful in that which remained to be done. Having set hand to the work accordingly, Jacopo did indeed labour no less for the attainment of glory and honour, than from desire of gain, and executed a story, the subject of which was the Visitation of the Madonna, which he treated in a manner somewhat more animated and lively than it had previously been his wont to do, thereby adding an infinite amount of beauty to the many other excellencies presented by his works. The women, the children, the youths, and the old men, are painted in this fresco with a softness and harmony of colouring which is really wonderful. The flesh-tints, more especially in a child seated on a flight of steps, are

* This fresco was destroyed in the year 1688, when the building was reconstructed from the foundations.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

† The carving of the Chariot was executed by Marco del Tasso that is to say.—*Bottari.* The Car was destroyed in the year 1810, under the French domination; the pictures by which it was adorned are now preserved in a Hall belonging to the municipality of Florence.

‡ This work is believed to have been destroyed to make way for the construction of a new door.

incomparably soft and beautiful; but so indeed are those of all the other figures, which are such, at a word, that nothing in fresco could possibly be more effectively, or more delicately and softly executed.*

This work, together with the others which Jacopo had produced, gave the artists, who could here compare his performance with those of Andrea del Sarto and of Franciabigio, the certainty that he would early attain to the perfection of his art. It was completed in the year 1516, and Puntormo received for it the payment of sixteen crowns, and no more.†

Receiving a commission subsequently, from Francesco Pucci, if I remember rightly, for the Altar-piece of a chapel which Francesco had caused to be constructed in the church of San Michele Bisdomini, which is situate on the Via de' Servi,—having received this commission, I say, Puntormo conducted the work with so beautiful a manner, and colouring so animated, that it is almost impossible to believe it a mere painting. In this picture, Our Lady, who is seated, presents the Divine Infant to St. Joseph, who regards the child with a smiling countenance, the animation and expression of which are astonishing. A child, representing St. John the Baptist, is equally beautiful, as are two other children who are upholding a Pavilion or Canopy. There is besides a figure of St. John the Evangelist in this work, a most beautiful old man,‡ with one of St. Francis kneeling, which is absolutely alive. His hands are folded, the fingers of the one intertwined with those of the other; he remains with eyes and mind alike intent, contemplating the Virgin and Child, and does verily seem to breathe. Nor is the St. James beside him less beautiful, so that it is no marvel that this should be reputed the most admirable work ever executed by this extraordinary painter.§

I was at one time of opinion that it was after the exe-

* It was much injured in the last century by re-touching. A print of the work will be found in Malvasia, *Etruria Pittrice.*

† As appears from the before-mentioned Records of the Convent.

‡ In the open book held in the hand of the Holy Evangelist we have the date "1518."—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

§ This work was ably restored in 1823 by the painter Luigi Scotti.—*Ibid.*

cution of this picture, and not before, that Puntormo had depicted two most beautiful and graceful boys in fresco, supporting an Escutcheon of Arms over the door of a house belonging to Bartolommeo Lanfredini, and which is situate on the Arno, between the bridge of the Santa Trinità and that of the Carraja; but since Il Bronzino, who must needs be supposed well acquainted with the truth of these matters,* affirms that the work undertaken for Lanfredini was among the first executed by Puntormo, we cannot but believe that so it really was, and are bound to extol that artist all the more highly, seeing that, although thus shown to have been among the first of his productions, these boys are nevertheless incomparably beautiful that they cannot be equalled.

But to follow his pictures in their order as nearly as may be, after completing those above-named, Jacopo executed a painting for the men of Puntormo, and this was placed in their principal church, and in the chapel of the Madonna; the subject is the Archangel Michael with St. John the Evangelist.

At this time Jacopo had two young men with him, one of whom was Giovan-Maria Pichi, of the Borgo-a-San Sepolcro, who acquitted himself tolerably well, but afterwards became a Servite monk. He executed certain works at the Borgo and in the Deanery of San Stefano; and while still with Puntormo he painted a large picture of San Quintino, the Martyrdom of that Saint namely, who is represented nude. This picture, Jacopo, being desirous, out of the love which he bore to his disciple, that he should obtain honour for his work,—Jacopo, I say, set himself to retouch the painting, and not knowing where to stop, once he had laid his hands on it he could not take them off; so that touching the head to-day, the arm to-morrow, and the back the day after, the retouching was finally such as almost to justify the assertion that the picture was by his own hand. We are not to marvel, therefore, if this painting is a very beautiful one; it is now in the church of the Observantine Friars, at the Borgo.

The second of the two young men, of whom there is mention above, was the Aretine, Giovan-Antonio Lappoli, whose

* Angiolo, called Il Bronzino, was the principal disciple of Pontormo, and it was apparently from him that Vasari obtained a good part of his materials for the life of that master.

life we have already given. Being somewhat vain of his person, he had made a portrait of himself by the help of a mirror, even while still the disciple of Jacopo, but that portrait not appearing to the master to be a satisfactory likeness, he took it in hand himself, when he depicted the same so admirably well that it seems to be alive. This picture is now at Arezzo, in possession of the heirs of Giovan-Antonio Lappoli.*

Puntormo subsequently painted the likenesses of two of his most intimate friends in the same picture; one of these was the son-in-law of the glass-maker Beccuccio: the name of the other I do not know, and it shall suffice to notify that the picture was by the hand of Puntormo. For the funeral solemnities of Bartolommeo Ginori, Jacopo prepared a range of banners, which it was the custom of the Florentines to use on such occasions; and in each of these he painted a figure of the Madonna with the Infant Christ, in the upper part of the white taffeta whereof that portion of the banner was composed; while in the lower part, and on the coloured surface of the edging, he depicted the Arms of the family, as was usual.

Now there were twenty-four of these banners, and in the centre of the coloured pendants Puntormo placed two which were entirely of white taffeta, without any edging of colours, and in each of these he painted a figure of San Bartolommeo, which was two braccia high. The great size of these banners, and the novelty of their manner, making all those which had been previously made appear mean and poor in the comparison, gave occasion to a change, and caused people to begin making them of a large size, as we have them in the present day, lighter and more graceful that is to say, and with a much more frugal use of gold in the decorations.

At the upper end of the garden and vineyard which belong to the monks of San Gallo, and are situate at a short distance from the city-gate named after that saint, there is a chapel, and opposite to the central door of this building Jacopo Puntormo painted the figure of Our Saviour lying dead, with the Virgin Mother weeping over him, and two Children hovering above, one holding the Chalice of the

The fate of this portrait is not known, no trace of it being now to be discovered in the abode of the heirs of Lappoli.—*Bottari.*

Passion, and the other supporting the sinking head of the Saviour; on one side stands St. John the Evangelist, weeping, and with extended arms; on the other is St. Augustine in his episcopal robes; he is supporting himself on his pastoral staff, and in an attitude of the deepest sadness, is contemplating the dead body of the Saviour.* For Messer Spina, a friend of Giovanni Salviati, our artist painted the arms of that Giovanni, which Messer Spina desired to have depicted in the court-yard of his dwelling, and opposite to the principal door; Giovanni Salviati, having in those days been created Cardinal by Pope Leo X., the Cardinal's red hat was painted above, with two beautiful boys standing upright: for a work in fresco this is a very fine one, and, as being by the hand of Puntormo is highly valued by Messer Filippo Spina.

Jacopo likewise took part in the decoration of those apartments which, as we have before related, were adorned with magnificent ornaments, in wood-work as well as painting, for Pier Francesco Borgherini; this Puntormo did in competition with other masters,† and, to speak more particularly, he painted two large coffers, or cabinets, with stories from the life of Joseph, which he executed in minute figures of incomparable beauty.‡

But whoever shall desire to see the best work ever performed in his whole life by Jacopo da Puntormo, and who shall propose to himself to ascertain what the genius of that master was capable of effecting, whether as regards the power of invention displayed, the grouping of the figures, the animation of the heads, or the variety and beauty of the attitudes, let him examine one angle of those apartments of the before-mentioned Florentine noble, Borgherini; that on the left namely as you enter the door, where there is a story of which the figures are small, although the work itself is of fair size, and this is indeed of admirable excellence. The

* It was destroyed when the Convent and Church of San Gallo were demolished in the year 1529, see note, *ante*, p. 339.

† Andrea del Sarto, Francesco, Ubertino, called Il Bacchiacca, and Il Granacci namely.

‡ Two of these stories, and which do indeed merit to be considered beautiful, are now in the Florentine Gallery of the Uffizj, in the larger Hall of the Tuscan School. They have been engraved in outline in the *Galleria di Firenze Illustrata*.

subject chosen is the Reception by Joseph of his father Jacob and all his brothers, the sons of that Jacob, when Joseph himself has become a prince, and, as it were, the sovereign of the land of Egypt. The affection with which he greets them is admirably well expressed, and among the figures is one which is indeed singularly beautiful; this is the portrait of Jacopo's disciple Bronzino, then but a boy, and whom he has represented seated on a flight of steps at the lower part of the picture; the youth holds a basket in his hand; a most animated figure it is, and beautiful to a marvel: nay, if this painting had been executed of adequate size (whereas it is but small), either on panel or on the wall, I could venture to affirm, that it could not be possible to behold one executed with more grace, or more completely excellent in all its parts, than is this work of Puntormo's; it is therefore with perfect justice that this is esteemed among artists to be the most beautiful painting ever produced by that master. Nor is it by any means wonderful that Borgherini should prize it as he did; and we cannot be surprised to hear that he was repeatedly urged in vain by great and influential personages to dispose of the same, to the end that it might be presented to different princes and great nobles.*

Now it chanced that during the siege of Florence, Pier Francesco Borgherini had retired to Lucca, when Giovan Battista Palla, who desired to get the decorations of this chamber, as well as other works, into his hands, with intention to transport them into France, where they were to be presented to the king Francis, in the name of the Signoria: Giovan Battista, I say, found means to procure so many abettors, and so contrived, both to do and to say, that the Gonfaloniere and the Signori furnished him with a commission, by virtue of which the whole were to be taken away, and the price thereof paid to the wife of Pier Francesco.

Thereupon Giovan Battista† repaired with others to the

* "This work belonged for some time to the well-known lyric poet and writer of comedy, Gio-Gherardi de' Rossi," remarks a commentator of our author, "but we have not been able to ascertain the hands into which it passed after his death."

† For the miserable fate which afterwards befell this man, see vol. iii. p. 226, note ‡. See also, for minute details respecting that event, and the causes thereof, the *Storia* of Varchi. lib xii. p. 447.

house of Borgherini, for the purpose of causing the command of the Signori to be put in execution ; but when they arrived there, the wife of Pier Francesco, who had remained at home, confronted the principal assailant with reproaches of such intolerable bitterness that the like had never before been hurled at man alive :—

"How then ! dost thou, Giovan Battista, thou, vile broker of frippery, miserable huckster of twopences, dost thou presume to come hither with intent to lay thy fingers on the ornaments which belong to the chambers of gentlemen ? despoiling, as thou hast long done and as thou art for ever doing, this our City of her fairest and richest ornaments, to embellish strange lands therewith, and to adorn the Halls of our enemies. Not that I can marvel at thee, man of a base lineage, and traitor to thy country, however grovelling may be thy acts ; but for the magistrates of our city, who have descended to abet these abominable proceedings, what shall be said ? This bed, which thou, for thy own greediness of gain and sordid self-interest, wouldst now lay hands on, vainly seeking to veil thine evil purposes under a fair pretence,—this bed was adorned with all the beauty which enriches it by my father-in-law Salvi, in honour of my nuptials ; to which he held this magnificent and regal ornament but the fitting decoration ; I, then, do prize this gift, both from reverence to his memory and out of the love I bear my husband ; wherefore, I mean to defend it with my own blood, and will retain it while I have life. Depart from this house, then, Giovan Battista, thou and thy myrmidons ; depart, and say to those who have permitted themselves to send thee hither, with command to remove these labours of art from their place, that I am here ; I, who will not suffer that one iota shall be disturbed from where it stands. Tell them, moreover, that if it befit them to listen to the counsels of such as thou art, base creature of nothingness, and if they must needs make presents to the king, Francis of France, tell them, I say, that they may go to their own houses, and, despoiling their own chambers of their ornaments, may send them to his Majesty.

"For thyself, if again thou shouldst be so bold as to come on a similar errand to this house, thou shalt be amply taught what is the respect due to the dwelling of a gentleman, from

such as thou art, and that to thy serious discomfort; make thyself sure of it."*

Thus spoke Madonna Margherita, wife of Pier-Francesco Borgherini, and daughter of Ruberto Acciaiuoli, a Florentine noble of great wisdom. She was in truth a woman entirely worthy to be the daughter of such a father; and by her noble daring and firmness of spirit she caused these gems of art to be respected, and kept them, where they still remain, to adorn the dwellings of her house.

About this same time Giovan-Maria Benintendi had decorated an antechamber in his palace with numerous paintings by the hands of divers able masters, and, hearing Jacopo da Puntormo extolled to infinity for the works which he had executed in the rooms of Borgherini, Giovan-Maria determined to add a painting by that artist to those he already possessed. The subject chosen for the picture was an Adoration of the Magi, who presented themselves to the Infant Christ in Bethlehem; and, having given much thought and care to the work, the master succeeded in rendering it varied and beautiful in the heads, as well as worthy of all praise in every other part.

He afterwards painted a picture for Messer Goro da Pistoja, who was then secretary to the Medici, a half-length portrait namely of the illustrious Cosimo de' Medici the elder;† this is a truly commendable work, and is now in the house of Messer Ottaviano de' Medici, and in possession of Messer Alessandro his heir, a young man, who, to say nothing of the nobility and distinction of his race, is remarkable for the propriety of his life, as well as honourable for his love of literature; he is the worthy son, in short, of the

* "The deportment of this incomparable woman," exclaims an admiring compatriot of the eloquent dame above described, the Madonna Margherita, "might put to shame the numbers who since those days have made merchandize for the stranger of so many precious objects, the glory of their family and their country, despoiling their houses, not as compelled by necessity, but for the gratification of an absurd vanity; the supply of a frivolous and most ridiculous extravagance." Alas, my sisters, can it be that the most commendable acquisition of our jewels and laces, is that which is thus irreverently designated by this profane? Alas, my sisters!

† The portrait of Cosimo *Pater Patriæ*, here in question, is now in the Florentine Gallery before-mentioned; it has been admirably engraved by Antonio Perfetti, and is given in outline in the *Galleria*, &c., cited above.

magnificent Ottaviano and of Madonna Francesca, daughter of Jacopo Salviati, and maternal aunt of the Signor Duke Cosimo.* This work, but more particularly the head of Cosimo, procured for Puntormo the favour of Messer Ottaviano; and the great hall at Poggio-a-Cajano being then to be painted, the commission for the two ends of the same, wherein are the circular orifices which give light (the windows that is to say), was given to Jacopo, who was directed to execute the ornaments of that portion from the ceiling to the floor.†

More than ever anxious to do himself honour on that occasion, from respect to the place as well as from the emulation awakened by the presence of the other masters who were employed there, Jacopo devoted so large an amount of care and study to this matter, that in his zeal he overstepped the due limit, doing over again to-day what he had completed yesterday, and so spoiling rather than improving his work; he racked his brains in this fashion until it was a pity to behold, and was incessantly labouring at new inventions, all which were to add to the beauty of the performance and to his own fame.

Among other parts of this work is a figure of Vertumnus with his husbandmen around him, and Puntormo has represented the god under the form of a peasant, seated and holding in his hand a gardener's pruning knife, and this is so beautiful and so admirably executed that it may be truly considered wonderful, as may likewise the figures of certain children there portrayed, and which are indescribably natural and life-like. On the side opposite to this of the Vertumnus Puntormo painted figures of Pomona, Diana, and other deities, but these he has involved somewhat too closely in draperies; the whole work is nevertheless a very fine one and has been much commended.

These paintings were still in progress when Pope Leo died, the works of that hall were therefore left unfinished as were many others of like kind, not in Rome only but in Florence, Loretto, and many other places; nay, the whole world was rendered poor by that death, and all distinguished men were deprived of their true Mæcenas.

* Alessandro was afterwards Pope, under the name of Leo XI.

† These works still survive.

Having returned to Florence, Jacopo painted a seated figure of Sant' Agostino in the act of bestowing his benediction; while Angels, in the form of beautiful children, nude and hovering in the air, are seen above him. This picture has now been placed over an altar in the small church which belongs to the nuns of San Clemente, and is situate in the Via San Gallo.* About the same time Puntormo finished a picture, the subject of which was a Pietà, and here too are angels represented by nude children, which are very beautiful, the entire picture is indeed a truly admirable one and was greatly prized by certain Ragusan merchants, for whom it was that Puntormo painted it. There is an exceedingly fine landscape in this work, taken for the most part from a print by Albert Dürer.

The same master produced a picture of Our Lady with the Divine Child in her arms, and surrounded by angels in the form of children, this is now in the house of Alessandro Neroni; one of similar subject, the Madonna that is to say, but differing materially from the above-named, and in another manner, was executed by Jacopo for some Spaniards: many years afterwards it was on the point of being sold to a broker or picture dealer, but this becoming known to Bronzino he caused it to be purchased by Messer Bartolommeo Panciatichi.

In the year 1552 there was a slight attack of plague in Florence, when many persons left the city to avoid that most highly contagious disease, and to place their lives in security; our artist also found an opportunity for removing himself to a distance, and that happened on this wise. A certain Prior of the Certosa, which had been erected by the Acciaiuoli family at about three miles from Florence, was about to cause some pictures to be painted in the angles of a large and beautiful cloister surrounding a fine meadow, and these he placed in the hands of Puntormo; when sought for to undertake this work, therefore, Jacopo accepted the proposal most willingly, and departed at once for the Certosa, taking with him Il Bronzino and no one else.

The manner of life here presented to him, that tranquillity, that silence, that solitude—all things, at a word, were found

* It was afterwards removed to the Refectory of the Convent, but the latter being afterwards suppressed, all trace of the work was then lost.

by Jacopo to be entirely in accord with his character and genius; they were indeed so pleasing to him that he resolved to seize that occasion for making an effort in his art, and hoped to prove to the world that he had acquired a more varied manner and higher perfection than his works had ever before displayed. No long time previously there had been brought from Germany to Florence, a large number of plates, very finely executed on wood and copper by the burin of Albert Dürer, a most excellent German painter, and very remarkable engraver, both on copper and wood. Among other subjects and stories, great and small, was the Passion of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, in which were exhibited all the excellence and perfection of engraving with the burin, that can possibly be attained.

Now Jacopo was to paint that portion of Our Saviour's history in those angles of the cloister, and he determined to avail himself of these inventions of Albert Dürer, with the full persuasion that he should not only satisfy himself, but the greater part of the Florentine artists also; for they were all with one voice and of common consent extolling the ability of Albert and the perfection of these productions. But devoting himself to the imitation of that manner and seeking to impart to his figures that vivacity in the air of the heads, and that variety which were the characteristics of Albert's works, he proceeded to such an extremity, that all the softness and grace of his own manner, all the charm wherewith he had been endowed by Nature, was lost. The study of that new manner and the force of those German engravings, had thus so great an effect on the performance of Puntormo, that although this work is without doubt a very beautiful one, there is but little of the grace which up to that time Jacopo Puntormo had always imparted to his figures.

At the entrance to the cloister in question, the master depicted Our Saviour Christ in the garden; the time is night, but the picture is so beautifully illuminated by the light of the Moon, that it appears almost as the day. Our Lord is kneeling in prayer and at no great distance from him are Peter, James, and John, lying asleep and executed in a manner so entirely similar to that of Dürer that it is a kind of marvel. Not far off is seen Judas Iscariot leading the Jews to

the capture of his Master, and to this man as well as to those by whom he is accompanied, Puntormo has given a face of the strangest forms and most exaggerated expressions, all being entirely after the German type. It moves one to compassion indeed, as one remarks, on examining these works, the simplicity of the artist who would bestow so much labour and pains to acquire that which all others seek with so much care to avoid, or if they have it, to lose; and this is all the more extraordinary when it is considered, that Puntormo abandoned a manner which surpassed in excellence that of all others and gave infinite pleasure to every one merely to secure a defect. Did not Puntormo know that the Germans and Flemings come into these parts for the very purpose of learning that Italian manner which he with so much labour and pains was seeking to abandon as if it were a bad one?

Beside the picture just alluded to is one wherein Christ is led before Pilate, and here the face of the Redeemer gives evidence of all that humility which truly belongs to, or can be imagined to reside in, the person of Innocence betrayed to death by the sins of mankind. In the wife of Pilate is perceptible the compassion she feels, together with that dread by which those are wont to be possessed who fear the Divine justice; this woman, while recommending the cause of Christ to her husband, is contemplating the countenance of the Saviour with an expression of pitying wonder. Around the figure of Pilate are soldiers who are so completely German, in the character of their faces as well as in the manner of their habiliments, that whoever did not know by what hand the work was performed, would assuredly believe it to have been executed by foreigners, men from beyond the mountains. It is true that there is one exception in a cup-bearer of Pilate's, who is seen in the distance, descending a flight of stairs with a basin and ewer in his hand, which he is carrying to his master, that he may wash his hands therewith; this figure, which is a very beautiful and lifelike one, has a certain something proper to the old manner of Puntormo.

Having next to execute in one of the other angles, a Resurrection of Our Saviour, the artist then took it into his head, as being one who, having no steadfastness in his character, was perpetually in search of some new whim, to change the manner of his colouring; and of a truth he did

depict that whole work with a colouring in fresco which is so soft and so good, that if in that picture he had been proceeding after any other manner than the German, it would indubitably have proved to be an exceedingly beautiful one; there is indeed so much excellence in the heads of those soldiers lying so fast asleep that they are almost like dead men, so varied are their attitudes and so perfect is the whole work, that one could not believe it possible to do anything better.

Continuing these Stories of the Passion in other divisions of the Cloister, the master depicted Our Saviour Christ proceeding towards the Mount Calvary and bearing his Cross; behind him are the people of Jerusalem who follow his steps, while before him are led the two thieves, naked and surrounded by the ministers of justice. Some of the latter are on foot and some on horseback, some bear the ladders, one has the inscription for the Cross, others carry the nails, ropes, hammers, and other instruments of similar kind. In the uppermost part of the picture, and partly concealed behind a slight elevation of the ground, is Our Lady with the Maries, weeping and awaiting the arrival of the Saviour. In the centre of the painting is Christ himself, who has fallen to the earth, and is surrounded by certain of the Jews, by whom he is despitefully smitten; while Veronica is seen to offer him the handkerchief wherewith he wipes the drops from his brow. Veronica is accompanied by other women old and young, who are bewailing the cruelties which they behold inflicted on their Lord.

This story, either because Jacopo had been warned by his friends, or that he did himself at length perceive, although tardily, the great injury which his study of the German engravings had done to his own soft manner, this story, I say, is much better than the others executed by him in the same place. There are, indeed, certain nude figures of Jews, with some heads of old men, which are so well painted in fresco that better could not be, although it is obvious that Puntormo has adopted that same manner of the Germans, to a certain extent in them all.

The Crucifixion of Christ, with his Deposition from the Cross, were then to be executed in other parts of the Cloister, but these Puntormo determined to leave, with the intention

of doing them the last of all, he therefore next proceeded to paint a picture of Our Lord when he has been removed from the Cross, adhering still to the same German manner, but imparting infinite harmony to the colouring of his work. In this part of the picture, beside the Magdalen who is kissing the feet of the Saviour, and is indeed a most exquisite figure, there are two old men, intended for Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, and these, although both in the German manner, have yet the most beautiful expressions (such as are suited, that is to say, to the heads of old persons), with the most softly flowing beards, and the most perfectly harmonious colouring that can possibly be conceived.

Jacopo was somewhat slow in the execution of his pictures, and on this account, as also because the solitude of the Certosa was agreeable to him, he spent several years over the works which he executed in this place;* nay, after the pestilence had ceased and he had returned to Florence, he frequented the convent continually, going constantly backward and forward from the Certosa to the city; proceeding in this manner he was enabled to do many things for those fathers, which was greatly to their satisfaction. Among other paintings for example, he executed one in the church and over one of the doors which give entrance into the chapels; this was the half-length portrait of a Monk, who had attained the age of 120 years; he was a lay brother in the Monastery of the Certosa, and was then living there. In that portrait there is so much life and force, it is executed with so much animation, and finished so admirably well, that this work alone, may suffice to form an excuse for all the eccentricity of Puntormo, and should secure him his pardon for the new and whimsical manner which he had taken it into his head to adopt, during his abode in that solitary place, and when far removed from the commerce of the world.

For the apartments of the Prior of the Certosa also, Puntormo painted a picture representing the Nativity of Christ; in this he has depicted Joseph giving light to the Divine Child in the obscurity of the night, by means of a

* The paintings executed by Pontormo in the cloister of the Certosa have been destroyed by time, but there are some reduced copies, made by Jacopo da Empoli, still to be seen in the Florentine Academy of the Fine Arts.

lanthorn which he is holding; that too was done in pursuit of the same fancies and caprices which had been infused into his mind by those German prints.

Now I would have none to believe Jacopo blameable for having imitated Albert Dürer in his inventions, seeing that this is no error: it has been done and is continually being done by many painters, but Puntormo adopted the unmixed German manner in everything; in the dresses, the attitudes, and the expression of the heads: all which he ought to have avoided, and to have availed himself of the invention only, seeing that he was himself endowed most richly with the grace and beauty of the modern manner.

For the strangers' apartments of the above-mentioned monastery, the same artist painted a very large picture in oil on cloth, and therein he did not in any way restrain himself, or do violence to his natural manner: the subject is Our Saviour Christ seated at table with Cleophas and Luke, all figures of the natural size, and as in this work Puntormo followed the bent of his genius, the picture turned out to be a very beautiful one. Among other particulars worthy of remark in this painting, are the portraits of certain lay brothers then in the convent, and whom I have myself seen there; they are represented as serving at table, and could not possibly be more life-like and animated than they are.*

While Jacopo was occupied with these works at the Certosa, his disciple Bronzino was zealously pursuing the study of his art at the same place; and being encouraged by Puntormo, who was most friendly and even affectionate to his disciples, he undertook the execution of a picture of St. Lawrence, which he painted within an arch over one of the doors which conduct from the cloister into the church, depicting it in oil, although he had never then seen the method of painting on the wall with that vehicle. The Saint is lying nude on his gridiron, and the attitude in which he is placed is good and appropriate, insomuch that Bronzino here began to give some intimation of that excellence to which he afterwards attained, as will be related in its proper place.† This

* Now in the before-mentioned Academy of the Fine Arts in Florence.

† In the discourse relating "to the Academicians of Design then living," namely.

gave Jacopo, who already perceived the eminence which his disciple was eventually to acquire, the most lively satisfaction.

About the same time, or no long time afterwards, Ludovico di Gino Capponi returned to Florence from Rome, and having purchased that chapel in the church of Santa Felicità, which the Barbadori family had formerly caused to be constructed by Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, and which is situate near the entrance of the church on the right hand,—Ludovico, I say, determined to have all the ceiling covered with paintings; he furthermore resolved to have an altar-piece with a rich ornament or frame-work. Wherefore, having conferred respecting that matter with Messer Niccolò Vespucci, who was a Knight of Rhodes, and the most intimate friend of Capponi, the knight, as being also the very good friend of Puntormo, did and said so much respecting the worth and ability of that excellent man, that Ludovico was induced to give Jacopo the commission for the work. Having erected an enclosure accordingly, by which the chapel was kept closed during three years, the master commenced his operations. In the ceiling of the chapel he delineated a figure of God the Father, surrounded by those of four Patriarchs, all which are very fine.* In the four medallions which decorate the corbels of the ceiling he then painted figures of the four Evangelists, executing three of these entirely with his own hand, but confiding the fourth to Bronzino. And here I will not neglect the opportunity of mentioning, that Puntormo would very rarely permit himself to be assisted by his young men, nor would he even suffer them to lay hands on a work which he intended to execute himself; but it was his custom, when he desired to avail himself of the aid of any one of them, or wished them to have the opportunity of learning any thing, to let them do the whole by themselves, as he here caused Bronzino to do.

Now in the works executed by Puntormo up to this time for the chapel of Santa Felicità, he appears to have almost entirely returned to his old manner, but he did not continue to maintain that manner for the altar-piece; on the contrary, his head running on new things, he painted the figures with-

* The central picture of the ceiling in this chapel was destroyed in the year 1766, when the upper choir of the church was enlarged.

out shadow, and with so monotonous a tone of colouring, that one does but faintly distinguish the lights from the middle tints, or the middle tints from the shadows.

The subject of this altar-piece is Our Saviour Christ when removed from the Cross and on the point of being carried to the Sepulchre. The Madonna is seen to sink fainting to the earth; and that figure, as well as those of the other Maries, is executed in a manner so entirely different from the portion of the work before described, that one plainly perceives the master's brain to have again set off in chase of novelties and unusual methods of proceeding, contenting himself steadily with nothing, and remaining fixed to no one manner; at a word, the composition of this picture is wholly different from that of the vaulting, as is also the colouring.* The four Evangelists, too, which we have described as adorning the corbels of the ceiling, are in a much better manner than the altar-piece, and are greatly superior to that work.†

On that wall of the chapel wherein is the window, there are two figures in fresco, Our Lady that is to say, on the one side, and on the other the Angel who brings her the Annunciation; but both are so strangely distorted, as to render it evident that the singular extravagance of Jacopo's fancies caused him never to continue long satisfied with any thing. While engaged with this work in particular, he was so anxious to have all entirely his own way, and to avoid being molested by the remarks of any one, that he would never permit even the master of the chapel himself to see the pictures while they were in progress. It thus happened, that having completed all after his own fashion, without any one of his friends being suffered to have the opportunity of warning him on any point, the work, when given to public view, was regarded with much astonishment by all Florence.‡ For an apartment in the house of the above-mentioned Ludovico di Gino Capponi, our artist painted a picture

* The figures of the Evangelists are still in their place.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† This part of the work has now the appearance of a mere sketch, but is believed to have been reduced to that state by an injudicious cleaning, which was inflicted on it in the year 1723.

‡ It may still be seen, but has been grievously maltreated by cleaning and bold retouching.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

of the Virgin in the same manner, taking for the head of Mary Magdalen the portrait of a daughter of Ludovico, who was a very beautiful maiden.

Near the monastery of Boldrone, which is on the road leading from that place to Castello, and stands at the angle of another road which ascends the hill and conducts to Cercina, at the distance of about two miles from Florence that is to say, there is a tabernacle wherein Puntormo painted a Crucifix in fresco, with Our Lady weeping beside it; San Giovanni Evangelista, Sant' Agostino, and San Giuliano, are also present.* All these figures—his caprice for the German manner, which still pleased him greatly, not having been satisfied—are but slightly different from those of the Certosa. And the same may be affirmed of a picture painted by Jacopo for the nuns of Sant' Anna, whose convent is situate at the gate of San Friano. The subject of that work is Our Lady with the Dead Christ in her arms; Sant' Anna† is behind her, with San Piero, San Benedetto, and other saints.‡ In the predella is a story, the figures of which are small; this represents the Signoria of Florence advancing in procession, with trumpets and other musical instruments; they are attended by mace-bearers, ushers, door-keepers, and other servants of the palace, that subject having been chosen by Jacopo because he had received his commission for the picture from the Captain of the palace, and the other persons employed as attendants there.

While Jacopo was occupied with this work, Pope Clement VII. had sent Alessandro and Ippolito de' Medici, both then very young, to Florence, there to remain under the care of the Legate, Silvio Passerini, Cardinal of Cortona: when the magnificent Ottaviano de' Medici, to whom they had been recommended by the Pontiff, caused the portraits of both to be taken by Puntormo, who acquitted himself exceedingly well, and made these pictures excellent resemblances, al-

* This work has disappeared.

† The Florentines had a particular veneration for St. Anna, because it was on her festival in the year 1343 that they escaped the yoke in Gualtieri, Duke of Athens. On the 26th of July therefore, which is the Festival of Sant' Anna, the magistrates of Florence went in procession of honour of that occasion, as described in the text.

‡ These are San Giovanni and San Sebastiano. The picture was taken to Paris in the year 1813, and is now in the Louvre.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

though he did not depart materially from that manner of his, which he had learned from the German. In the picture of Ippolito, Puntormo likewise painted a favourite dog, belonging to that noble, and which was called Rodon, making the animal so natural and so full of animation, that he might be supposed alive.* At a later period Puntormo took the portrait of the Bishop Ardinghelli, who was afterwards Cardinal, and for Filippo del Migliore, who was his most intimate friend, he painted a fresco at his house in the Via Larga: in this work, which is opposite to the principal door of the house and represents a female figure in a niche, intended for Pomona, Jacopo Puntormo departed to a certain extent from his German manner, and seemed beginning to retrace his steps.

Now Giovan Battista della Palla, perceiving that the numerous paintings of Jacopo were causing his name to become more and more celebrated, and not being able to procure such of his works and those of the other masters as were in the Casa Borgherini, for King Francis of France, as we have related,—Giovan Battista, I say, resolved that some painting from the hand of Puntormo should at all events be despatched to the French monarch, whom he knew to be desirous of such productions; whereupon he took measures to that effect, and finally succeeded in persuading Puntormo to paint for him a most beautiful picture: this was the Resurrection of Lazarus, and proved to be one of the best works ever produced by the master, or ever sent by that Palla (although he sent him vast numbers) to King Francis. For besides that the heads were singularly beautiful, the figure of Lazarus, whose spirit, returning to the dead body, might be almost seen to awaken the latter to life, was admirable to a degree which is beyond the power of words to describe; the process of decomposition, which had already begun to commence about the eyes, was permitted to leave certain of its vestiges, in that form which the spirit of life was entering once again; the hands and feet indeed, to which the vital forces had not yet penetrated, were suffered to remain wholly dead.

In a picture one braccio and a half high, which Jacopo

* The portrait of Ippolito de' Medici, armed, and with a dog, is now in the Pitti Palace, Hall of Saturn.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

executed for the Nuns belonging to the Hospital of the Innocents, he represented, by means of an infinite number of minute figures, the story of the eleven thousand martyrs, condemned to death by the Emperor Dioclesian, and all crucified in a wood. In this work the master has imagined a very finely executed combat of cavalry and nude figures; in the air above are beautiful children who shoot arrows at the executioners, while the latter are employing themselves with such details as belong to the crucifixion of the martyrs; near and around the Emperor by whom the latter are condemned are also many beautiful nude forms in the act of being led to death. This, in all parts highly to be commended picture, is now in the possession of Don Vincenzio Borghini, the director of that Hospital, and an intimate friend of Jacopo Puntormo.*

Another work of a subject similar to this last, but giving only the Carnage of the Martyrs, with the angel who baptizes them, was executed by Jacopo for Carlo Neroni, as was also the portrait of the above-named Carlo.† At the time of the Siege of Florence, Puntormo also painted the likeness of Francesco Guardi, whom he has depicted in the dress of a soldier; a very admirable work it is, and on the cover of the same Bronzino delineated Pygmalion addressing his prayer to Venus, to the end that the Statue which he had made might receive the breath of life, and, awakening to existence, according to the fable of the poets, might become flesh and blood.

About this time Jacopo obtained, but not without many labours, the fulfilment of a wish which he had long entertained; for, having ever desired to inhabit a house of his own, and not one merely hired, in order that he might make such arrangements as he thought proper, and live after his own fashion, he did ultimately succeed in buying one, which was situate in the Via della Colonna, nearly opposite to the dwelling of the Nuns of Santa Maria degli Angeli.

When the Siege of Florence was over, Pope Clement gave command to Messer Ottaviano de' Medici that he should cause the hall of Poggio-a-Cajano to be finished, whereupon, Franciabigio and Andrea del Sarto being dead, the whole

* This work also is in the Pitti Palace.

† Now in the Florentine Gallery of the Uffizj.

charge of the work was entrusted to Jacopo Puntormo, who having first ordered scaffolding and an enclosure to be erected, then began to prepare the cartoons, but suddenly falling into his whims and fantasies, he wasted his time in cogitations and proceeded no further in the work. This might not perhaps have been the result had Bronzino been in the country, but he was then absent, being employed at the Imperiale, a place belonging to the Duke of Urbino and situate near Pesaro. He was indeed daily urged by Puntormo to rejoin him at the Poggio-a-Cajano, but Bronzino could not leave the Imperiale at his own pleasure, seeing that, having painted an exceedingly beautiful Cupid, a nude figure, in a corbel of one of the ceilings, and prepared the cartoons for other parts of the work, the Prince Guidobaldo, who perceived the ability of that youth, commanded him to remain, intending to have his own likeness taken by him: but Guidobaldo desired to be portrayed in armour, a particular suit of which he was expecting from Lombardy, and as the arrival of this armour was delayed, Bronzino was compelled to remain at the Imperiale longer than he could have wished. In the interval also he painted for Guidobaldo the case of a harpsichord, which pleased that prince mightily; ultimately however the portrait was completed, and being an extremely beautiful one, it gave great satisfaction to the Duke.

Jacopo meanwhile had written so many letters, and was constantly making so many efforts to procure the return of Bronzino, that he finally succeeded; but notwithstanding the presence of his disciple, there was nothing that would prevail on that strange man Puntormo to get forward with the work beyond the preparation of the cartoons, although he was earnestly solicited to do so by the magnificent Ottaviano and the Duke Alessandro; these cartoons are now for the most part in the house of Ludovico Capponi, and in one of them is a Hercules strangling Antæus; another has Venus and Adonis; and on a third is a group of nude figures engaged in the game of football.*

Now about this time the Signor Alfonso Davalo, Marchese di Guasto, had obtained a cartoon from Michelagnolo Buonarroti by the intervention of Fra Niccolò della Magna, the

* These cartoons are believed to be destroyed.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1852-8.

subject of the work being Our Saviour Christ appearing to the Magdalen in the garden; and the Marchese made a great point of having the picture executed by Puntormo, since Buonarroti had told him that none could serve him better than that artist. The commission being accepted by Jacopo, he completed the work accordingly, and that to such perfection, as to cause the painting to be esteemed a most rare performance, the grandeur of Michelagnolo's design being added to the colouring of Jacopo da Puntormo; wherefore this picture having been seen by the Signor Alessandro Vitelli, who was then in Florence, where he held the office of Captain of the Guard, he caused a painting to be executed for himself by Jacopo from the same cartoon, and this he then sent to Città di Castello, commanding that it should be placed in the dwelling which he possessed there.

The esteem in which Michelagnolo held Puntormo becoming known, and the care with which the latter had put the designs and cartoons of Michelagnolo into painting, with the excellence of those works, being much bruited abroad, Bartolommeo Bettini took much pains to procure for himself a cartoon from Buonarroti, who was his very intimate friend; and, finally succeeding, he obtained from that master a nude figure of Venus, whom her son Cupid is caressing. This he had done with the intention of having the work made a picture by Jacopo Puntormo, and placed in the centre of one of his rooms, Bronzino having already begun to paint figures of Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio in the lunettes of the same, and Bettini proposing eventually to have those of all the other poets, who, whether in verse or prose, have sung the triumphs of Love in Tuscan. Jacopo received the cartoon accordingly, and painted the picture at his leisure as will be related, but in that manner and to that perfection which is known to all the world, insomuch that I need not add my commendations.*

Incited by these designs of Michelagnolo, and carefully considering the manner of that most noble artist, Puntormo

* "Vasari has expressed himself thus," remarks a compatriot of our author, "because the historian Varchi had just then been singing the praises of this work in one of his lectures which was much read at that time, and wherein he (Varchi) compares this Venus to that of Praxiteles, with which, according to Pliny, the men who beheld it fell in love."

determined to imitate the same, and according to his ability to pursue Buonarroti's method by every means in his power; then it was that Jacopo perceived the injury he had done himself by suffering the works of the Poggio-a-Cajano to slip through his hands, although he still attributed the blame in great part to a long and troublesome illness which he had suffered, and finally to the death of Pope Clement, which had put an end to the whole undertaking.

After completing the works above described, Jacopo executed a picture wherein there was the portrait of Amerigo Antinori, a youth who was then much beloved in Florence; and this likeness being much extolled by every one, the Duke Alessandro caused it to be intimated to Jacopo that he desired to be portrayed by his hand in a large picture. For the greater convenience therefore, Jacopo depicted him, for that time, on a panel not larger than a sheet of paper of the ordinary size, but this he did with so much care and study, that the work of the miniature painters do not merit to be even put in comparison with it. To say nothing of the resemblance, which is excellent, there is in this head all that could be desired for the most perfect of pictures, and from this small painting, which is now in the cabinet of Duke Cosimo, Jacopo afterwards depicted the Duke Alessandro in a large work, representing him with a pencil in his hand, and in the act of designing a female head; this larger picture was subsequently presented by Duke Alessandro to the Signora Taddea Malespina, sister to the Marchesa di Massa.

The Duke, who desired to reward very liberally the ability which Puntormo had displayed in this picture, sent a message to him by his attendant, Niccolò da Montaguto, to the effect that he might ask whatever he pleased and should have his wish granted. But such was, I know not whether to say the timidity or the too great respect and modesty of this man, that he asked nothing better than just as much money as would enable him to redeem a cloak which he had hastily pledged. Hearing this, the Duke could not but laugh at the singular character of the artist, and commanded that he should receive fifty gold crowns, offering him at the same time a pension, but Niccolò had much trouble to make him accept it.

Puntormo had meanwhile completed that Venus, the cartooon for which had been prepared by Michelagnolo for

Bartolommeo Bettino, and the work was one of marvellous beauty; but instead of being delivered to Bettino for the price which had been agreed to by Jacopo, it was seized on, almost by force, and taken from the hands of Puntormo by certain favour-seekers, who wished to do Bartolommeo a displeasure, and was given to the Duke Alessandro, the cartoon alone being restored to Bettino.* When Michelagnolo heard of this he was much displeased, on account of the regard which he bore to the friend for whom he had made the cartoon, and was exceedingly angry with Jacopo. But although it is true that the latter did receive fifty crowns from the Duke for the picture, yet he can scarcely be said to have defrauded Bettino, seeing that he did but resign the work at the command of him who was his Lord: some affirm indeed that Bettino was himself the cause of all the mischief, since he had asked too great a price for the painting.

These sums of money enabling Puntormo to commence certain alterations which he desired to make in his house, he set hand to the work and began to build accordingly, but did not effect anything of much importance. It is true that many say he had the intention of spending very largely, according to his means, for that fabric, intending to construct a very commodious dwelling, for which, it is added, that he had made a design of some merit; but from all that one sees done, the place, whether from Jacopo's not having enough to spend thereon, or from some other cause, would rather appear to have been contrived by a whimsical and solitary being, than likely to become a well-arranged habitation. To the room wherein Puntormo slept, for example, and in which he sometimes worked also, it was necessary to ascend by a ladder of wood, which by means of pulleys he then drew up, so that none could approach his chamber without his knowledge and permission.

But that which most displeased his contemporaries in this artist, was that he would never work but at such moments

* "This Venus," says an Italian annotator, "is in the *Guardaroba* of the Grand Duke, but some painter of the seventeenth century has covered the nude form with drapery: the colouring is cold and the execution laboured, insomuch that it might be taken for a copy." There is a picture in the Berlin Gallery, which is believed by certain German writers to be the original work, executed by Pontormo after Michael Angelo's cartoon, as described in the text. It is said, moreover, to be still in admirable preservation. See the *Kunstblatt* for 1842, p. 42.

as he pleased and for such persons as chanced to be agreeable to him, insomuch that he was frequently sought by gentlemen who desired to possess some work from his hand, but for whom he would do nothing, an occurrence which on one occasion happened to the magnificent Ottaviano de' Medici, whom he refused to serve as was desired. Yet at that very time he would probably be employing himself zealously for some inferior and plebeian person, although receiving only the vilest price for his labour. To the mason Rossino for example, a person of no small ingenuity in his way, and who knew how to profit by his simplicity, Puntormo gave a most exquisite picture of Our Lady as the payment for constructing certain chambers and other mason-work, which the builder had done for him; nay, so well did the worthy Rossino know how to manage his matters that in addition to the above-named picture, he contrived to extract from the hands of Puntormo a truly admirable portrait of Giulio, Cardinal de' Medici, which Jacopo had copied from one by the hand of Raffaello.

Rossino furthermore obtained a small picture of the crucified Saviour from our artist, and a very beautiful one it is; but although the mason sold it to the magnificent Ottaviano de' Medici above-mentioned as a work of Puntormo's, it is nevertheless known certainly to be by Bronzino, who did it entirely with his own hand, while working with his master Jacopo, at the Certosa: for what cause the work afterwards remained in the possession of Puntormo, I know not. These three pictures received for his labours by the mason from Jacopo Puntormo, are now in the house of Messer Alessandro de' Medici,* son of the before-mentioned Ottaviano.

But although the whimsical proceedings of Puntormo, his unsocial mode of life, and other eccentricities were but little liked, yet whoever shall be pleased to make his apology for the same may be well permitted to do so. For we certainly owe him thanks for such works as he did perform, and for those which it did not please him to undertake, we are not called on either to censure or reproach him.† No artist is

* A small picture of the Crucifixion by Angelo Bronzino is now in the Pitti Palace.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

† Much more is *that* like your pleasant and reasonable self, O Giorgio of our hearts, than the sort of half reproach that you were just before

compelled to labour except at such times and for such persons as he pleases; and if his interests be affected by whatever refusals he shall make, that is his affair. As to the solitude in which Jacopo delighted, I have ever heard that solitude is most favourable to the progress of study, but even though it were not so, I see no great reason that there is for censuring him, who, without offending the laws of God or his neighbour, is disposed to live after his own manner; dwelling in such fashion and arranging his hours after such sort as shall best accord with his disposition and character. But enough of these considerations, which we will now leave, and will return to the works of Jacopo Puntormo.

The villa Careggi, which had been erected by Cosimo de' Medici the Elder, at the distance of about two miles from Florence, had been partially restored by the Duke Alessandro who had caused the decorations of the Fountains, with the labyrinth, to which the visitor is conducted through two Loggie, to be completed, and when that was done, his Excellency commanded that the Loggie should be painted by Jacopo, but that he should have company in the work, not only to the end that it might be more rapidly accomplished, but also that Puntormo, being kept cheerful and in good heart by conversation, should have the less temptation to running after whimsies, and might labour in peace without racking his brains to no purpose; nay, the Duke himself having sent for Jacopo, begged him to bring the work to conclusion as soon as he could possibly contrive to do so.

Puntormo thereupon summoned Bronzino and directed him to paint five figures in five compartments of the ceiling, these were Fortune, Justice, Victory, Peace, and Fame; but as there are six compartments in that ceiling Jacopo himself took the sixth, and there painted a figure of Love with his own hand. He next prepared designs for a group of children, to adorn the oviform centre of the same vaulting; these children are all holding animals of various kinds in their hands: there is much able foreshortening in this part of the work, which, with the exception of one figure, was painted entirely by

addressing to the poor Jacopo, for that he had been pleased to reward with his beautiful productions the labours of those "inferior and *plebeian*" persons who had done him honest service.

Bronzino, who acquitted himself exceedingly well on that occasion.

While Jacopo and Il Bronzino were occupied with these figures, the ornaments around them were in process of execution by Jacone, Pier Francesco di Jacopo, and others, so that the whole work was completed in a very short time, to the no small satisfaction of the Signor Duke. And his Excellency would have had the second Loggia decorated in like manner, but he had not time to do so, for the first was not finished until the 13th of December, 1536, and on the sixth day of the January following, that most illustrious Signor was slain by his kinsman Lorenzino, an event which caused not this only, but many other works also, to be left unfinished.

The Signor Duke Cosimo having then succeeded, and the affair of Montemurlo being happily over, the works of Castello were commenced, as we have related in the life of Tribolo, when his most illustrious Excellency, willing to do a pleasure to the Signora Donna Maria his mother, commissioned Jacopo to paint the first Loggia, that on the right hand namely, and at the entrance to the palace of Castello. Wherefore, setting hand to the work, Puntormo first designed all the ornaments that were to be used there, and which, for the greater part, he made Bronzino execute, assisted by those who had worked at the same parts of the undertaking at Careggi. Jacopo then shut himself up in the Loggia by himself, and went on with the work in his own fashion, and at his good pleasure, studying with all diligence, in the hope of making it a much better performance than that of Careggi; which he had not executed entirely with his own hand. And this he could do very commodiously, seeing that he had a stipend of eight crowns a month from his Excellency, whose portrait, as the youth he then was, with that of his mother Donna Maria, Puntormo placed in that part of the work which was first completed.

But when the Loggia had remained thus enclosed for the space of five years, while no one was permitted to see what he had done there, the lady above-named became very angry with him, and one day in her displeasure she commanded that the scaffolding and enclosure should be thrown to the earth. It is true that Jacopo found means to avoid the

necessity for obeying on the instant, and afterwards obtained permission to let the enclosure remain some few days longer, during which time he retouched such parts of the work as appeared to him to require amendment; then, having caused a cloth of his own contriving to be made, for the purpose of covering the paintings when the Duke and the other Signori were not there, to the end that the air might not corrode the pictures, which were executed in oil on the dry intonaco, as it had done at Careggi;—having taken this precaution, I say, Jacopo Puntormo uncovered his work, amidst the much excited expectation of every one, all believing that he would be found to have surpassed himself in that performance, and would have produced something marvellous. But the effect produced was not altogether what had been expected; for although there are certain parts which are very good, the figures on the whole are very badly proportioned, while the contortions and strange attitudes given to some of them are singularly extravagant; nay, some of them appear to be out of all reason.

The excuse offered by Jacopo was to the effect that he had never worked very willingly in that place, because, being outside the city, it was constantly exposed to the fury of the soldiery, and to other accidents of similar kind. But he might have spared himself the trouble of anxiety on that point, seeing that his work (having been executed in the manner which we have said),* is even now being gradually consumed by time and the air.†

In the centre of the vaulting, then,—to describe what was done—Puntormo represented the God Saturn, with the Zodiacal sign of Capricorn and Mars Hermaphrodite, with those of the Lion, and the Virgin. He added Children floating in the air, as at Careggi, with female figures of enormous size, and almost entirely nude, representing Philosophy, Astrology, Geometry, Music, and Arithmetic; the Goddess Ceres being furthermore depicted in the same place, as were various medallions, with small historical representations, appropriate to the above-named figures, and painted with various shades of colour. This painful and laboured

* In oil, on the dry intonaco, that is to say; a method which our author frequently describes as surrounded by many difficulties.

† They are now wholly destroyed, and the wall has been white-washed.

performance did nevertheless not give much satisfaction, or rather it pleased less than it had been expected to do; and although his Excellency would not withhold such marks of approval as he could justly confer, and continued to employ Puntormo on all occasions, this was principally because that painter was held in great veneration by the people, on account of the many beautiful and excellent works which he had executed at an earlier period.

The Duke had meanwhile invited two Flemish artists to Florence, Maestro Giovanni Rosso, and Maestro Niccolò, namely, both excellent masters in cloth of arras, his Excellency proposing that the Florentines should learn, and ultimately exercise, the art of preparing the same. He commanded that hangings of silk and gold should be prepared at a cost of 60,000 crowns, for the hall of the Council of Two Hundred; Jacopo and Bronzino being directed to make the Cartoons, the subject of which was the History of Joseph. But Puntormo having made two, they were not found satisfactory either to the Duke or to those masters who had to put them in execution. The subject of one was the Announcement brought to Jacob of the Death of his son Joseph, by laying before him the coat of many colours; the other was the Flight of Joseph from the wife of Potiphar, in whose hands he leaves his vestment. They did not, however, as I have said, appear to be well calculated for copying in woven cloth, nor likely to succeed as applied to the work in question. Puntormo did not therefore continue his labour of the Cartoons any further, but, returning to his accustomed occupations, he shortly afterwards executed a picture of Our Lady, which was presented by the Duke to the Signor Don ——, who took it into Spain.

Now his Excellency, pursuing the footsteps of his predecessors, has ever sought to benefit and embellish his native city; wherefore, proceeding with that intent, he determined to cause the principal chapel of the magnificent church of San Lorenzo, built aforetime by the great Cosimo de' Medici the elder; he resolved, I say, to have that chapel adorned with paintings, and gave the charge of the work to Jacopo Puntormo. The artist was exceedingly rejoiced at receiving that favour, whether he owed it, as is said, to the intervention of Messer Pier Francesco Ricci, the Steward of the Household,

or whether it was conferred by the Duke of his own accord. For although the magnitude of the work may have given him pause, or even perhaps alarmed him to a certain degree, he being then somewhat advanced in years, yet he perceived, on the other hand, how ample a field the importance of that undertaking would present to him, for giving evidence of the power and ability wherewith he was endowed, and was proportionately content with his appointment. It has been affirmed by some, that when Jacopo found himself commissioned to undertake this charge, he was heard to declare that he would show the world how a man should draw and paint, and work in fresco too; adding, moreover, that all the other artists were only such as one can pick up by the dozen, with other expressions of similar import, all most offensively insolent; and this, notwithstanding that Francesco Salviati, a painter of great name,* was then in Florence, and had most happily completed the pictures in that hall of the palace wherein was formerly the audience chamber of the Signoria. But I, who know Puntormo to have always been a man of the utmost modesty, one who ever spoke honourably and respectfully of every one, and conducted himself towards all as became a well-intentioned and virtuous artist, which he truly was; I am persuaded that these words were attributed to him falsely; nor can I believe that such vauntings were ever suffered to proceed from his lips, seeing that they are rarely heard from any but vain, presumptuous men, who think a great deal too much of themselves; a sort of persons who have little for the most part, either of goodness, ability, or fair breeding.

Now I might have been silent respecting all these things, but I have not thought it desirable to be so; on the contrary, it appears to me that to relate these facts as I have done, is the duty of a faithful and veracious writer. With respect to these rumours, however, I am, for my own part, most fully convinced that although such discourses were spoken of—more especially among those of our vocation—they were the mere inventions of malignant persons, Jacopo having ever proved himself, in all the actions of his life, to be equally modest as regarded himself, and upright as concerned others.

* Francesco Rossi, called Cecchin Salviati, from the fact that he had been protected by the Cardinal Giovanni Salviati.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

Having completely enclosed the chapel within walls, planks, and curtains, Jacopo then shut himself up from all the world, and kept the place so exclusively sealed against every one, that for the space of eleven years no one person, himself only excepted, no friend, no other living soul, in short, ever entered within the enclosure. It is very true that some young men who were drawing in the Sacristy of Michelagnolo, did climb on the roof, after the manner of such youngsters, and having removed the screws and bolt from one of the great gilded rosettes of the ceiling, they thus contrived to see all that was therein. When Jacopo discovered this, he was much displeased, but took no further notice of the matter than was implied by his closing up every opening more diligently than ever, although there are not wanting those who have reported that he persecuted those young men relentlessly, and sought to do them all the mischief that he could.

Imagining that in this work he was about to surpass all other painters, nay, very possibly, as is said, Michelagnolo himself, Puntormo depicted numerous stories in the upper part, the subjects of all being scenes from the Life of Adam and Eve; their creation namely, the eating of the forbidden fruit, and their expulsion from Paradise: then followed the tilling of the earth, the sacrifice of Abel, the death of Cain, the benediction bestowed on the descendants of Noah, with that Patriarch occupied with the planning and measurement of the ark. These were succeeded in the lower part by one which is not less than fifteen braccia in each direction, and the subject of this was the Deluge, amidst the waters of which are seen weltering vast numbers of drowned and dead bodies,* with Noah himself, engaged in communication with the Almighty Father.

On the other side of the chapel is delineated the universal Resurrection of the dead, as it is to be at the last day, and here all the figures are so wonderfully commingled, so remarkable is the variety and confusion, that they can certainly not be greater at the last day, which will perhaps scarcely

* It is related of Jacopo da Pontormo, that he kept dead bodies in troughs of water, to give them the proper degree of inflation for the time when he should desire to paint them, to the end that he might depict them in the swollen state proper to the drowned.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

display so much movement as Puntormo has here displayed and attributed thereto. Opposite to the altar and between the windows, on the central wall that is to say, there is a range of nude figures, each of them clinging to the one above him with hands and feet, and so forming a kind of ladder to ascend into paradise, the chain thus formed reaching from earth to heaven. Beneath lie numerous dead bodies and on each side are two dead corpses entirely draped, with the exception of the arms and feet, these two bodies holding a lighted torch in each hand. In the upper part of the central façade, and above the windows Puntormo depicted Our Saviour Christ in his glory surrounded by innumerable spirits and angels, all nude; he is raising those dead from their graves that he may call them to judgment.

I cannot say that I have myself ever been able fully to comprehend all the meaning of this story, although I know that Jacopo was a sufficiently ingenious person himself, and was besides in close intercourse with many sage and learned men; I do not understand, that is to say, what he meant to signify in that part where he has exhibited Our Saviour Christ on high, recalling the dead to life, while beneath his feet is the figure of God the Father engaged in the creation of Adam and Eve. In one of the lateral portions also, where stand the four Evangelists, nude figures with books in their hands, it does not appear to me that there is any order or measure observed; nay, of all parts indeed it may be affirmed, that there is but little merit in the arrangement or composition, nor do we find the order of time observed. There is an absence of all variety in the heads too, the colouring of the flesh is all of one tint, and at a word, there is neither rule nor proportion; even the laws of perspective have been neglected, and the work is crowded at all points with nude figures; the arrangement, design, composition, colouring, and the whole picture in short being entirely after his own fashion and of his own invention, but all so melancholy and giving so little pleasure to those who examine the performance, that I am determined, since I do not myself understand it, although I also am a painter, to let every one who shall see the work form his own judgment thereof. I believe indeed, that in doing otherwise, I should but incur the risk of becoming utterly bewildered, and involving my

self in confusion, as I cannot but believe that Jacopo must have done in those eleven years that he spent thereon, and during which he half crazed himself, as he would certainly do every one else, who should give much attention to these pictures, with their unintelligible masses of figures.*

It is true that there are portions of figures, some turning their backs, others the front to the spectator, which are well drawn, there are also certain figures in profile which have been executed by Puntormo with marvellous care and much labour; indeed he is said to have made models of clay in full relief, and finely finished for almost all of them, but as a whole, the work is nevertheless entirely out of his manner, and, as it appears to every one, devoid of all measure and proportion; the trunks of his figures, for example, are for the most part large, while the arms and legs are small, to say nothing of the heads, in which one cannot discern the slightest vestige of that perfect excellence and singular grace with which it had previously been the wont of this artist to adorn that portion of his works, to the great satisfaction of all who examine his earlier pictures. It would almost appear indeed, as if in these pictures he had bestowed his cares only on certain parts, and had made no account whatever of other, and very important portions of the story.* At a word, in this undertaking, wherein Puntormo had hoped to surpass all that had been effected by art, he did not attain to a comparison even with his own works performed at an earlier period, whence it may be clearly seen, that he who ventures to do himself violence and seeks to force nature, does but ensure the ruin of those good qualities which had been imparted to him, and with which this artist had without doubt been largely endowed.

But what can or ought we here to do unless it be to have compassion on Puntormo? for the masters of our vocation are subject to the liability of error as well as other men. Even the good Homer sometimes falls asleep, as it is said, nor can it yet be affirmed that there is any one work by Jacopo da Puntormo which has not something of good and praiseworthy

* These works were white-washed in the year 1738, and according to the compatriots of the master, "without any great moan being made by the artist for their extinction."

in it, however much he may have strained and done violence to his genius. But as our artist died a short time before the work had reached its completion,* some assert that his death was caused by grief, seeing that he did himself become eventually very much dissatisfied with his performance on that occasion; but the truth is, that being old and having previously exhausted himself with heavy labour in the taking of portraits, making models of clay, and working in fresco, he fell into hydropsy, and this disease it was by which his life was ultimately destroyed, an event that happened when he had attained his sixty-fifth year.†

After the death of Jacopo da Puntormo, numerous designs, cartoons, and models, were found in his house, with a picture by his hand of Our Lady, completed according to appearance many years before, and which was admirably well done, as well as in a very good manner: this work was sold by the heirs of Jacopo to Piero Salviati.

Puntormo was buried in the first cloister of the church which belongs to the Servite monks, and beneath that picture of the Visitation which he had himself painted there many years previously. He was honourably attended to his grave by all the painters, sculptors, and architects then in Florence.‡

Jacopo da Puntormo was a man of frugal habits and regular life; in his clothing and mode of existence he was rather sparing and poor than liberal or nice, and almost

* Moreni, *Continuazione alla Storia della Basilica di San Lorenzo*, tom. ii. p. 119, has a passage from the *Diario* of Agostino Lupini, from which we learn that the work was completed by Bronzino, two years after the death of Pontormo.

† According to an inscription copied from a wall of the choir of San Lorenzo, and which the authorities considered to be accurate, Pontormo died in his sixty-second year. This inscription, which existed until the destruction of the pictures, was as follows:—

Jacobus Ponturmius Florentinus qui antequam tantum opus absolveret de medio in Cœlum sublatus est, et vixit annos LXII. *menses* VII., *dies* VI., *A. S.* MDLVI.

‡ His remains were afterwards removed, and were transferred to the place of sepulture obtained for the Professors of painting, sculpture, and the other arts of design by Fra Gio. Angelo Montorsoli, and intended to serve for himself as well as for them. This burial-place was in the Chapter House of the Servite Monks, now the Chapel of St. Luke (*Cappella di San Luca*).—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

always lived alone, not choosing to have any one who should serve or even cook for him. In his last years however, he did receive into his house a young man of good understanding and character, Battista Naldini* namely; and this person took as much care for the comfort of Jacopo, as the latter would permit him to take; and, at the same time, made no small progress under his discipline; nay, rather, he profited to such an extent by Jacopo's instructions, that the best results are hoped for from him.

Among the friends of Puntormo, more especially towards the close of his life, were Pier Francesco Vernacci and Don Vincenzio Borghini: with them he would occasionally take some little recreation, and would sometimes dine with them, although very rarely. But above all others, he was always most especially attached to Bronzino, who returned his affection with equal love, grateful as he was for the advantages, and fully conscious of the benefits, which Puntormo had conferred on him.†

Jacopo Puntormo was a man of the most kindly dispositions, and had exceedingly agreeable manners, although marked by some peculiarities; he was so grievously afraid of death, that he would not even hear the subject mentioned, and took great pains to avoid meeting a dead body: he would never go to festivals, or frequent any place where large masses of people assembled, abhorring the discomfort of being pressed in a crowd; he was indeed incredibly solitary in his habits of life. Sometimes, when about to commence his work, he would set himself to think so profoundly on what he was about to do, that at the end of the day he had to depart without having done any one thing beside thinking, through the whole course of those hours. And that this occurred to him very many times in the progress of that work of San Lorenzo, just described, may be easily believed, because when he had once determined on what he chose to do, being a most able and skilful painter, he made no loitering, but readily executed

* "Battista Naldini became a good painter," observes Bottari, "many examples of his performance are to be found in Florence, and some few in Rome, more particularly in the church of San Giovanni Decollato."

† Bronzino introduced the portrait of his master into his large picture of the "Descent of our Saviour into the *Limbo*, or jaws of Hell." The head of Pontormo is that of an old man looking upwards, and is situate at the foot of the picture, in the left-hand corner.

what he desired, and could at once accomplish whatever he had determined to perform.

THE SCULPTOR AND ARCHITECT, SIMONE MOSCA.

[BORN 1496-8?—DIED 1552.]

FROM the times of the ancient Greek and Roman Sculptors, no modern master has been found to equal the beautiful and difficult works performed by them in pedestals, capitals, friezes, cornices, festoons, trophies, masks, candelabra, birds, grottesche, and other decorations of similar character, with the exception of Simone Mosca of Settignano, who in our own times has produced works of that kind in such perfection that he, by his genius and art, has made manifest the truth that the studies and cares of the modern masters who had preceded him, had not supplied them with means to imitate the best of the works produced by the ancients, neither had they adopted the best manner in their sculptures, seeing that all their works betray a certain dryness, and that the turn of their foliage in particular has in almost all instances a something laboured, angular, and hard.

Simone Mosca, on the contrary, gives evidence of great power and boldness in this part of his labours, and these are made apparent in the rich and full abundance which he imparted to all, intertwining his foliage in a manner wholly new, carving the leaves with a pleasing variety of form, and with finely executed indentations; he added to all likewise the most delicately beautiful blossoms, seeds, and tendrils that can be conceived, to say nothing of the birds which he so gracefully carved in the richest variety among the festoons and foliage of his ornaments.

We may indeed safely affirm that Simone (be it said without offence to any other artist) has alone attained to the power of depriving the marble of that hardness which is too often perceived in the works of the sculptors, and by his mode of handling the chisel has brought his productions to such a point of perfection that they do verily seem to be living and breathing forms: nor is less commendation due to the cornices and other works of similar kind, performed by this artist, since

he executed all with infinite judgment, and finished them with the most attractive grace.

Having studied design with much profit in his childhood, and subsequently acquired great facility in carving, Simone Mosca was conducted to Rome by Antonio da San Gallo, to whom his genius and good abilities had become clearly apparent. Arrived in Rome, San Gallo set him for his first work to prepare certain capitals and bases with some friezes of foliage also, for the Church of San Giovanni of the Florentines. Antonio likewise entrusted to Simone a portion of the works required for the palace of Alessandro,* the first Cardinal Farnese.† The disciple meanwhile devoted himself zealously, whenever he could steal a moment of time, to the delineation of the rich antiquities which abound in Rome, employing for that purpose more especially the festival days, and such other holidays as he could command, by which means it came to pass that no long period had elapsed before Simone drew and made plans with more grace, propriety, and beauty than did Antonio San Gallo himself; being thus wholly given up to his studies and perpetually occupied at every leisure moment in making designs from the antique, Simone successfully adopted the manner of the ancients, drawing his foliage entirely after their models, and giving the leaves that boldness and freedom of which we have before made mention: he bestowed much pains on the entire perforation of such works as were executed in stone, to the end that all might receive the ultimate perfection of which they were capable, taking from the ancient examples what each presented of best and most meritorious, and selecting one thing from one work and one from another, insomuch that in a few years he acquired a power and method of composition, so varied, so beautiful and so universally applicable, that he ever afterwards did everything well, whether working with his companions or labouring alone.

Among other proofs of his ability may be cited certain escutcheons of arms which were to be placed in the above-named Church of San Giovanni de' Fiorentini, in the Strada Giulia, and on one of which there was to be made a large

* Of this Palace, our readers will remember that there is mention in the Life of Antonio San Gallo, *ante*, p. 21, *et seq.*

† Afterwards Pope, under the name of Paul III.

Lily, the ancient device of the Commune of Florence. This Simone executed with leaves twined around it, and these leaves were accompanied by tendrils, seeds, &c. of such extraordinary beauty that they caused amazement in all who beheld them.*

No long time after the completion of the above-named escutcheons, Messer Agnolo Cesis caused Antonio da San Gallo to prepare the marble ornaments of a chapel and tomb for himself and his family, which he afterwards, in the year 1550 namely, caused to be constructed in the Church of Santa Maria della Pace: San Gallo then entrusted a portion of the work, consisting of richly decorated pillars and socles, to Simone Mosca, who acquitted himself so well, and completed these parts in so beautiful a manner that those by his hand may be readily distinguished, by their grace and beauty, from all the rest, without requiring any more exact description at my hand. It is indeed not possible to imagine anything more admirable or more appropriate than the altars for sacrifice after the antique manner, which Simone executed as part of the socles belonging to this work. San Gallo afterwards caused the Fountain which he had been employed to finish in the Cloister of San Pietro in Vincula to receive the decorations of its lip or edge from the hand of Simone, who embellished the same accordingly with large masks of extraordinary beauty.

Simone returned, shortly after having completed this work, and during the summer season, to the city of Florence, where Baccio Bandinelli was then employed in the execution of the Orpheus in marble which was subsequently placed in the court of the Medici Palace. The pedestal for this statue, Bandinelli had confided to Benedetto da Rovezzano, but Simone, having now acquired a good name among the artists, received commission from Baccio to execute the festoons and other beautiful carvings to be seen thereon, and this he did very much to his credit, although there is one of the festoons which was never brought to completion, and still remains in its unfinished state. Simone likewise executed other works in macigno stone, of which we need not make further men-

* These arms, according to Bottari, are in the socles along that front of the Church which was erected by Pope Clement XII., after the designs of Alessandro Galilei.

tion; he was then preparing to return to Rome, but the sack of that city intervening, he did not carry out his purpose, remaining in Florence instead; here he took a wife, and occupied himself with such works as came to hand, matters of small importance, but being compelled to support his family and having no private income, he was fain to accept whatever was offered.

Now it happened in those days that the Aretine stone-mason and master in carving, Pietro di Subisso, arrived in Florence, and he, having a large number of persons constantly employed under him, since all the buildings erected in Arezzo passed through his hands; he, I say, conducted Simone Mosca, among others, to Arezzo, where he gave our artist a chimney-piece in macigno stone to execute for a hall in the house which belonged to the heirs of Pellegrino da Fossombrone, a citizen of Arezzo, with a Lavatory for the same building, but neither of these works was of any great cost or importance. This is the house which the excellent astrologer Messer Piero Geri had formerly caused to be erected, after the designs of Andrea Sansovino, but which had been sold by the nephews of Messer Piero.

Commencing the chimney-piece, therefore, Simone raised it on two pillars, and in the depth of the chimney, towards the fire that is to say, he placed two niches, adding an architrave, frieze, and deep cornice to the pillars, with a pediment over all, which he enriched with festoons, and to which he added the arms of the family; nay, he proceeded to embellish every part of the work with the utmost care, executing so many fine carvings, and finishing the whole in so masterly a fashion, that this chimney-piece, although only in macigno stone, became under his hands of more value than marble, and more surprising to the beholder.* It is true that the artist was somewhat facilitated in his work by the nature of the stone, which is not so hard as marble, and is indeed rather of a crumbling character: but Simone laboured at this undertaking with extraordinary diligence, adorning the pillars with trophies, partly in mezzo-rilievo, and partly in basso-rilievo, all which are indescribably beautiful, they consist

* The work is still preserved in Arezzo, and may be seen in the house of the Falciaj family, which is situate in the Borgo Maestro.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

of helmets, cuisses, shields, quivers, and many other pieces of armour: he furthermore added masks, marine animals, and other graceful fantasies, all so accurately figured and carved in such perfect relief, that they look like silver.

The frieze, which is between the architrave and the cornice in this work, was moreover adorned by Mosca with an exquisite ornament of foliage carved into full relief, and entirely detached from the ground of macigno; this he covered with birds which are so admirably executed that they seem to be flying in the air: it is indeed a marvellous thing to see the tiny legs of those minute creatures, none larger than life, all entirely detached from the stone in a manner that might well be thought impossible: the whole work indeed is more like a miracle than mere art. Simone, furthermore, added a festoon of fruit and foliage so perfectly rounded and detached from the stone, every part being finished with the most subtle delicacy, that these fruits do in a certain sense surpass the productions of nature. As the completion of the work, there were certain large masks and chandeliers, which are also truly beautiful, and although Simone was by no means called on to give so much labour to a work of that kind and for which he was to be but very frugally paid by that family, which had not great possessions, yet, incited by the love which he bore to art, and by the pleasure that one finds in doing a thing well, he chose to treat it in the manner we have said. With respect to the lavatory executed for the same house, he did not proceed in like manner, and although he made it sufficiently handsome it was yet but a work of the ordinary kind.

At this time Simone was also most useful in other matters to Piero di Subisso, who did not know very much, and whom Simone assisted in preparing designs for his various fabrics; plans for houses that is to say, with drawings for doors, windows, or other things appertaining to the vocation of the architect. At the corner of the Albergotti for example, and beneath the School and College of the Commune, there is a very fair window, constructed after the design of Simone Mosca,* and in the Pelliceria † there are two windows by the same artist, both in the house of Ser Bernardino Serragli.

* Still in its place, but somewhat injured by time.—*Bottari.*

† These also are still in existence.

There is, besides, a large escutcheon of the Arms of Pope Clement VII. in macigno stone, also by his hand, at one corner of the Palace of the Priors.*

A chapel of the Corinthian Order was likewise built in macigno stone under the direction and partly from the designs of Simone, who executed a portion of the fabric himself; it was erected in the Abbey of Santa Fiore, a tolerably handsome monastery in Arezzo, which belongs to the Black Friars, and was constructed at the expense of Bernardino di Cristofano da Ginovi.† Now in this chapel the master of the same would fain have had an Altar-piece which he intended to have painted, first by Andrea del Sarto and next by Rosso, but he could not bring the matter to bear, for these masters, being first prevented by one thing and then by another, could never do him that service.

Bernardino finally turned himself to Giorgio Vasari, but had considerable difficulty with him also; and there was no little trouble in finding a method by which the affair could be arranged; for this chapel was dedicated to the two saints Jacopo and Cristofano, and Bernardino desired to have depicted there, not only Our Lady with the Divine Child in her arms, but also the Giant St. Christopher, with another and very small figure of our Saviour Christ on his shoulder. But this idea seemed altogether absurd, besides that a giant of six braccia high could scarcely find room in a picture of which the total height was but four braccia. Yet since Giorgio was very much disposed to serve Bernardino, he prepared for him a design after the following manner:—

Enthroned amidst the clouds is Our Lady, with a Sun behind her, and on the earth beneath is San Cristofano, kneeling at one side of the picture, with one of his legs in the water, and the other in the act of moving, he being about to raise himself up, while the Virgin has placed the Infant Christ upon his shoulder, the Saviour holding the globe of the world in his hands: San Jacopo was also to be brought into the remaining space of the picture, with other Saints,

* The arms of Pope Clement fell down in the last century, and were not replaced.

† The Chapel of the Ginovi family, as we are informed by the churchman Bottari, was removed in the sixteenth century, when the Church of Santa Fiore was restored.

but in such a manner that no unpleasant effect would have been caused. This design pleased Bernardino greatly, and would have been put into execution, but as he died before that was effected, the chapel was left in its unfinished condition to the heirs, who have not done anything further in the matter.

While Simone was labouring at this chapel, it chanced that Antonio da San Gallo passed through Arezzo, on his return from the fortification of Parma, and was then proceeding to Loretto, whither he had already despatched Il Tribolo, Raffaello da Montelupo, the young Francesco da San Gallo, and Girolamo da Ferrara, with Simon Cioli, and other statuaries, carvers, and stone-masons, he being commissioned to complete the work which Andrea Sansovino had left unfinished at his death; and Antonio then took measures which at length enabled him to secure the assistance of Simone Mosca likewise.* When the last-named artist arrived in Loretto, San Gallo gave him the care, not only of the carvings, but of certain details in the architecture also, with that of other ornaments required for the same work; and in these commissions Simone acquitted himself admirably well: there are, indeed, some things which he executed with his own hand, of which the beauty is very remarkable, more especially the children in marble, carved in full relief on the pediments, which are over the doors; and although there are some of these which are by the hand of Simon Cioli, yet the best, which are indeed most beautiful, are all due to Mosca.

The last-named artist likewise undertook the whole of the festoons in marble which pass entirely around that work, and which he executed with the most exquisite art; the carvings are indeed most graceful, and worthy of the very highest commendation, insomuch that none need marvel if these works are admired and esteemed to such a degree, that many artists have travelled from various distant parts for the purpose of repairing to Loretto, there to behold these productions.

Perceiving the great value of the services rendered by Simone on all important occasions, Antonio da San Gallo not only availed himself gladly of that aid, but had it much at heart to reward him very largely at some future time for

* See *ante*, p. 14, where Mosca is called by an oversight *Antonio* instead of Simone.

the same, and to prove to him, whenever the occasion should offer, the high estimation in which he held the skill and ability which he had displayed. It thus happened that when, after the death of Pope Clement, Paul III. of the house of Farnese, being elected High Pontiff, gave orders that the fountain, or well, of Orvieto, which had remained unfinished, should be entrusted for its completion to San Gallo; it happened, I say, that Antonio took Simone Mosca thither, to the end that the latter might finish the mouth of the well, about which there was some important difficulty, more especially as regarded the framework and decoration of the doors. For the edge of the well, being a circle convex on the outer side and hollow or concave within, the two circles interfered with each other, and rendered it difficult to arrange the rectangular doors, with their framework and decorations of stone, in a fitting and satisfactory manner: the happy genius and resources of Simone prevailed nevertheless, and he brought all to completion with so much grace, that no one could have suspected the existence of any difficulty in the arrangement or execution of the same. The uppermost circle and the outer edge of the well are of macigno-stone, filled in with brick; inscriptions on white stone, handsomely prepared and decorated for that purpose, were also added, with other ornaments corresponding with those of the doors.

The master likewise placed the arms, executed in marble, of the above-named Pope Paul of the house of Farnese on that fountain, or rather, where there had previously been the balls for Pope Clement, who had indeed caused the work to be undertaken, Simone was compelled to substitute lilies in relief, which he did admirably well, thus changing the arms of the Medici for those of the Casa Farnese, although Pope Clement VII., as I have said, had been the true author of that most regal and magnificent work; but of him (for so do things go in this world) not a syllable has been added to this, the last, and, to the eyes of the mere spectator, most striking part of the whole.

While Simone was occupied with the completion of this well, the Wardens of Santa Maria, which is the cathedral of Orvieto, desired to have an end put to the marble chapel, which the Veronese architect Michele San Michele* had

* Whose life will be found in a subsequent page of the present volume.

decorated with certain sculptures, but had completed only to the first cornice; when, knowing that Simone Mosca was a truly excellent artist, they determined to place that undertaking in his hands. Having made an agreement, therefore, the master, finding the manners and conversation of the Orvietans very agreeable to him, caused his family to join him, to the end that he might remain in that city the more commodiously; there he then set himself to work with a quiet mind and composed spirit, being very greatly honoured by every one.

He had no sooner made a commencement, almost as it were by way of sample, with certain pilasters and ornaments of different kinds, than the men of that city, perceiving the skill and ability of Simone, commanded that he should receive a stipend of two hundred golden crowns yearly; and these being paid him, he was enabled to conduct the work to a satisfactory conclusion. In the centre and between two sculptured ornaments it was resolved to have a representation in mezzo-rilievo, executed in marble, and the subject chosen was the Adoration of the Magi, when Simone Mosca invited his intimate friend the Florentine sculptor, Raffaello da Montelupo, to assist him in that part of the work, and Raffaello finished about half the story in a very beautiful manner, as we have before related.*

Among the decorations of this chapel are certain pedestals, each two braccia and a half wide, which stand at either end of the altar, and above which are two pilasters on each side, the height of these last being five braccia: between these is the story of the Magi, and on the pilasters, next to the story, of which two of the surfaces are seen, there are chandeliers decorated with grottesche, masks, small figures, and foliage, which are divinely beautiful. In the predella, which passes from pillar to pillar above the altar, there are the half-length figures of little angels, each holding an inscription in his hands; and over all, between the capitals of the pillars that is to say, and where the architrave, frieze, and cornice project to the depth of the same, are festoons of great beauty. Above the central pier, and in a space equal to its width, is formed an arch which serves as a framework to the story of the Magi, and within this arch are numerous

* See vol. iii. p. 139, *et seq.*

angels: over the arch there is a cornice, which is continued from one pillar to another, even to the two last, which serve as a kind of outwork to the whole. In this part there is a figure of the Almighty Father, in mezzo-rilievo; and at the sides, where the arch rises over the pillars, are two figures, each representing the Goddess of Victory, and both also executed in mezzo-rilievo.

The whole of these decorations are so admirably composed and arranged, they are so finely sculptured, and exhibit so rich a profusion of embellishment, that one cannot sufficiently admire the delicate minutiæ of the perforated marbles, and the excellence of perfection to which every detail has been conducted,—capitals, cornice, masks, festoons, all are truly beautiful, as are the candelabra, which form the completion of this certainly most admirable performance.

Simone Mosca thus dwelling in Orvieto, there availed himself of the aid of a son of his own, named Francesco, and called as a bye-name Moschino, who was then fifteen years old. Having been produced by Nature almost with the chisel in his hand, and endowed with extraordinary genius, this youth could effect almost anything that he desired to do, and that with the perfection of grace and beauty. Under the guidance of his father, therefore, he executed certain portions of this work almost miraculously; the angels holding the inscriptions between the pillars, the figure of the Almighty Father, the Angels in the arch above the Adoration of the Magi executed by Raffaello da Montelupo, and finally the figures of Victory, which are on each side of the Lunette, were all by his hand, and caused every one who beheld them to remain astonished. It happened, moreover, that when the chapel was completed, the Wardens of the Cathedral commissioned Simone Mosca to construct another of similar character on the opposite side, to the end that the space about the chapel of the High Altar might be suitably occupied; directing him to adopt the same order of architecture with that of the one first executed, but to vary the figures: in the centre, for example, was to be placed a Visitation of Our Lady; and for this the commission was given to the above-named Moschino.*

* The reader who shall desire more minute details respecting the works executed in the Cathedral of Orvieto by Raffaello da Montelupo,

The contract was made accordingly, when the father and son both set hand to the work,* and while employed therein, Mosca was in many ways useful to that city, preparing numerous designs for houses and buildings of various kinds. Among other things he prepared the ground-plan, and designed the façade for the house of Messer Raffaello Gualtieri, father of the Bishop of Viterbo, and of Messer Felice, both gentlemen and nobles who are most excellent and highly honourable persons. Simone prepared in like manner the plans for certain houses belonging to the Signor Counts of Cervara, and in many places near to and around Orvieto he constructed edifices of various kinds, for the Signor Pirro Colonna da Stripicciano in particular, who employed him in the preparation of numerous models for his different buildings.

Now it was about this time that the Pope caused the fortress of Perugia to be erected on the site previously occupied by the houses of the Baglione family,† and Antonio San Gallo sent for Mosca, to whom he entrusted the care of executing the decorations of the building, all the doors, windows, chimney-pieces, and similar work, were therefore constructed and adorned after the designs of Simone Mosca, who also executed two large and beautiful escutcheons of the arms of his Holiness. This work brought Simone into connection with Messer Tiberio Crispo, who was then Castellan of Perugia, and by him our artist was sent to Bolsena, in the fortress of which place and in the most elevated part thereof, where the fabric overlooks the lake that is to say, he constructed a large and magnificent dwelling, partly on the old foundations, and partly founding it anew, with an exceedingly beautiful flight of steps forming the ascent thereto, and with many rich ornaments of various kinds sculptured in stone.

No long time after this was effected, the above-named Messer Tiberio being made Castellan of the castle Sant'

the two Moscas, and other sculptors not mentioned by Vasari, will find them in Della Valle, *Storia del Duomo D'Orvieto.*

* See Della Valle, as above cited.

† For the details of the frightful oppressions inflicted by papal despotism on that unhappy family, whose sole crime was the attempt to save their native city from becoming the bond-slave of the Pontiffs, see Vettori, *Sommario dell' Istoria d'Italia*, M.S.

Angelo, invited Mosca to Rome, where he availed himself of the sculptor's services in many works, employing him among other things in the restoration of certain apartments in that castle. Over the arches which form the entrance into the new Loggia which looks towards the meadows for example, Messer Tiberio caused Simone to execute two escutcheons in marble, of the arms of the above-named Pope, and in these the artist succeeded to admiration. The mitre or triple crown, and the keys, with certain festoons and small masks which make part of this work, are so delicately finished and so skilfully detached from the ground of the marble beneath them, that they are truly wonderful.

Returning subsequently to Orvieto for the purpose of completing the before-mentioned chapel of the cathedral, Simone laboured at the same during all the time that Pope Paul lived, conducting it in such a manner that it proved to be equally beautiful with that first mentioned, as may be seen; nay, perhaps it is even more so, seeing that Mosca, as we have said, bore so perfect a love to his art, and found so much pleasure in his labours, that he could never have working enough, and constantly, sought to effect what may be truly called the impossible. Nor was this from a desire to accumulate wealth; on the contrary it was purely from love of art and desire for glory, Simone being far more anxious to labour worthily in his vocation than to render himself rich.

In the year 1550, Julius III. was elected to the papal chair, and men began to think that they ought earnestly to set hand to the fabric of San Pietro; Mosca then repaired to Rome, where he made an attempt to enter into an agreement with the superintendents in respect to the execution of certain capitals in marble, but more to accommodate and provide occupation for his son-in-law, Giovan Domenico, than for any other motive.

It having then chanced that Giorgio Vasari, who had ever borne a great love to Mosca, encountered the latter in Rome. whither Giorgio also had been invited to enter the service of the Pope;—Giorgio Vasari, I say, thought beyond all doubt to have employment which he could offer to Mosca, and the rather as the old Cardinal di Monte had at his death left directions to his heirs to the effect that they should cause a marble sepulchre to be constructed to his (the Cardinal's)

memory in San Pietro-a-Montorio, and Pope Julius, his nephew and heir, had commanded that this should be done, and had given charge of the undertaking to Vasari, who wished much that Mosca should execute some extraordinary work in sculpture for that monument.

But Giorgio having prepared certain models for the tomb above-mentioned, the Pope took counsel with Michelagnolo as regarded the whole structure, before he would decide on anything. Wherefore Buonarroti advised his Holiness to have nothing to do with sculptures in that work, seeing that while they enrich the composition, they produce a kind of confusion, and thus detract from the beauty of the figures, while a simpler mode of ornamentation, if well executed, is more beautiful as well as in better keeping with the statues, which do not love to be surrounded by other works in relief; and his Holiness gave orders that as Michelagnolo counselled, so it should be done: on which account Vasari could not give Mosca anything to do for that sepulchre, and he was dismissed, the tomb being finished without any sculptures whatever, and did indeed eventually produce a much better effect than it would have done had they been added.*

Simone then returned to Orvieto, where he was commissioned to prepare designs for two large tabernacles in marble, which were to be constructed under his direction in the transept and towards the upper part of the church. These Il Mosca erected accordingly, and certainly with fair proportions and much grace. For one of these Tabernacles Raffaello Montelupo executed a nude figure in marble of Our Saviour Christ, bearing his cross on his shoulders; this was placed in a niche of the same. For the other, Moschino was commissioned to execute a figure of San Sebastiano, also nude. It was then determined to proceed with the statues of the Apostles commenced for the same church, and Moschino received the charge of two, San Piero and San Paolo namely. He was ordered to make them of equal size, and they are tolerably well executed figures.

* An impartial annotator and compatriot of our author here remarks on the honesty with which Vasari cites the opinion of Michelagnolo, though directly opposed to what had been his own wishes and purposes of the moment: the same writer points out the candour of Vasari's admission that the result proved Michelagnolo to have been right, himself consequently, who had intended to decorate the tomb with sculptures, totally wrong.

The work of the chapel of the Visitation was meanwhile not suffered to be neglected, but was carried forward with so much diligence that it was completed during the lifetime of Mosca, with the exception of two Birds only, and even these would not have been left unfinished, had it not chanced that Messer Bastiano Gualtieri, Bishop of Viterbo, had kept Simone occupied (as I have said before) with certain decorations in marble consisting of four pieces; these, when they were finished, the Bishop sent into France to the Cardinal of Loraine, who always had held them in great estimation, and with reason, for they were indeed beautiful to a marvel; finely enriched with exquisitely varied foliage, &c., and so carefully executed, with so delicate a finish, that this is considered to be one of the best works ever performed by Mosca.

That artist died no long time after the completion of the above-named decorations, and his death was not a little to the loss of that church of Orvieto, wherein he was honourably interred, an event which took place in the year 1554, and when Mosca had attained his fifty-eighth year.

Francesco Moschino was chosen by the wardens of the Cathedral to succeed his father Simone, but did not greatly value the appointment, which he left to Raffaello da Montelupo.* Moschino afterwards repaired to Rome, where he finished two very graceful little figures in marble for Messer Roberto Strozzi, the Mars and Venus that is to say, which are in the court-yard of Messer Roberto's house in the Banchi.† He afterwards executed a story of very small figures almost in full relief, and which represented Diana surprised while bathing with her Nymphs, by Actæon, whom she turns into a stag, when he is torn to pieces by his own hounds; this work Moschino took with him to Florence, and presented it to the Signor Duke Cosimo, whose service he was very desirous of entering.

His Excellency having accepted and much commended the work, did not refuse to comply with the wish of Moschino, as indeed he never has refused to fulfil the wishes of any

* Della Valle tells us that Raffaello and Simone were eventually laid in the same tomb. See *Storia del Duomo D'Orvieto*, p. 323.

† Where they still remain. The house now belongs to the Niccolini family.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

one who has desired honestly to labour in any manner. Francesco was accordingly sent to the Cathedral of Pisa where he has been occupied much to his credit up to the present time in the chapel of the Annunciation, which had been constructed by Stagio di Pietra Santa, and where Moschino has executed sculptures and works of all kinds; among these are figures four braccia high representing the Angel and the Madonna, with others of Adam and Eve who have the Apple between them.* There is besides a large figure of God the Father, surrounded by angels in the form of children, in the vaulting of that chapel; the whole being in marble, as are the two figures previously mentioned, and which have obtained considerable reputation and honour for Moschino.†

But the chapel of the Annunciation is now on the eve of completion, and his Excellency has given orders to the effect that the chapel, which is opposite thereto, being the one which is close to the entrance of the church on the left hand, and is called the Chapel of the Incoronata, should be at once put in hand.‡ This same Moschino has also acquitted himself very well in such of the works required for the preparations consequent on the marriage of her most serene Majesty the Queen Joanna and of the most illustrious Prince of Florence, as were entrusted to his care.

GIROLAMO AND BARTOLOMMEO GENGA, AND GIOVAN-BATTISTA SAN MARINO, SON-IN-LAW OF GIROLAMO.

[Flourished from the latter part of the 15th to the middle of the 16th century.]

[GIROLAMO, BORN 1476—DIED 1551. BARTOLOMMEO, BORN 1518—DIED 1558. GIOVAN-BATTISTA, BORN 1506—DIED 1560.]

GIROLAMO GENGA, who was a native of Urbino, was placed at ten years old by his father to learn the art of working in

* The apple-tree that is to say.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† The works of Moschino are still to be seen in this chapel.—*Ibid.*

‡ There are also certain works by Moschino in the Chapel of San Ranieri, but these were probably not in existence at the time when Vasari wrote the Life of Mosca.

wool, but this calling he exercised with very ill will, and whenever he could find time and space he occupied himself secretly in drawing, either with charcoal or a pen. This being remarked by certain friends of his father, they exhorted the latter to remove him from that trade and to put him to the art of painting; whereupon the father placed his boy with some men of Urbino, but who were of no great name. At length however, becoming aware of the fine manner already displayed by his son, and perceiving that he was likely to produce something good, the father engaged him, when he had attained his fifteenth year, to Maestro Luca da Cortona, a most excellent master in painting of that time.

With Luca therefore, Girolamo remained many years, accompanying him to the March of Ancona, to Cortona, and to many other places wherein Luca was occupied by various works, but more particularly have we to mention Orvieto, because of the fact that in the cathedral of that city, Luca Signorelli, as we have related before,* was employed to decorate a chapel of Our Lady, in which the above-named Girolamo laboured continually, and was indeed among the best of Luca's disciples.

Having left Luca Signorelli, Girolamo next attached himself to Pietro Perugino, a painter much esteemed, with whom he remained about three years, giving much of his attention to the study of perspective, the knowledge of which he acquired very perfectly; nay, he became so thoroughly versed therein, that he may truly be declared to have been most excellent in that respect, as may be perceived by his works, whether in architecture or in painting. It was at this same time, that the divine Raffaello da Urbino was studying with Pietro Perugino, and with him Girolamo Genga was always on the most friendly terms.

Leaving Pietro, Girolamo then went of his own accord to Florence, where he studied a considerable time, he subsequently repaired to Siena, where he remained for months, and even years, with Pandolfo Petrucci, in whose house he painted many rooms;† these having been well designed and

* In the Life of that artist. See vol. ii. p. 347, *et seq.*

† The works here executed about 1499, by Luca da Cartona and Girolamo, are no longer in existence, but two frescoes, which were painted by

coloured in a very pleasing manner, were deservedly much esteemed and very highly praised by all the inhabitants of Siena, but more especially by Pandolfo himself, by whom Girolamo was ever most kindly treated, and who gave him many proofs of favour.

On the death of Pandolfo,* Girolamo returned to Urbino, where he was long kept employed by the Duke Guidobaldo II., who caused him to decorate, among other things, caparisons for horses, such as were then used, in company with Timoteo of Urbino,† a painter of good repute, and much experience. Aided by this master Girolamo adorned the chapel of San Martino in the episcopal palace, receiving the commission for that work from Messer Giovampiero Arrivabene, who was then Bishop of Urbino; and here both artists gave proof of very fine genius, as is sufficiently demonstrated by the chapel itself, wherein there is a portrait of the bishop which appears to be alive.

Girolamo was also much employed by the before-mentioned Duke in the preparation of scenic paintings, and other requisites for dramatic representations; and these our artist's admirable acquirements in perspective, with his profound knowledge of architecture, enabled him to execute with the utmost perfection.

Leaving Urbino, Girolamo repaired to Rome, where he painted a Resurrection of Our Saviour Christ in the church of Santa Caterina, which is situate in the Strada Giulia. Here he made himself known as a most excellent master, having produced figures of admirable design and much beauty of attitude, with fine foreshortenings and agreeable colouring, as all those of our vocation who have seen them can bear ample testimony.‡

While in Rome, Girolamo gave much time to the study and admeasurement of the antiquities to be found in that city, of which we have proof in the writings composed by

one or other of those masters in that palace, are now in the Institute of the Fine Arts at Siena.

* Pandolfo Petrucci died in the year 1512.

† Timoteo Vite, for whose life see vol. iii., p. 109, *et seq.*

‡ This work is still in good preservation, but is unhappily very badly lighted.—*Bottari.*

himself on that subject, and which are now in the possession of his heirs.

About this time Duke Guido died, when Francesco Maria, the third Duke of Urbino, succeeded him, and that Prince recalled Girolamo from Rome; he was therefore compelled to return, which he did at the time when Francesco Maria took for his wife and brought home to his states, Leonora Gonzaga, daughter of the Marquis of Mantua. On that occasion, Girolamo Genga was employed by his Excellency to erect triumphal arches, and decorations of various kinds, as also to prepare the scenic apparatus for dramatic representations, which were all so well arranged and put in order, that Urbino might safely be compared to a Rome triumphant, a success from which the artist derived great glory and honour.

At a subsequent period, and when the Duke, being driven for the last time from his states, repaired to Mantua, Girolamo Genga followed him, as he had done when the Prince had previously been exiled, and so, constantly sharing the fortunes of his master, he now took refuge with his family in Cesena, where he painted a picture in oil for the high altar of the church of Sant' Agostino. In the upper part of this work is an Annunciation, and beneath is the figure of the Almighty Father, with that of the Madonna, holding the divine Child in her arms, and surrounded by the Doctors of the church, in the lowermost portion: a truly beautiful work, and one which well merits to be much esteemed.*

Girolamo afterwards painted a fresco in one of the chapels of the church of San Francesco at Forlì, that namely to the right as you enter the church; the subject of this work is the Assumption of the Virgin, who has numerous angels and other figures, of prophets and apostles that is to say, around her. Here too the artist gave evidence of the admirable genius wherewith he had been endowed, the work being considered an exceedingly fine one.† In the same place

* Now at Milan, in the Gallery of the Brera namely.

† Algarotti, *Saggio sopra la Pittura*, refuses to assent to the praise bestowed by Vasari on this work, but the levity with which that writer sometimes judges of paintings is well known. No trace of the painting now remains.

Girolamo painted the story of the Descent of the Holy Spirit for the physician Messer Francesco Lombardi, and that work he completed in the year 1512. Other paintings also were undertaken by our artist for certain parts of Romagna, and from these also he derived both honour and profit.

The Duke having then returned to his states, Girolamo also reinstated himself in his native city, where he was immediately retained by the Duke and appointed architect for the restorations then undertaken in the old palace, as well as for the erection of a tower added to that of the Imperiale above Pesaro. The last-named Palace was decorated under the direction and after the designs of Genga, with historical representations, the subjects for which were taken from the life and actions of the Duke himself, and were executed by Francesco da Forlì,* and Raffael dal Borgo,† painters of good repute: the Mantuan artist Camillo,‡ who was most excellent in the delineation of landscapes, and remarkable for the beauty of the verdure which he depicted also took part in that work.

Bronzino likewise, who was then a very young man, was employed at this palace, as has been related in the life of Jacopo da Puntormo;§ the Ferrarese artists, the Dossi,‖ were also invited for the purpose of decorating an apartment, but the work completed by them not pleasing the Duke, it was destroyed, and the decorations were re-painted by the artists above named. The tower before-mentioned was a hundred and twenty feet in height, and had thirteen flights of wooden steps whereby to ascend to the summit, these being so ingeniously arranged, and connected with the wall in so judicious a manner, that each flight can be withdrawn, story after story; a circumstance which renders that tower wonderfully strong.

* Francesco Minzocchi, or Menzochi, as he is called in a succeeding page.

† Better known as Raffaellino dal Colle. See his life in vol. 2.

‡ Many fine frescoes by this master are still to be seen in his native city, but he would seem to have worked more in Venice, Urbino, and the Ducal Palace of Pesaro, than at Mantua. There was an apartment in the above-named palace painted by Camillo, and afterwards turned into a stable, the pictures of which are finished with so much care, that every leaf on the trees may be counted.—*Lanzi.*

§ See *ante*, p. 369.

‖ See vol. iii., p. 257, *et seq.*

The Duke then conceived a wish to fortify Pesaro, and had invited Pier Francesco of Viterbo, a very excellent architect, to take part in the work; but in all the discussions that intervened respecting the fortifications, Girolamo Genga constantly gave his opinion, all he said being held for good and full of judgment; whence, if it be permitted to me to say so much, the design of that fortress was rather due to Girolamo than to any other, although that kind of architecture was ever very lightly esteemed by that master, because it appeared to him to be but of little value or dignity.

Perceiving how rare a genius he had at his command in Girolamo Genga, the Duke resolved to construct another and entirely new palace, at that same Mount of the Imperiale, and to erect it near the older edifice. He accordingly caused to be completed the one which we now see there, a most beautiful and admirably arranged fabric, amply supplied with handsome apartments, and richly adorned with colonnades, extensive courts, loggie, fountains, and most delicious gardens, insomuch that no Princes pass that way who do not go to visit the same; and it has even merited to receive the honour of a visit from Pope Paul III., who, when on his way to Bologna, went with his whole court to see the place, with which he was entirely satisfied.

It was after the design of the same artist, that the Duke caused the court of the palace at Pesaro to be restored; and in the smaller Park he made Genga construct a house with the form and appearance of a Ruin. This also is an object very pleasant to see: among other things to be remarked there, may be mentioned a staircase, similar to that of the Belvedere in Rome, and which is singularly beautiful.* Girolamo was likewise employed by the Duke to restore the Fortress of Gradara, and the Court of Castel Durante; all that is good in those works is indeed entirely due to this admirable genius. It was he who built the Corridor which passes around the court above the Garden at Urbino; and

* Bottari remarks that the staircase here meant is the spiral stair constructed by Bramante for the Palace on the Quirinal in Rome, and adds the observation, that there is one of similar character in the Borghese Palace, with another, which he designates "most beautiful," erected by Bernini in the Palazzo Barberini.

he furthermore enclosed a second court with a screen of perforated stone-work, executed with infinite care and patience.

The monastery of the Bare-footed Friars on Monte Baroccio, was commenced after the plans of Girolamo, as was also the Santa Maria delle Grazie, at Sinigaglia; but these works remained unfinished, having been interrupted by the death of the Duke. The erection of the episcopal residence at Sinigaglia was also begun by Girolamo Genga, and the model which he prepared for that structure is still to be seen. The same artist likewise produced certain works in sculpture, with figures in full relief, both of clay and wax; they are very well done, and are now in the house of his family at Urbino. For the palace of the Imperiale, Girolamo prepared certain Angels in *terra;* these he afterwards caused to be cast in plaster, and placed over the doors of rooms in the new palace, which are richly adorned with stucco-work, and are very beautiful.

For the Bishop of Sinigaglia, Girolamo modelled some very fanciful drinking vessels in wax, which were afterwards executed in silver; and for the Credenza or Beaufet of the Duke, he made certain other drinking-cups, which were exceedingly beautiful. He was an admirable inventor of all kinds of maskings and of vestments for festal purposes, as was sufficiently proved in the time of the above-named Duke, by whom his excellent qualities and rare skill were liberally and well rewarded. When that sovereign was succeeded by the Duke Guidobaldo his son, who is still reigning, the latter caused Genga to commence the church of San Giovanni Battista, in Pesaro, which, having been executed according to the model which Girolamo had prepared, by Bartolommeo his son, has proved to be of very beautiful architecture in all its parts, Girolamo having imitated the antique with much fidelity. It is indeed the most beautiful church in that country, as will be at once perceived by him who shall examine the same, the whole structure being well able to endure comparison with the most admired churches of Rome.

It was in like manner after the designs of Genga, but with the execution of the Florentine sculptor Bartolommeo Ammannati, who was then very young, that the sepulchral monument of the Duke Francesco Maria was erected in the

church of Santa Chiara, in Urbino, and this, for a simple and far from costly work, has proved to be a very handsome one.

The Venetian painter Battista Franco,* was invited to Urbino by Girolamo Genga, and was by him selected to paint the principal chapel of the cathedral, at the time when the decorations of the organ in that church were in course of progress, after Girolamo's designs. This last-mentioned work is not yet completed.

At a subsequent period, the Cardinal of Mantua wrote to the Duke, with a request that Girolamo might be sent to him, seeing that he desired to have his episcopal palace in that city set in order; our artist proceeded to Mantua accordingly, when he restored the building, effectually providing it with suitable windows, and whatever else the prelate above-named desired to have done therein. The Cardinal likewise proposed to have a new and beautiful façade erected for the same cathedral, when Girolamo was commanded to prepare the model for the work; and this he did in such a manner, that he may truly be said to have surpassed all the architectural productions of his time, since he has here exhibited grandeur, beauty of proportion, and the graces of ornament in equal perfection.

Having then returned to Urbino, and being somewhat advanced in years, Girolamo went to reside at a villa which he possessed in the territory of Urbino, and which was called La Valle, there to enjoy his repose and the results of his many labours. But while there, and that he might not remain idle, he delineated a story in red chalk, the subject of which was the Conversion of St. Paul, the figures and horses of this work are in considerable numbers and of rather large size; and Girolamo completed it with so much care and patience, that more could neither be imagined nor described, as may be seen by examination of the work, which is in the possession of his heirs, who preserve it as a most precious and highly valued production.†

* Battista Franco, named Il Semolei, whom Lanzi calls "a Venetian by his birth, but a Florentine by his style:" he died in the year 1561.

† Speaking of this master, Lanzi, *Storia Pittorica*, has a remark to the effect, that although Luca Signorelli was the first to enlarge the prevailing style, yet that Genga must be allowed to have surpassed him. He adds,

In that city, therefore, the place of his rest, Girolamo was living in much repose of mind, when he was attacked by a most virulent fever, and after having received all the sacraments of the church, he there finished the course of his life, to the infinite grief of his wife and children: this happened on the 11th of July, in the year 1551, and when Girolamo had attained to his seventy-fifth year. His remains were taken from La Valle to Urbino, where they were honourably inhumed in the episcopal church, and in front of the chapel of San Martino, which had been decorated with paintings by his hand, as we have before related: his death caused much sorrow to his kindred and friends, as well as to all the inhabitants of Urbino.

Girolamo was ever noted as a man of the most upright character, insomuch that a bad action committed by him was never heard of. He was not only a painter, sculptor, and architect, but a good musician also; his powers of conversation were remarkable, and his society was most agreeable and entertaining; he was full of kindness and affection towards his kinsfolk and acquaintance, and what, furthermore, is deserving of no slight commendation, his merits enabled him to become the founder of that house of Genga in Urbino, which derives from him its name, its honour, its position, and its property. Girolamo left two sons, one of whom followed the footsteps of his father, and devoted himself to architecture, in which he would have certainly become most eminent, as his first attempts clearly prove, had not an early death cut short the hopes conceived of him. The second son of Girolamo employs himself with the care of his family interests, and still survives.

A disciple of Genga, as we have before related, was Francesco Menzochi, of Forlì,* who first, and when he was but a little child, began to draw of his own accord, copying and imitating a picture in the cathedral of Forlì, which had been executed by the hand of Marco Palmegiani,† also a native of

that his figures display great power, "so great indeed that he might have served as a model for Andrea del Sarto and Michelagnolo." See vol. i. p. 345, *note*, of Mr. Roscoe's Translation.

* This artist, who was called the Elder of San Bernardo, pursued his studies under Pordenone also, to whose manner his later works are considered by the best authorities to approach very closely.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† The works of Marco Palmegiani of Forlì, date from 1513 to 1537.

Forlì. The subject of this work was Our Lady, with St. Jerome and other Saints, and it was at that time considered to be one of the best among modern paintings. Francesco likewise imitated the works of Rondinino da Ravenna,* the most distinguished painter of the March, who, but a short time previous to that of which we now speak, had placed a very beautiful painting on the high altar of the cathedral of Forlì, the subject being Our Saviour Christ dispensing the Last Supper to his Disciples, with a figure of the Dead Christ in the lunette above the picture. In the predella of this work, moreover, there are some very gracefully depicted stories in small figures, the subjects chosen being scenes from the life of Sant' Elena.†

These studies enabled Francesco to make such important advances, that when Girolamo Genga repaired to Forlì, as we have related, for the purpose of painting the chapel of San Francesco da Forlì, for Messer Bartolommeo Lombardino, Menzochi was found competent to receive his instructions, and went to work with him accordingly. Nor did Francesco cease to avail himself of this opportunity for learning, or become weary of serving his master while the latter lived, but followed him to Urbino, to Pesaro, to the works of the Imperiale, or wherever else Girolamo might be employed, being constantly well esteemed and beloved by that artist. And the disciple did, of a truth, acquit himself most admirably, as may be clearly seen by the many pictures by his hand, executed at Forlì, and now dispersed through the different parts of that city. Three of these, which are in the church of San Francesco, may more particularly be mentioned; there are also certain stories in fresco by this painter in the hall of the palace.

In the Romagna Francesco produced numerous works, with many others in Venice for the most Reverend Patriarch Grimani, for whom he executed four large pictures in oil, among other things these are placed in the ceiling of a vast

* Or rather Rondinello, as Vasari has himself called this artist in the life of Palma Vecchio.

† Lanzi considers that Vasari has been led by the similarity of style to attribute this work to Rondinello, but he remarks that it was in fact painted by Marco Palmegiani, and his opinion is supported by that of other good authorities.

hall in the house of the Patriarch, and surround an octangular work by the hand of Salviati. The subjects of Francesco's pictures are chosen from the Story of Psyche, and the paintings are considered to be exceedingly beautiful.*

But the place in which Francesco did his utmost and made the best efforts in his power, was the chapel of the most Holy Sacrament, in the church of Our Lady of Loretto. Here he painted Angels surrounding a marble tabernacle wherein the body of Our Saviour Christ is usually deposited,† with two stories on the façade of the same chapel,‡ one of these relates to Melchisedec, the other describes the Fall of Manna; both are in fresco. In the vaulting likewise are fifteen compartments adorned with various decorations in stucco, and each compartment being filled by the hand of Francesco with a story, the figures of which are small and the subjects taken from the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Of the divisions above-named nine were executed in painting, and the other six in mezzo-rilievo; a rich and well-considered performance, from which the artist derived so much honour that he was not permitted to depart until he had executed the decorations of another chapel, equal in size to the first, and placed exactly opposite thereto.

The name by which this last-mentioned chapel is entitled is that of the Conception; the vaulting is richly decorated with beautiful works in stucco, wherein Francesco at that time instructed his son Pietro Paolo to labour with him; the young man subsequently did him great honour, and is now become very ably practised in that branch of art. But returning to Francesco himself, I have to relate, that the walls of the chapel in question were painted in fresco by his hand; the subjects chosen were the Birth and Presentation in the Temple of Our Lady; above the altar were depicted Sant' Anna and the Virgin with the Divine Child in her arms, and two Angels who place a crown on her head.

The works of this master are highly commended by the

* The Venetian edition of our author describes these works as still adorning the Palace of the Grimani family at Santa Maria Formosa.

† The Host that is to say.

‡ Count Alessandro Maggiori, in a little work entitled *Indicazione delle Pitture, Sculture, &c., dello Sacrosanto Basilica di Loreto*, gives details of some interest as regards these productions.

artists; nor is the mode of his life held in lighter estimation, he having always comported himself as a Christian should do. Francesco ever passed his days in much quietude, and calmly enjoyed that which his labours had secured for him.

Baldassare Lancia of Urbino was also a disciple of Girolamo Genga; this artist turned his attention to many subjects of ingenious inquiry, but subsequently worked for the most part at the fortification of cities, &c. He laboured more particularly for the Signoria of Lucca, from whom he received a fixed stipend, and in whose city he passed some time. He was afterwards attached to the service of the most illustrious Duke, Cosimo de' Medici, by whom he was employed in the fortifications of Florence and Siena; that Prince has indeed availed himself of Baldassare's assistance in many ingenious works, and continues to do so, Lancia ever labouring in the most honourable and upright manner, insomuch that he has secured to himself the favour and approbation of the Duke as well as very gratifying and valuable rewards.

Many others were also assistants to Girolamo Genga, but of these there is no need that I should make further discourse since they have not attained to any great excellence.

Now to the above-named Girolamo, there was born a son in the year 1518, and this event took place in Cesena, while the father was following the Duke his master into exile. The child, whom he called Bartolommeo, was brought up in the exercise of all good practices and manners by Girolamo, who sent him when he had attained the proper age to learn the Latin tongue, wherein the boy made a more than ordinary progress: but when Bartolommeo had arrived at the age of eighteen, his father, perceiving that he was more decidedly disposed to the arts of design than to letters, gave him permission to study those arts under his own care for about two years, and these being concluded he then sent him to pursue the studies of design and painting in Florence, where he well knew that the true school of those arts is to be found; by reason of the vast number of works by the most excellent masters, ancient as well as modern, existing in that city.

Dwelling there accordingly, and attending to the study of design and of architecture, Bartolommeo formed a friendship

with the Aretine painter and architect, Giorgio Vasari, as well as with the sculptor Bartolommeo Ammannati, from whom he acquired much useful knowledge appertaining to the arts. At length, and after he had remained three years in Florence, he returned to his father, who was then occupied with the construction of the church of San Giovanni Battista in Pesaro; then the father perceived by the drawings of Bartolommeo that his son acquitted himself much better in architecture than in painting, and it appeared to him that he had a very fair aptitude to that vocation. He consequently retained the young man under his own care for some months, during which time he taught him the modes of proceeding in accordance with the laws of perspective, and then sent him to Rome, to the end that Bartolommeo might behold the wonderful buildings, both ancient and modern, which abound in that city. Of all these therefore, during the four years that Bartolommeo Genga remained in Rome, he took the admeasurements, making very great progress during his abode in that place.

Returning at the end of the above-mentioned period to Urbino, he passed through Florence, there to visit Francesco Sanmarino his kinsman, who was then in the service of the Signor Duke Cosimo, as engineer; the Signor Stefano Colonna da Palestrina, who was then General of the Duke's armies, heard of his abilities on that occasion, and made efforts to secure for himself the services of Bartolommeo, to whom he offered a good stipend, but the latter, considering himself much bound to the Duke of Urbino, would not take service with any other and returned to Urbino, where he was at once received into that of his native sovereign, by whom he was ever after treated with distinguished favour.

No long time after the return of Bartolommeo, and when the Duke was about to take the Signora Vittoria Farnese to wife, our artist received commission from that prince to take charge of the preparations for those nuptials, which he made of the most magnificent and honourable character accordingly, erecting among other things an arch of Triumph in the Borgo of Valbuona, which was most splendid, and so beautiful, that a larger or finer construction of the kind could not well be imagined; hereby moreover there was an

occasion offered to Bartolommeo for giving evidence of that extent of knowledge in architecture which he had acquired by his studies in Rome.

The Duke being then called on by his duties as General to the Signoria of Venice, to proceed into Lombardy, there to inspect the fortresses of that province, took Bartolommeo with him, proposing to avail himself of that master's assistance in the choice of sites, as well as in the preparation of designs for the fortified places, more especially for the works to be constructed at the Gate of San Felice in Verona.

Now while Bartolommeo was in Lombarby, it chanced that the King of Bohemia passed through that province on his return from Spain to his own dominions, when having been honourably received and entertained by the Duke at Verona, he saw the fortifications there, and being pleased therewith he caused Bartolommeo to be presented to him; nay, would very fain have conducted him into his own kingdom to avail himself of our artist's aid in fortifying his towns, offering him a very handsome stipend; but the Duke not being willing to give permission, the matter went no further.

It was soon after the return of the Duke and Bartolommeo to Urbino, that the father of the latter departed this life, when Bartolommeo was himself made superintendent over all the fabrics of the state by the Duke, in the place of Girolamo. In this capacity he was accordingly sent to Pesaro, where he continued the building of the Church of San Giovanni Battista, after the model prepared by his father. At the same time Bartolommeo erected a suite of apartments in the court of the Palace of Pesaro, and on that side which overlooks the street of the merchants; very beautiful rooms they are, the doors, stair-cases, chimney pieces, and similar parts, of which he was a most admirable architect, being most handsomely decorated, and here it is that the Duke now makes his abode.

Remembering the success of Bartolommeo on this occasion, the Duke Guidobaldo determined that he should construct a range of apartments in the Court or Palace of Urbino likewise, almost all of them being on that side which is opposite to San Domenico. These being finished were found to constitute the most beautiful and most richly decorated dwelling

in that Court, or rather Palace. No long time after the completion of the same, the Signori of Bologna begged our artist of the Duke for a few days, and his Excellency very willingly granted them their request. Bartolommeo repaired to their city accordingly, and served them in what they required, in such a manner that they were most amply satisfied, and showed him infinite courtesy.

The Duke subsequently desired to make a sea-port of Pesaro, and Bartolommeo prepared a most beautiful model, which was then taken to Venice to the Count Giovan-Giacomo Leonardi, Ambassador from the Duke of Urbino to the Signoria of that city, and was placed in his house to the end that it might be subjected to examination by men conversant with the profession, many of whom were in the habit of assembling, with other persons of fine genius, to hold discussions and disputations on various subjects in the house of the above-mentioned Count, who was indeed a distinguished and remarkable man. Here then, and by such persons, was the model examined, when, having heard the fine discourses of Bartolommeo Genga respecting his work, it was pronounced by all with one accord to be a most beautiful and skilfully contrived model: the master who had prepared it being also declared to be one of extraordinary ability. When Bartolommeo returned to Pesaro he was nevertheless not called on to put that model into execution, because new occurrences of great importance had caused the thoughts of the Duke to be turned in a different direction.

It was about this time that Bartolommeo Genga prepared the design for the church of Monte l'Abate, as well as that for the church of San Piero, in Mondavio, the building of which was completed to such perfection by Don Pier Antonio Genga, that for a work of those small proportions I do not think it possible a better one could be seen.

No long time after these things had been done, the election to the papal chair of Pope Julius III. took place, and the Duke of Urbino was by him made Captain General of Holy Church. His Excellency then proceeded to Rome, and with him went also Bartolommeo Genga. Now it was the wish of his Holiness at that time that Borgo should be fortified; wherefore Genga, at the request of the Duke, made some beautiful designs, which with others in considerable numbers

are still in the possession of his Excellency in Urbino. These things caused the fame of Bartolommeo to become widely extended, and while the latter was in Rome with the Duke, a request was preferred to that Prince by the Genoese, to the intent that he should permit Bartolommeo to assist them in some of their fortifications; but Guidobaldo would not comply with that prayer, either then or at a subsequent period, when the Genoese again endeavoured to obtain the aid of Genga, after the return of his master and himself to Urbino.

At length, and when Bartolommeo was near the close of his life, the Grand Master of Rhodes despatched two of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem to Pesaro, with an entreaty that his Excellency would be pleased to grant them the services of our artist, to the end that they might conduct him to the Island of Malta, where that Order was minded, not only to construct very extensive fortifications, for the defence of the place against the Turks, but also to found two cities, or rather to unite and draw together several villages, which were already there, into one or two cities or towns. Then the Duke, with whom these knights had been labouring vainly for two months, in respect to that matter of Bartolommeo, but yet could not succeed, although they had availed themselves of the assistance of the Duchess and others; the Duke, I say, did finally comply with their request; he permitted Genga, that is, to accompany them for a term fixed on, at the entreaty of a good Capuchin father, to whom Guidobaldo bore the warmest affection, and whom he never refused any favour that he desired. Nor was the method adopted by that holy man to obtain his purpose other than a most praiseworthy and commendable one, seeing that he made it a matter of conscience with the Duke, whom he assured that the works in question concerned the interest of the whole republic of Christendom, and that he ought consequently to comply with the Grand Master's request.

On the 20th of January, in the year 1558, therefore, Bartolommeo departed, nor had he ever received a greater favour or higher honour than was this invitation;—he departed from Pesaro, I say, with the two knights above-mentioned, but being impeded by the fortune of the sea, and compelled

to make delays in Sicily, they did not reach Malta until the 11th of March, when they were most joyfully received there by the Grand Master.

Being thereupon informed of what he was desired to do, Bartolommeo Genga acquitted himself so well in respect to those fortifications, that words could not do adequate justice to his success, insomuch that to the Grand Master and all those Signori the Knights, it appeared that they had found another Archimedes; of this they offered ample testimony in the rich presents which they made him, and by holding him in the utmost veneration as a most remarkable and extraordinary person. Bartolommeo meanwhile prepared the model for a city, with designs for several churches, and for the palace and residence of the above-mentioned Grand Master, in all which he displayed admirable powers of invention, and profound knowledge of his vocation. But having done thus much he was seized with his last illness, and the matter fell out on this wise. The heats in those islands being insupportably violent, Bartolommeo had placed himself between two doors, one day in the month of July, in the hope of finding a fresher air; but he had not been long there before he was taken with insufferable pains of the body, accompanied by a fearful dysentery, and in seventeen days these destroyed his life, to the infinite grief of the Grand Master and of all those most honourable and most valiant knights, who, just as they had believed themselves to have found a man after their own hearts, were deprived of him by death.

When the sorrowful intelligence was conveyed to the Signor Duke of Urbino, he was struck with indescribable sorrow, and bewailed the loss of the poor Genga most bitterly; he then determined to prove the love which he had borne to him by his bounties to the five children whom Bartolommeo had left behind, and all of whom he took into his particular and most affectionate care.

Among the gifts of Bartolommeo Genga was that of much skill in the invention of maskings, and in preparing the scenic decorations for dramatic spectacles he was most excellent. He delighted in making sonnets, and in other compositions, whether in verse or prose, and in the *ottava-rima* there was none who could do better than himself, that being

a manner of writing in which he was a much extolled composer. Bartolommeo died in 1558, having then attained his fortieth year.

Now as Giovan-Battista Bellucci of San Marino was the son-in-law of Girolamo Genga, I have judged that it would not be well to omit mentioning what I have to relate of him, after having disposed of the lives of Girolamo and Bartolommeo Genga; and the rather, as my doing so may serve to show that every thing is possible to men of genius, when once they exert the force of their will, even though they set themselves late in life to honourable and difficult undertakings; nay, when zealous effort has been aided by good natural dispositions, how often have we not seen results produced that may well be considered most admirable.

Giovanni Battista, then, was born at San Marino, on the 27th day of September, in the year 1506, and was the son of Bartolommeo Bellucci, a person of very fair station in that place. Having received early instruction in letters, Giovan-Battista was sent to Bologna by his father, the above-named Bartolommeo, there to give his attention to commerce, under the care of Bastiano di Ronco, a merchant of the guild of Woolstaplers. When the young man had been in Bologna about two years, he returned to San Marino, ill of a quartan fever, from which he did not become wholly free until after the lapse of two years more; but being at length entirely cured, he set up for himself in the calling of a wool merchant, in which he continued until the year 1535, when his father, perceiving him to have got tolerably forward in the world, gave him the daughter of Guido Peruzzi, of Cagli, to wife, that Guido being a man of good standing in his native place.

But the wife of Giovan-Battista died no long time after the marriage, and he then repaired to Rome, there to visit his brother-in-law Domenico Peruzzi, who was Master of the horse to the Signor Ascanio Colonna, with whom Giovanni abode in the manner of a nobleman for two years, after which he returned to his home.

It then chanced that he went frequently to Pesaro, when Girolamo Genga, perceiving him to be an upright and well-conducted young man, bestowed on him one of his daughters in marriage, and took him into his own house, where it soon

became obvious that Giovan-Battista had a great inclination to the study of architecture. He devoted himself thereto very zealously, therefore, diligently labouring in those works with which his father-in-law was then occupied, and soon beginning to display considerable ability as an architect: he studied Vitruvius carefully, whence it happened, that by gradual acquirement, and between what he learned by his own efforts, and that which Girolamo taught him, he soon deserved and attained a good reputation, more particularly as respected fortifications and all other matters relating to war.

In the year 1541, Giovan-Battista lost his second wife, who left him two sons, when he remained until the year 1543, without having taken any resolution as to his future life. Then it happened that, in the month of September of that year, a certain Signor Gustamante, a Spaniard, arrived in San Marino, having been despatched to the Republic to arrange certain affairs for his Imperial Majesty, and he, discovering in Giovan-Battista an excellent architect, was the occasion of his being summoned no long time afterwards to enter the service of Duke Cosimo, as an engineer. Having arrived in Florence accordingly, Giovan-Battista was subsequently sent by his Excellency to all the different fortresses of the state, as his presence was demanded in each by the incidents daily occurring. Among other works San Marino completed the fortifications of Pistoja, which had been commenced many years before, and which he now entirely finished at the desire of the Duke, to his great credit and praise, although the works are not particularly extensive.

A very strong bastion was then constructed at Pisa, under the direction of the same architect, and his modes of proceeding being highly satisfactory to Duke Cosimo, that prince then commanded him to construct the outworks and bastions which defend one of the gates in the wall, which, as we have before related, had been previously built at the Poggio di San Miniato, outside the city of Florence. This wall extends from the gate of San Niccolò, to that of San Miniato, and the works above-mentioned surround the church and monastery of San Miniato, formerly a species of fortress, on the summit of the Mount which dominates the whole city, and looks on the other side towards the south and east: this work, also, was very highly extolled.

San Marino likewise prepared numerous plans and designs for various parts of his Excellency's States, and especially for the different fortifications; he made sketches and models in clay moreover, all which are now in possession of the Signor Duke. Endowed with considerable ability, and very zealous in study, Giovan-Battista wrote a small book on the subject of fortifications, which is a good and useful work: it is now in the possession of Messer Bernardo Puccini, a Florentine gentleman, who was the intimate friend of this San Marino, from whom he acquired much knowledge of matters connected with architecture and fortification.

In the year 1554, and after Giovan-Battista had designed many bastions to be added to the walls which rise around the city of Florence, and some of which were already in a forward state of progress; after having done this, I say, San Marino accompanied the Illustrious Signor, Don Garzia di Toledo, to Monte Alcino, where he formed trenches; and having mined his way beneath a bastion, he dislodged the same to such an extent, that he threw down the breastwork, but at the moment of its fall was himself struck by a musket ball, and wounded in the thigh. Some time afterwards, and when his wound had been cured, Giovan-Battista repaired secretly to Siena, there to take the plan of the city and of the earth-works, which had been constructed by the Sienese at the gate of Camollia. This plan of the fortifications he afterwards laid before the Signor Duke and the Marquis of Marignano, showing them, in the clearest manner, that it would be in nowise difficult for them to make themselves masters of that portion of the defences, when they might easily hold it also, and could thus press the city from that side of the works which looks towards Siena. The truth of all which was made manifest on the night when those works were taken by the above-mentioned Marquis, whom Giovan-Battista had attended in his operations, by the orders of, and with a commission from the Duke.

That success caused the Marquis to set great store by San Marino, and, perceiving that he should have much need of his judgment and ability in the field, during the war with Siena that is to say, he so laboured with the Duke, that his Excellency at length despatched San Marino to the General, according to his desire, and with a commission as captain of

a large company of infantry; wherefore the master served ever after as a valiant soldier, no less than as an ingenious architect and engineer. At length, Giovan-Battista was sent by the Marquis to Aiuola, a fortress in the Chianti, when, as he was disposing the artillery, he was wounded in the head by a musket ball, and being carried by his soldiers to the deanery of San Paolo, in the bishopric of Ricasoli, he there died in a few days. His remains were borne to San Marino, where he received honourable sepulture at the hands of his children.

Very greatly does Giovan-Battista merit to be extolled, for not only was he truly excellent in his profession, but it is furthermore to be remembered, that as he did not adopt the same till late in life, in his thirty-fifth year namely, it is all the more remarkable that he should have attained to so much eminence in art; and we may reasonably conclude that he would have been indeed most extraordinary had he commenced in his youth, or at the usual age.

San Marino was somewhat obstinate, and to make him change an opinion which he had once adopted, was a difficult undertaking. He found singular delight in the reading of historical relations, and even made a great collection of such himself, writing down the most notable circumstances of each narrative with great pains and labour. His death caused much grief to the Duke and to his very numerous friends; wherefore, when his son Giovan-Andrea came to kiss the hand of the Duchess, he was most kindly received by her, and, in consideration of his father's merits and fidelity, many advantageous offers of service and advantage were made to him.

San Marino died in his forty-eighth year.

THE VERONESE ARCHITECT, MICHELE SAN MICHELE.

[BORN 1484—DIED 1558.]

MICHELE SAN MICHELE was born at Verona, in the year 1484. The youth acquired the first principles of architecture under the discipline of his father, Giovanni, and of Bartolommeo his uncle, two excellent architects; and in the sixteenth year of his age he repaired to Rome, leaving his

father and two brothers, the latter both endowed with very fine parts; of this one of them, named Jacopo, gave proof in the study of letters; while the other, since called Don Camillo, became a Canon Regular, and was finally made General of his Order.

Arrived in Rome, Michele studied the antiquities of ancient architecture with the most careful and zealous devotion, measuring and examining all the buildings and other edifices minutely, insomuch that no long time had elapsed before he became known, and even of good repute, not in Rome only, but in all the districts lying around that capital. Moved by the fame thus early acquired, the people of Orvieto invited our young architect to their city, where they made him superintendent of works to their so frequently cited cathedral,* allowing him a most honourable stipend. While in the service of the Orvietans, San Michele was in like manner invited to Monte Fiascone, for the building of their principal church that is to say;† and thus, serving now one and then the other of those two places, he performed such works of good architecture as are to be seen therein.

Among other fabrics erected by Michele San Michele‡ in Orvieto, may be particularized a magnificent sepulchral monument constructed in the church of San Domenico,§ for a noble Sienese—one of the Petrucci family, as I think—a structure of very great cost, and which proved to be eminently beautiful.

San Michele also prepared a large number of designs for private houses, both at Orvieto and Monte Fiascone, giving evidence in all cases of very great judgment and forethought. Wherefore Pope Clement VII., proposing to avail himself of

* The Altar of the Three Kings in the Cathedral of Orvieto is one of San Michele's works, and with respect to this performance he is said to have had a dispute with Antonio San Gallo, wherein he chose Pope Clement himself for umpire.—*Förster.*

† The Cathedral of Monte Fiascone is an octangular building of exceedingly beautiful form, with a very elegant and graceful cupola.—*Bottari.*

‡ For the works of San Michele in the Cathedral of Orvieto, see the *Storia del Duomo d' Orvieto* by the Padre Della Valle, Rome, 1791.

§ A sepulchral chamber constructed beneath the earth: for details respecting this and other fabrics of San Michele, our readers may consult the work of Ronzani and Luciolli, entitled *Fabbriche civili ecclesiastiche e militari di Michele Sammichele Architettore Veronese*, &c., Venice, 1831.

his services in the many important conjunctures then arising, by reason of the war raging at that time through all Italy; Pope Clement, I say, attached Michele to his service by a very liberal stipend, and gave him as an associate to Antonio San Gallo, with intent that together these two should proceed to inspect all the most important positions of the Ecclesiastical States. They were jointly commanded, moreover, to direct the construction of fortifications wherever such should be found necessary, but more especially at Parma and Piacenza; those two cities being very distant from Rome, and lying near the frontier, were consequently much exposed to the perils of war.

The office thus committed to them was performed by the two masters with zealous care, and much to the satisfaction of the Pontiff; but after so many years of absence from his native place, San Michele conceived the wish to revisit the same, and once more to behold his kindred and friends. He returned to Verona accordingly, but when he had been there a few days, having a great desire to examine the fortresses of the Venetian territory, San Michele repaired to Treviso; and when he had sufficiently considered the works of that place, he next proceeded to Padua, with like intent. But the Signoria of Venice, being warned of his purpose, and suspecting that San Michele might turn these observations of their fortresses to their injury, gave command that he should be arrested, when he was seized accordingly in Padua, and being thrown into prison, was subjected to a long examination. The Signori became convinced, nevertheless, that he was a man of probity, and not only set him instantly at liberty, but even invited him to enter their service, with the promise of a handsome stipend. These offers he excused himself from accepting at that time, since he was then engaged in the service of his Holiness, but gave them the fairest promises, and was finally permitted to depart from their city.

No long time had elapsed, nevertheless, before the measures taken by the Signoria of Venice to secure San Michele to themselves, compelled him to abandon Rome, which he nevertheless would not do until he had received the full permission of the Pontiff, whose wishes he first fulfilled in every particular, and that done, he departed to enter the service of the above-

mentioned most Illustrious Signori, who were his natural lords.

Nor did San Michele permit any time to be lost, but soon gave proof of his knowledge and efficiency; and this he first did in Verona, when, after overcoming many difficulties, which, as it seems, were presented by that work, he constructed an exceedingly strong, and very handsome Fort, which greatly pleased those Signori, as it also did the Duke of Urbino, their Captain-General.*

It was then determined to fortify Legnago and Porto, two highly important places in the Venetian territory, and both on the river Adige; one being on one side of that river that is to say, and one on the other but the two being conjoined by a bridge. The Signori of Venice, therefore, committed the charge of this undertaking to San Michele, commanding him to prepare a model, to the end that they might see in what manner it appeared to him that those places could and ought to be fortified. This was done by the architect accordingly, when his design pleased the Signoria very much, as it did the Duke of Urbino; whereupon, they gave orders for such works as were required, and San Michele constructed the fortifications of those places in such a manner, that nothing better would be seen in a work of that kind, nothing stronger, more beautiful, or more carefully considered in every particular, as is well known to all who have examined the same.†

When he had completed that undertaking San Michele constructed, almost from the foundations, the strong defences of Orzi-nuovo in the Bresciano,‡ which is a castle and port. similar to those of Legnago. Being then very pressingly required of the Venetian Signoria, by the Signor Francesco

* "This," observes a compatriot of our author, "is the Maddalena; it was erected in 1527, and was the first angular bastion ever constructed. San Michele is thus to be considered the restorer of art in the fortification of towns, nor should he even be postponed to the celebrated Marchi, still less to the over-praised Vauban: even Antonio Colonna, though senior to the above-named architects, is not to be placed before San Michele, since Colonna, who was not born until the year 1513, could not have constructed fortifications, whether circular or angular, in 1527."

† Many new works have been since added to these defences.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

‡ The walls and Bastions of Orzinuovo were demolished some few years since.—*Ibid.*

Sforza, last Duke of Milan, those Signori did at length give San Michele permission to attend the Prince, but for three months only. Having repaired to Milan accordingly, he inspected all the fortresses of that state, ordering everything which he thought it necessary to have done in each place, and not only obtaining much honour thereby, but giving such entire satisfaction to the Signor Duke, that after sending his acknowledgments and thanks to the Venetian Signori, his Excellency presented San Michele with five hundred crowns.

Our architect then availed himself of the opportunity offered by his return to Venice, and went to Casale di Monserrato, there to inspect the beautiful and very strongly defended city and fortress, which had been constructed after the plans and under the direction of the excellent architect Matteo San Michele, who was a kinsman of his own.* Michele also went to see a very magnificent sepulchre in marble, erected in the church of San Francesco in the same city, and also by the above-named Matteo.†

These things done, San Michele returned home, but had no sooner arrived in Venice than he was despatched by the Signoria to accompany the Signor Duke of Urbino, who was then proceeding to inspect La Chiusa, a pass and fortress of much importance above Verona, with all the strong towns of

* Vasari does not appear to have derived his intelligence respecting Casale from the best sources, that fortress having been commenced in the thirteenth century, and enlarged by Theodore, Marquis of Montserrat, in the fourteenth (1326), receiving its present form from the Marquis Guglielmo VIII. in 1470. In later times, the Dukes of Mantua and Montserrat, Guglielmo and Vincenzio, made additions respectively in the years 1560 and 1590. That Matteo San Michele was employed to repair these works at the period indicated in the text, is however not to be doubted, since, deriving his intelligence as he did from the Padre Marco de' Medici, and personally acquainted with Michele San Michele as Vasari was, it is not probable that he would give any relation which had not some foundation in truth.

† According to the Padre Della Valle this is the Sepulchral Monument of Maria, daughter of Stephen, King of Servia, and Marchioness of Montserrat. But Michael Angelo, and not Matteo San Michele, is the more probable author of this work, or at least of the sculptures with which it was decorated: *was*, for the barbarous injuries inflicted on the tomb in 1746, when the church was turned into a military hospital by the French and Spanish armies, were unhappily followed by its total destruction, when the building came once more to be set in order, the condition of the monument causing its restoration to be then considered a hopeless attempt.

Friuli: Bergamo, Vicenza, Peschiera, and other places that is to say, of all which as well as of the works demanded by each, San Michele gave his masters minute intelligence by pen, writing to them at length concerning all those matters.

Being then commanded by the same Signori to proceed into Dalmatia, with orders to fortify the cities and other places of that province, he inspected the whole district accordingly, restoring and setting in order with great diligence wherever he found the necessity most pressing. But as he could not himself suffice to all that was required, he there left Giovan-Girolamo, his nephew, who having admirably fortified Zara, erected even from the foundations that most admirable fortress called San Niccolò, which commands the entrance to the port of Sebenico.

Michele was next despatched in great haste to Corfu, the fortifications of which he restored in many places, and having done that, he proceeded to perform services of similar kind in all the strong towns of Cyprus and Candia. But notwithstanding the cares bestowed in that quarter on this occasion, our architect was compelled to return thither almost immediately afterwards, seeing that those islands were in imminent danger of being lost to Venice by reason of the war then threatening with the Turks. After having inspected the fortresses of the Venetian dominions in Italy, therefore, San Michele hastened to press forward the defences of Canea, Candia, Retimo and Settia, which he completed with incredible rapidity, his cares being more particularly directed to those of Canea and Candia, which he rebuilt from their foundations and rendered impregnable.* Napoli di Romania likewise being about that time assailed by the Turks, was, partly by the ability displayed by San Michele in the fortifying and strengthening of the place, and partly by the bravery of Agostino Clusoni, a most valiant Veronese Captain, who defended it by his arms—Napoli di Romania, I say, was enabled to withstand all the assaults of the enemy, nor was it once taken or subjugated.

These wars having come to an end, San Michele first accompanied the Illustrious Messer Tommaso Mozzenigo, High Admiral of Venice, to strengthen and increase the

* The fortress of Candia resisted all the assaults of the Ottoman armies during a period of twenty years.

fortifications of Corfu, and that done they both returned to Sebenico, where the diligence with which Giovan-Girolamo had pressed forward the works for the above-mentioned fortress of San Niccolò was much commended. San Michele soon afterwards returned to Venice, where he was himself highly extolled for the works thus executed in the Levant, and for the service of that Republic; it was then resolved to construct a fortress on the Lido, at the mouth of the Port of Venice that is to say.*

On confiding the care of this undertaking to San Michele, the Signoria exhorted him to consider, that since he had performed so much at a distance from Venice, he was now to reflect on the zeal with which it behoved him to act in a matter of so much importance as that now entrusted to him, and to bethink himself of what it was his duty to accomplish in respect of a work which was to be perpetually under the eyes of the Senate and of so many great nobles. They added, that in addition to the beauty and strength, which it was expected from him that he should give to that work, there was an especial demand, moreover, for particular care and caution on his part; seeing that he was to lay his foundations in a marshy soil and on a tongue of land beaten on all sides by the sea: that being the character of the spot on which he was nevertheless called on to construct a work which must needs become the very sport of the winds and waves, exposed as it would be to each ebb and flow † of the waters, while the fabric proposed was at the same time to be one of the utmost importance.‡

San Michele then prepared a very beautiful and most exact model of the whole work;§ and not only so, but he also reflected and decided on the best means for preparing the foundations and carrying his designs into effect. He was then commanded to set hand to the work without delay,

* Now called *Sant' Andrea del Lido*, from being near the Church once dedicated to the above-mentioned Saint in that place, but now demolished.

† The question as to how much of ebb and flow those waters present, would not here be in place.

‡ A most admirable recipe for securing failure on the part of the exhortee.

§ An act of no small courage in the master, when the lecture above described, with the despotism of those "Signori" who read it in his ears, are taken into the account.

wherefore, having been furnished by those Signori with all that he required, San Michele prepared himself to obey their orders. The materials for filling in the foundations were first laid ready for use, and a large number of piles being fixed in a double row, the architect assembled a vast company of assistants, well acquainted with those waters, and betook himself to the excavation of the basement; but the more he laboured to exhaust the waters by means of pumps and other machines, the more they were seen to rise up from below, the place being fairly in the sea.

One morning, however, that the master had appointed for making his utmost effort to secure a commencement, he got together all the men capable of lending him assistance, on whom he could lay his hands, adding to these all the porters of Venice, and in the presence of many Signori, at length suddenly succeeded, by the use of indescribable promptitude and care, in mastering the waters for a moment to such an extent as to permit him instantly to throw in the first stones of the foundations on the piles which he had driven. These stones being of vast immensity, occupied a very large space, and formed an excellent foundation; when, continuing the exhaustion of the waters without loss of a moment, the architect did finally secure himself a firm basis for his work, much against the opinion and contrary to the expectation of many, who had considered the undertaking to be one in which success was totally impossible.

The foundations thus made, were suffered to remain for the purpose of settling, during a sufficient space of time, and that having been done, San Michele built upon them a mighty and most admirable fortress, constructing the external walls of rustic masonry formed of large stones of extreme hardness brought from Istria, and capable of resisting the frost, wind, and every extremity of weather. Not only is this fortress astonishing from the site on which it has been erected, but it is besides admirable for its extraordinary beauty, to say nothing of its incalculable cost, in respect to which it is among the most remarkable in Europe, and may bear comparison with the most renowned edifices constructed by the greatness of the Romans.

Among other beauties of this fabric is one well worthy of notice, namely, that the whole appears to have been formed

of one unbroken stone, nay, rather might be supposed to have been hewn out of the living rock in the magnificent form there presented to the spectator, and this not only nor even principally because the masses of which it is constructed are so enormous, but because of the perfection with which all are joined and united together. Of the ornaments and other peculiarities that might be insisted on, I say nothing, seeing that nothing adequate to the merit of the work could be said.

Within the walls, San Michele laid out a Square or Piazza divided by pillars and arches in the rustic manner, which would indeed have proved to be a most admirable performance, had it not been suffered to remain unfinished. But when this vast undertaking had reached the point above described, certain malicious and envious persons persuaded the Signori that although the work was a most beautiful one and constructed with all due care, yet it would nevertheless be totally useless for all practical purposes, nay, might possibly cause injury to the possessors, since the weight and quantity of the artillery which the place would require were such, that in the discharge thereof, the whole building must needs be shaken to pieces and utterly destroyed.

Thereupon the Signori determined in their wisdom that it would be desirable to ascertain the truth on that point, as being one of the very first importance; they consequently ordered an immense quantity of artillery, and that of the very heaviest that could be found in the Arsenal, to be brought to the fortress, and having caused all the embrasures, above as well as below, to be filled with cannon, even more heavily loaded than common, they had all fired off together. Then the uproar, the thunders, and the earthquake that were heard and felt were such and so vast, as to make it appear as if the whole world were falling to pieces, while the mass of the building itself, with all its mouths of fire, presented the aspect of a great volcano, or rather of a very hell.*

But the fabric remained firm in its seat nevertheless, exhibiting all its wonted strength and solidity, to the utter shame of the malignant critics, who were proved to be wholly destitute of judgment, while the great ability of San Michele was rendered most clearly manifest to the Senate as well as to

* Alas for the ears of the unhappy *cannoneers !*

all besides. The envious detractors had nevertheless caused so much terror in all Venice, that many gentlewomen who were pregnant at the time, were removed from the city in the fear of some frightful catastrophe.*

No long time after this occurrence, a place of no small importance in the vicinity of Venice named Murano,† having returned to the dominion of the republic, San Michele was directed to restore and fortify the works, which he did with much promptitude and diligence; and about the same time, the reputation of Michele and of his nephew Giovan Girolamo having become widely extended, the services of both were sought for, more than once, by the Emperor Charles V., and they were likewise invited to enter the service of Francis King of France. But to this neither of them would ever consent, although offered the most advantageous conditions if they would leave the service of their own natural lords for that of strangers; on the contrary, they continued to hold their office in Venice, and travelled about continually in the exercise of their duties, inspecting each place every year, and restoring, wherever it was found needful, all the cities and fortresses of the Venetian dominions.

More than to all the rest however did Michele devote his attention to his native city of Verona; this place he adorned, among other embellishments, with those beautiful gates which have not their equal in any other city; the Porta Nuova for example, which is of the Dorico-rustic order and manner, and in the massive firmness of its character harmonizes finely with the style and strength of the fortress; being constructed of tufa and flint stone, and comprising rooms for the soldiers who mount guard at the place, with other conveniences which it has not since been usual to add to such buildings. The form of the gate is quadrangular, it is open above,‡ and with its embrasures, serving as platforms

* San Michele had also made provision for the more ready dispersion of the smoke from the Gallery, which then passed along the entire front of the building. This Gallery was demolished by a foreign engineer in the commencement of the last century.

† This should be *Marano*, a fortress on the coast of the Adriatic, and not *Murano*, which is an island close to Venice, well known for its manufacture of glass beads, called *Conterie*.—*Venetian Edition of Vasari.*

‡ The date on this Portal is 1533. The roof is a subsequent addition. —*Förster*

for guns, defends two bastions, or more properly towers, which stand at a certain distance on each side thereof, every part being completed with so much judgment, the whole being so magnificent and costly a work, that none need suppose it possible for the future to produce a more beautiful or more admirable performance, as it is certain that the earliest ages have none more ably executed, or any that could surpass the same.

Some few years later San Michele founded and partially constructed another gate in Verona, commonly called that of the Palio, and which is in no wise inferior to that already mentioned, nay, it is perhaps even more beautiful, being large, majestic, and admirably contrived at all points: in these two gates the Venetian Signori may of a truth be said to have equalled, by means of this architect's genius, the buildings and structures of the ancient Romans.

The gate of the Palio is externally of the Doric order, with columns of immense height and girth, which are fluted or striated in the manner proper to that order;* and these columns, of which there are in all eight, are placed in pairs: four of them serve to flank the door, and on each side there is an escutcheon of the arms of the city magistrates between column and column;† the remaining four, placed in like manner two and two, make a finish to the angles of the gate, the front of which is exceedingly wide and is entirely of rustic work, deeply cut, and having each projection not rough but polished, the whole enriched moreover with decorations of great beauty; the passage or open space of the gate retaining the quadrangular form, but of an architecture which is new, fanciful, and very beautiful. Over this there is an exceedingly rich Doric cornice with all its appurtenances; and above that there was to be placed, as we see by the model, a pediment with the requisite ornaments, which was to serve as a parapet to the artillery, this gate being intended like the other to be used as an embrasure or cavalier also:‡

* Horizontally that is to say.—*Förster.*

† This description is not accurate; there are no escutcheons among the decorations of this gate, and Vasari must have become confused between the description of this and of the Porta Nuova, where there are escutcheons.—*Ibid.*

‡ It is the opinion of our author's Italian commentators that he had

within there are very large rooms for the soldiers of the guard, with other accommodations and conveniences.

On the inner front of the gate, or that turned towards the city, San Michele constructed a magnificent Loggia of the Doric order, and with rustic masonry on the outer side, but within after the rustic manner wholly, with very large piers having columns, which serve as their decoration, and which on the external side are round, but squared on the interior; they are formed in separate pieces of rustic masonry without bases, and have Doric capitals; at the summit is a Doric cornice finely carved, and this passes along the entire length of the Loggia (which is a very long one), both within and without.

At a word, this gate is a most admirable production, and well spoke the illustrious Signor Sforza Pallavicini, Captain General of the Venetian armies, when he affirmed that there was no fabric to be found in Europe which merited to be in any manner compared with this. But it was the last marvel performed by Michele San Michele, for he had only just completed the first range of columns above-described when he finished the course of his life. The gate was left incomplete, therefore, nor will it now very probably be ever completed, since there are not wanting envious persons who censure various parts thereof (as invariably happens in the case of all great works), labouring to diminish the glory of others by their malignity and evil-speaking, although they have not themselves the genius to produce any thing that can bear a comparison with the performance which they are attempting to depreciate and decry.

The same architect erected another gate in Verona called San Zeno, and this also is very beautiful; in any other place than Verona it would indeed be accounted most wonderful, but in that city its beauties are obscured by those of the two before-mentioned. The Bastion near this gate is also a work of San Michele, as is that which is somewhat lower down, opposite to San Bernardino that is to say, with one between them called Dell' Acquajo, which is opposite to the

seen a model only of this gate, one too which San Michele did not put into execution. It is indeed manifest that the architect did not intend the structure to serve as a gate and as a platform for artillery at the same time, nor had he the purpose of placing a pediment over the Doric cornice.

Campo Marzio, and another, which surpasses all the rest for size, and which is placed near the Catena, where the Adige enters the city.*

In Padua, San Michele constructed the Bastion called the Cornaro† as he also did that named Santa Croce, both of which are of astonishing size, and are fabricated according to the method which was invented by himself; for the idea of constructing Bastions with acute angles originated with San Michele. Before his time they were made of a circular form, by which the difficulty of defending them was much increased; in the present day they have an obtuse angle on the outer side and can be readily defended, either by a cavalier erected between two Bastions near at hand, or by means of another Bastion, provided the latter be not too far distant and that the ditch have a good breadth.

The method of constructing Bastions with three squares, to the end that those on the two sides might guard and defend the ditch and the curtains, from their open embrasures, was likewise of San Michele's invention; the large central square meanwhile defending itself at the same time that it attacks the enemy. This method has since been imitated by all, and supersedes the old manner of subterranean embrasures called casemates, in which the smoke and other impediments prevented the effectual management of the artillery, without danger of serious risk to the foundations of the towers and walls, and the certainty of greatly weakening them.

San Michele constructed two very beautiful gates at Legnago likewise, and at Peschiera he directed the works for the first foundation of the fortress, as he did also at Brescia, watching over all that had to be done with so much diligence and such mature consideration, that no one of his buildings has ever shown a crack. Lastly this architect restored the fortress of Chiusa above Verona,‡ and here he formed a commodious passage for the citizens, who can go through without entering the fortress, but yet not without the

* These works of San Michele were for the most part destroyed in the operations of 1801.—*Förster.*

† "Vasari is the first writer," observes a compatriot of his own, "who has claimed for our Italy the honour of having originated the modern manner of fortifying cities."

‡ Of this work but few traces now remain.—*German Translation of Vasari.*

approval of those within, seeing that there is a bridge, by the raising of which the passage is not only closed, but all approach is rendered impossible, even towards the road, which is very narrow and hewn out of the rock.

In the city of Verona San Michele constructed the beautiful bridge called the Ponte Nuovo; this he did after his return from Rome, and by commission from Messer Giovanni Emo, who was then Podesta or Prefect of that city: a work then and now also much admired for its strength and solidity. But it was not in fortification only that San Michele was excellent, he was equally distinguished in the fabrication of private buildings, churches, and monasteries, as may be seen from the numerous edifices erected by that master in Verona and elsewhere. Among these may more particularly be specified the beautiful and richly decorated chapel of the Guareschi* in the church of San Bernardino; this is a circular building in the manner of an ancient temple; it is of the Corinthian order, and is adorned with all the ornaments proper to and permitted by that order, the material being that hard white stone which in Verona, from the sound rendered by it while in the process of working, is called *bronzo*.‡ This kind of stone is of a truth the most beautiful, marble only excepted, that has been discovered down to our times, being extremely firm and having no holes or spots to diminish its beauty.

The above-named chapel therefore, being as it is entirely constructed of this beautiful stone on the inside, and executed by some of the best masters in masonry and stone-cutting, who have put it together with much ability, is held to be as fine a production of its kind as any that is in Italy. San Michele has given the circular form to the entire structure, insomuch that three altars which are within its circle with

* Guareschi is the family name of the House of Raimondi, but the chapel is now called De' Pellegrini, from the foundress, Margherita Pelligrini, widow of Benedetto Raimondi, by whom it was commenced about the middle of the sixteenth century. Being left unfinished, it was restored at her death in 1557, and was completed by the Marshal Carlo Pelligrini, in 1793; this was done by the architect Giuliari, whose finely-illustrated work on the subject, entitled *Cappella de' Pellegrini*, &c., Verona, 1816, our readers may consult with advantage.

† Very probably from the word *Brontolìo*, a murmuring or roaring; as that of the sea for example.

their pediments, cornices, &c., all turn in a perfect round, as does the opening space of the door, which is much in the manner of those entrances formed by Filippo Brunelleschi in the chapels of the church of the Angeli at Florence, a thing exceedingly difficult to do.

Above the first range of columns, San Michele also constructed a gallery which is continued entirely around the chapel, the columns and capitals of the same being enriched with exquisite carvings, and every part in effect being decorated with foliage, grottesche, and other ornaments, all sculptured with indescribable care and pains. The door of the chapel, a very beautiful one, is of the Corinthian order, and has a quadrangular form on the outside, resembling, as San Michele averred, an antique example which he had seen in some building at Rome. It is true that the edifice, having been left unfinished by Michele, for what cause I know not, whether from avarice or want of judgment on the part of those who had given him the commission, was suffered to be brought to a close by others, and these people spoiled it, to the infinite vexation of San Michele, who beheld his work ruined under his eyes in his own lifetime, he being able to do nothing for the prevention of that wrong; wherefore he would sometimes lament over this with his friends, declaring that he grieved only because he did not possess so many thousands of ducats as would have enabled him to buy the chapel and so deliver the work from the avarice of a woman, who, to avoid spending the amount required, was most shamefully spoiling the whole.*

The design of the round church of the Madonna di Campagna near Verona,† was also by San Michele and was a very beautiful one, although the miserable weakness and

* "Now this," declares an upright commentator of our author, whose protest in the cause of justice we gladly reproduce, "is not to be understood as in reproach of the good Margherita Pellegrini, the foundress; since she, knowing she could not live to complete the work, took care to recommend that office to her heirs. Vasari must therefore be understood here to be speaking of an avaricious woman among those heirs to whom the completion of the work had been committed, and it is certain that the chapel was finished in a manner so unworthy of its commencement, that the architect Giuliari found his task of restoring it to anything like what San Michele designed, to be a very difficult one."

† Situate on the high road to Venice, and at the distance of about a mile and a half from Verona.

want of judgment betrayed by those who had the superintendence of the building, have maimed and curtailed it in various parts: nay, they would have done much worse, had it not been for the care of Bernardino Brugnoli, a kinsman of San Michele, who made a perfect model of the whole, after which he now carries forward the construction of the edifice as he does that of many others.*

For the monks of Santa Maria-in-Organo, or rather the Brethren of the Monte Oliveto in Verona, San Michele prepared a design for the façade of their church: it was of the Corinthian order and exceedingly beautiful; but having been carried to a certain height by Paolo San Michele it was then suffered to remain in that condition by reason of the large costs which those monks had been put to for other matters; or more certainly perhaps because of the death of Don Cipriano, a Veronese† brother of that order, and one much venerated among the brotherhood, he being a man of holy life and of high authority in his order, of which he was twice General: by this Don Cipriano it was that the work had been commenced.‡

In San Giorgio of Verona, which is a monastery belonging to the Priests Regular of San Giorgio-in-Alega, Michele San Michele executed certain works, the Cupola of that church being the principal, and this was a structure of great beauty. It was besides so difficult a work that few believed it likely to succeed, the opinion of many persons being that the building could not possibly support the weight to be imposed thereon, because of the weakness of the buttresses; but these were strengthened by our architect in such a manner that there has never since been any cause to fear disaster. In the same monastery San Michele designed and laid the foundations of a very fine Campanile or bell tower, all of hewn stone, partly tufa, and partly of a harder stone. This was brought to a state of considerable forwardness under his own direction, and is now in course of continuance by the above-named Bernardino his nephew, who is conducting it to completion.

* The first stone was not laid until the year 1559, which was that in which San Michele died.

† Temanza, *Vite degli Architetti Veneziani*, informs us that Don Cipriano was not a native of *Verona*, but of *Nona*.

‡ The façade has never been completed.—*Förster.*

Now at this time the Bishop of Verona, Monsignore Luigi Lippomani, had determined to finish the Campanile of his church, which had been commenced a hundred years previously; he therefore caused a design to be prepared by San Michele, who made one for him which was most beautiful, at the same time that the architect had been careful to preserve the older part of the fabric, and had also taken into consideration the amount of expenditure which the Bishop was prepared to make. But a certain Messer Domenico Porzio, a Roman and the vicar of the Bishop, who was but slightly versed in matters connected with architecture, although for the rest a good honest man in the main—this Domenico, I say, allowed himself to be overreached by a man of poor acquirements, and committed to him the care of continuing the building: but that person took stones quarried from the mountain, which he used in their undressed state; he made the staircase moreover in the thickness of the wall, treating it in such a manner that the result was exactly what even those but moderately conversant with architecture might easily have divined, I mean that the building could not maintain itself, but was on the point of falling to the ground.

Among the persons who had predicted this conclusion, was the most reverend Father Marco de' Medici of Verona, who, in addition to his more serious studies, has ever delighted in those of architecture and still continues to do so. But to his assertions of the fate that would inevitably befall the fabric, he received this reply, "Fra Marco is a very learned man in his own calling of letters, philosophy, and theology; but as to architecture he has not fished deeply enough to render himself worthy of belief."

When the tower had attained to the height of the platform where the bells should have been placed, however, it gave way at four different points, and this to such an extent, that after having expended many thousands of crowns in erecting the Campanile, they found it necessary to pay three hundred more to the masons for throwing it down again, seeing that in a few days it must have fallen of itself, and so carried ruin to all around it. But thus should it always happen to those who leaving good and able masters, involve themselves with ignorant and bungling pretenders.

The above-named Monsignor Luigi Lippomani having

then been chosen Bishop of Bergamo, while Monsignor Agostino Lippomani was chosen Bishop of Verona in his place, the latter caused San Michele to reconstruct the model for the before-mentioned Campanile, and to commence that fabric anew. Monsignor Girolamo Trevisani, a Domenican monk, who succeeded the last-named Lippomani in the bishopric, is now proceeding with the work, which he causes to be continued, though very slowly, after the same model—an exceedingly beautiful one. The staircase is now constructed within the tower, and in such a manner that the strength and durability of the Campanile incurs no danger.

For the Signor Counts della Torre of Verona, San Michele built a handsome chapel at their villa of Fumane; it is in the form of a round temple, and has the altar in the midst of it.* In the church of the Santo, at Padua, a magnificent tomb vas constructed, after his designs, for Messer Alessandro Contarini,† Procurator of San Marco, and who had been Proveditor, or Commissary-general, to the Venetian armies. In this work it would seem that San Michele designed to show the manner in which such structures ought to be treated: since he has not adhered to the usual fashion of proceeding, which, as he thought, was better fitted for the altar of a chapel, than for a tomb. His fabric, on the contrary, very rich in its ornaments, although of an exceedingly solid form, has something of a warlike character : among its decorations is the figure of Thetis and two Captives, by the hand of Alessandro Vittoria,‡ which are considered to be very good ones. There is besides a portrait from the life of Contarini, a half-length figure wearing a cuirass, which was executed in marble by the sculptor Danese of Carrara.§ Other decorations there are likewise in abundance, captives, trophies,

* The building is octagonal, but the altar, which is in a very bad manner, is certainly not by San Michele.—*Masselli.* Förster adds that there is a tomb of the Counts Della Torre in the Church of San Francesco at Verona, which is said to be by that architect.

† This work is attributed to Agostino Zeno by some authorities. See *Compendiosa Narrazione di Padova,* Venice, 1706.

‡ They are those on the left of the spectator. The sculptor, Alessandro Vittoria, was a native of Trent, and is mentioned again by Vasari, in the Life of Jacopo Sansovino.

§ Mentioned in other places, as our readers will remember, and to be further named in the Life of Jacopo Sansovino.

spoils of war, and various matters besides, of which I need make no further mention.

In Venice Michele San Michele prepared the model for a convent belonging to the nuns of San Biagio Catoldo, which was highly extolled, and when it was afterwards determined in Verona to rebuild the Lazzaretto, or hospital to serve for those who may be struck by the malady in times of pestilence (the old one, with other houses in the suburb near it, having been demolished), Michele was called on to make a design, wherein he succeeded to a marvel; it is indeed singularly beautiful: the building was to be erected near the river, and at some distance from the plain. But this design, truly beautiful, as we have said, and admirably adapted to its purpose in every part, which is now in the possession of Luigi Brugnoli, nephew of San Michele, was nevertheless not put into execution as a whole; the want of judgment and poverty of spirit betrayed by certain of those who had authority, caused the work to be grievously curtailed; nay, it was at length contracted and reduced to utter meanness, by men who misused the authority wherewith they had been invested by the public, to the maiming and distortion of the building; and this they were enabled to do by the too early death of the gentlemen who had, in the first instance, been called on to superintend the work, and whose greatness of mind was equal to their nobility of place.

The singularly beautiful palace which the Signor Counts of Canossa possess in Verona, was in like manner a work of Michele San Michele, which was built by command of the most reverend Monsignore di Bajus,* who, when in the world, had been the Count Ludovico Canossa, a man highly celebrated by all the writers of his time.† For the same prelate San Michele built another magnificent palace at the villa of Grezzano, in the Veronese territory.‡ It was after his design also that the façade of the castle belonging to the Counts Bevilacqua was restored, as were indeed all the apartments of that abode, which is called the Castello di Bevilacqua.

* Bayeux that is to say.

† Canobio, *Origine della Famiglia Canossa*, affirms that Galeozzo, the nephew of the Bishop, erected this palace.

‡ Few traces of San Michele's work now remain, vast additions having been made to this building in the seventeenth century.

In Verona the same architect built the house of the Lazzevoli family, with its façade, a work which has been much commended:* and in Venice he raised the magnificent and very richly decorated palace of the Cornaro family,† even from the foundations: this edifice is situate near San Polo. He also restored another palace, which likewise belonged to the house of Cornaro, and is situate near San Benedetto all' Albore.‡ This he did for Messer Giovanni Cornaro, who was a particular friend of Michele, and by whose intervention Giorgio Vasari was commissioned to paint nine pictures in oil for the ceiling of a magnificent apartment of the same palace, which was all richly decorated with gilding and carvings in wood.

It was by Michele San Michele that the house of the Bragadini family, which is opposite to Santa Marina, in Venice, was restored, and very commodious as well as handsome did he render it. In the same city he also laid the foundations of, and raised to some height above the ground, that magnificent palace of the most noble Messer Girolamo Grimani, which is situate on the grand canal, near San Luca, and which was erected after a model by that master at an incredible expense.§ It is true that San Michele, being overtaken by death, could not conduct it to the end himself, and the architects who succeeded him in the service of Messer Girolamo have changed much of the design and widely departed from the model of San Michele.

On the borders of the Paduan and Trevisan territories, and near to Castel-Franco, was constructed by the same architect that most renowned palace of the Soranzi, called after that family, Soranza: this palace, to be, as it is, but a villa, is considered the most beautiful and most commodious which, up to that period, had ever been erected in those parts.‖ San

* It now belongs to the noble family of the Pompei.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† Now the Palazzo Mocenigo.—*Ibid.*

‡ This is now called the Palazzo Spinelli.

§ In this very beautiful palace the Post Office is now established.

‖ The Palace of the Soranzi has been demolished, but the Venetian Edition of our author informs us that the frescoes of Paolo Veronese and his school, which formed the most valuable part of its decorations, have been preserved from destruction. The German translator of Vasari adds, that they were presented to the Church of San Liberale by Filippo Balbi, by whose care it was, as the Venetian Edition of our author assures us, that they were saved from destruction.

Michele built the Casa Cornara, in the Campagna near Piombino, with so many other private houses, that it would make too long a story if I were to enumerate them all: let it suffice me to have mentioned the principal ones.* Meanwhile I will not omit to record two very beautiful gates of Palaces, which were executed by this master, one being that of the Rectors,† and Captains; the other that of the palace of the Podestà, both in Verona,‡ and each worthy of high commendation. It is true that the last-named, which is of the Ionic order, with double columns and richly decorated intercolumniations, having figures of Victory also at the angles; this last, I say, on account of the lowness of the site whereon it is placed, has a somewhat dwarfed appearance; an effect increased by the absence of pedestals, and by the great width, which is the consequence of the columns being doubled; but so it was that Messer Giovanni Delfini would have it made.§

While Michele was at length enjoying the tranquillity of leisure in his native place, and was profiting by the glory and renown which had been secured to him by his honourable labours, he received a piece of intelligence which grieved him to such a degree, that the course of his life was cut short by that sorrow. But to the end that the whole may be the better understood, and that all the finer works of San Michele may have their due notice in this his life, I will say somewhat of Giovan-Girolamo, the kinsman of Michele.

This Giovanni, then, who was born to Paolo, the cousin of Michele, being a youth of admirable endowments, was instructed with much diligence in all things relating to architecture by Michele himself, and was so greatly beloved by him, that in all his most important works, more especially in those connected with the defences used in war, Michele would always have the youth beside him. By the aid of such a master, Giovan Girolamo soon became excellent in his voca-

* See Ronzani and Luciolli, *Fabbriche di San Michele*, &c., as before cited.

† Or Prefects sent by Venice. The courts of justice are now held there.

‡ On the Piazza de' Signori.

§ Delfini, that is to say, was anxious to retain the previous arrangement of the floors, and more particularly the range of windows as they then existed. San Michele could therefore not give increased height, or an air of greater lightness to the gate.

tion, insomuch that the most difficult undertakings were safely committed to his care; in fortification more particularly, for in the details of military architecture he had ever taken the greatest delight. His ability becoming known to the Venetian Signori, he was placed among the number of their architects, although still very young, and early received a very considerable stipend, being continually sent, now to one place and now to another, with orders to inspect and set in order the fortresses of the Venetian states: sometimes also to put in execution the designs prepared by San Michele, his kinsman. Giovan-Girolamo was employed, for example, at the fortifications of Zara, among other places, where he laboured with infinite zeal and ability, as he did in the admirable fortress of San Niccolò, in Sebenico, which was erected, as we have said, at the entrance to the port. This last work Giovan-Girolamo had raised from the foundations, and it is considered one of the strongest and best arranged fortresses of that class that can be seen.

After his own design and by the good counsels of his kinsman San Michele, Giovan-Girolamo likewise restored the great fortress of Corfu, which is esteemed the key of Italy on that side. He there reconstructed two great towers on the land side, making them much larger and stronger than they had previously been, adding embrasures and open squares, which flank the ditches in the modern manner, and according to the invention of San Michele, his kinsman. He caused the fosses also to be made much wider than they had been before, and levelled a hill, which being near the fortifications, appeared not unlikely to command them.

But of all the well-considered works executed at Sebenico, by Giovan-Girolamo, there was none which gave more general satisfaction than the large and strongly-defended place which he prepared at one angle of the fortress, for the reception of the people; in times of siege, this constituting a refuge of the most perfect security, to which the inhabitants of that island might resort, and where they might remain without danger of being taken prisoners by the enemy. By all these works Giovan-Girolamo obtained so much credit with the Venetian Signori, that they ordered him a stipend equal in amount to that of San Michele, judging him to be by no means inferior to his kinsman; nay, rather, in matters connected with fortifications, they considered him superior.

All this rejoiced San Michele exceedingly: he was in the highest degree delighted to see his own abilities out-stripped by his relative, and to find the art, which old age would prevent himself from carrying further, thus making progress in the person of Giovan-Girolamo.

Now the latter, in addition to the excellent judgment which he displayed in selecting the site of his works, had also much industry and skill in representing the same, whether by drawings, or models in relief; insomuch that he laid before his lords the most unimportant particulars of all that he undertook, and sent them beautiful models in wood of the most minute parts of the fortifications, a care and diligence which pleased them infinitely, since, without once leaving their abodes in Venice, they could thus daily make themselves acquainted with the progress made, and see the works proceeding at the most distant parts of states. The models themselves were deposited, for the greater convenience, in the palace of the Doge; and, to the end that they might be the more readily examined, they were kept in a place where the Signori could go to consult them whenever it might suit them to do so. They took care, also, to encourage the continuance of Giovan-Girolamo in this mode of proceeding, not only by reimbursing the expenses which he incurred in the construction of these models, but also by showing him innumerable marks of favour.

Giovan-Girolamo might have entered the service of many princes and nobles, with very large emoluments, but he would never leave that of his own lords, the Signori of Venice; nay, pursuing the counsels of his father, and his kinsman San Michele, he took to wife a maiden of the noble family of the Fracastori, one of those dwelling in Verona, with the fixed intention of remaining in those parts. But he had lived only a few days with his beloved bride, who was called Madonna Ortensia, when he was summoned by the Signori to Venice, and thence despatched in great haste to Cyprus, there to inspect all the strong places of the island, orders having been forwarded to the officials, commanding them to provide him with whatever might be needful to him, of all kinds, and in every place.

Having arrived in Cyprus, Giovan-Girolamo employed three months in making the circle of the island; and after carefully inspecting all the fortresses, he put every thing that

he had caused to be done to these strong places into writing and drawings, to the end that he might be able to render his lords an exact acount of the whole. But while thus devoting himself with too much care and solicitude to the duties of his office, he had but little regard to his own life; exposing himself too boldly, he sank beneath the burning heats which prevail in those parts at that season, and was seized with a pestilential fever, which deprived him of life in six days. There are not wanting, however, those who affirm that he had been poisoned.

However this may be, Giovan-Girolamo departed content, since he died in the service of his masters, by whom he had been employed in the most important undertakings, and who had more faith in his fidelity, as well as in his skill as a military engineer, than in those of any other person whatsoever. No sooner was he attacked, than, knowing his illness to be mortal, he gave all his designs and the writings which he had prepared, in relation to the fortified places and other affairs of the island, to his brother-in-law, Luigi Brugnuoli, who was also an architect, to the end that they might be taken to the Signori, Luigi being then employed at the fortifications of Famagosta, which is the key of the island in that direction.

When the news of Giovan-Girolamo's death arrived in Venice, there was not one of the Senate who did not feel indescribable grief at the loss of so distinguished a man, and one so truly devoted to their Republic. He died at the age of forty-five, and received honourable sepulture from his above-named brother-in-law, in San Niccolò of Famagosta.

That duty performed by Luigi Brugnuoli, he then returned to Venice, and presented the designs and writings of Gian Girolamo to the Senate, which, when he had done, he was sent to complete the fortifications of Legnago, where he had already been employed many years, in the execution of the designs and models of his uncle Michele San Michele.

But no long time had elapsed before Luigi also died at Legnago, leaving two sons, who are men of tolerably fair ability in design and in the practice of architecture, for which cause Bernardino, the elder of the two, has at this moment many undertakings in his hands. The Campanile of the Duomo is among the number of the works now in progress under the direction of Bernardino Brugnuoli, as is that of San Giorgio,

called the Madonna di Campagna, in which, and in other edifices, constructed by him in Verona and elsewhere, Bernardino is succeeding extremely well. In the erection and decoration of the principal chapel of San Giorgio, in Verona, this artist has moreover acquitted himself in a highly distinguished manner. The building is of the composite order, and is such,—as the Veronese affirm—whether, for size, design, or execution, that they believe none equal to it can be found in Italy.

This chapel has received the form of the semicircular space within which it is built, and has Corinthian columns, with a composite capital; they stand wholly apart from the wall, and have pilasters behind them. The pediment which rises above them all is of similar character, and follows the circular form of the recess, with an effect which proves great mastery in the architect: it is decorated with all the ornaments which belong to that order. Nor will I omit to mention the fact that when Monsignore Barbaro,* Patriarch-elect of Aquileia, who is profoundly conversant with such matters, and has written on the subject—when Monsignore Barbaro, I say, examined this work on his return from the Council of Trent, he did not refuse commendation to that part of it which is completed, and expressed approval also of the portion which is still in progress; nay, having inspected the fabric several times, he concluded by remarking that he had never seen one similar to it, and that it could scarcely have been better done. This may suffice as an indication of what may be hoped from the genius of Bernardino, who, on the mother's side, belongs, as we have said, to the San Michele family.

But to return to Michele San Michele, from whom we departed, not without cause, some short time back. The death of Gian Girolamo caused him so much grief, since in him he beheld that branch of the house of San Michele menaced with extinction—his nephew leaving no children that—notwithstanding the determined efforts which he made to conquer and overcome his sorrow, he was seized with a malignant fever, of which he died in a few days, to the inexpressible regret of his country and of his most illustrious masters. This happened in the year 1559, and

* Monsignore Barbaro is the translator and commentator of Vitruvius —*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

the place of his sepulture was the church of San Tommaso, which belongs to the Carmelite Monks; the ancient tombs of his forefathers being in that church, and here the Physician, Messer Niccolò San Michele, has even now commenced the erection of a monument to his memory, which is at this time in process of execution.*

San Michele was a man of most orderly and upright life, highly honourable in all his actions; he was of a cheerful disposition, yet grave withal; a man who feared God, and was so rigidly attentive to his religious duties, that he would on no account have commenced any work in the morning until he had first heard mass devoutly, and repeated his prayers. On the first beginning of any work of importance, moreover, he would invariably cause the Mass of the Spirito Santo, or that of the Madonna, to be solemnly sung before any other thing was attempted. He was of an exceedingly liberal disposition, and so obliging towards his friends, that they were as much masters of all he possessed as he was himself.†

One proof of his integrity and generosity I will not omit to mention here, believing it to be known to very few besides myself. When Giorgio Vasari, with whom, as we have said. San Michele was on the most friendly terms, was last parting from him in Venice, the architect said to him, "I would have you to know, Messer Giorgio, that when I was at Monte-Fiascone in my youth, I fell in love, as it pleased fortune, with the wife of a stone-cutter; and she was, of a truth, very kindly disposed towards me, but no one ever knew any thing of that matter except myself. Now, I hear that this poor woman has been left a widow, with a daughter whom she desires to give in marriage, and who, as she declares, is mine own. This may very possibly not be true; nor do I think it is true; but however that may be, do you take her these fifty crowns of gold, and give them to her as bestowed on my part, for the love of God, and to the end that she may help herself and settle her daughter according to the condition of the mother." Giorgio was then going to Rome, and passed through Monte Fiascone, when, although

* In the year 1814 a discourse in praise of San Michele was composed by Antonio Silva, and was published in Rome.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† The life of this illustrious architect by Temanza, *Vite*, &c., as before cited, will well repay perusal.—*Ibid.*

the good woman freely confessed to him that the maiden was not Michele's daughter, yet, as the latter had commanded him, he paid her the money, which was as welcome to that poor creature as five hundred crowns might have been to some others.

San Michele was indeed more kindly and friendly than any man that ever lived, insomuch that he was scarcely made aware of the wants or desires of his friends, before he would instantly set about labouring to fulfil the same, though it were to the spending of his life; nor did any one ever do him a service without having it many times and doubly repaid. Giorgio Vasari once made him a large drawing in Venice, and this the Aretine artist completed with his best diligence, the subject being Lucifer in his pride overwhelmed by the Archangel Michael, and cast shamefully from heaven into the horrible deeps of hell. For this San Michele thanked Giorgio courteously when the latter went to take leave of him, but said nothing further, nor was it until after Vasari had been some days returned to Arezzo, that he knew what San Michele had done: the architect, namely, had long before sent to the mother of Giorgio, who was then dwelling in Arezzo, a large number of magnificent and beautiful presents, as might have been done by one of our richest nobles; with a letter wherein he expressed his attachment for her son in terms of the utmost respect to herself.

The Signori of Venice were many times on the point of increasing the stipend of San Michele, but he always refused to accept these additions, desiring that they would give the sums which they proposed to add to his appointments, to his nephews rather than to himself. At a word, San Michele was most courteous, friendly, and benevolent, in all his actions; he was esteemed and beloved accordingly by many great nobles, among others, and while our artist was in Rome, by the Cardinal de' Medici, who was afterwards Pope Clement VII., by the Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, subsequently Pope Paul III., by the divine Michelagnolo, by the Signor Francesco Maria, Duke of Urbino, and by vast numbers of the nobles and senators of Venice. In Verona his most intimate friend was Fra Marco de' Medici, a man of great learning, and of infinite goodness,* he had besides many

* Fra Marco was one of the correspondents of Vasari, who obtained the

others of whom it is not needful that I should now make mention.

And now, as I shall not have again to speak of the Veronese, or of Verona, for some time, I will take the occasion here presented to make mention of certain painters belonging to that country, who are still living, and are so entirely worthy of being named that they are on no account to be passed over in silence.

The first of these is Domenico del Riccio,* who has painted three façades of the house of Fiorio di Seta, which is situate above the Ponte Nuovo in Verona, those three namely which do not look on the bridge—Fiorio's house standing entirely apart from all other buildings. The work, which is in fresco, is executed partly in chiaro-scuro and partly in colours. On the front, which looks towards the river, are combats of marine monsters; on another are battles of the Centaurs, with certain of the Italian rivers; and the third has two coloured pictures, the subject of one, which is over the door, being a Feast of the Gods, and that of the other, the fable of a Marriage between the Benacus (that is the Lago di Garda) and the Nymph of the Lake, Caris, from which marriage it is fabled was derived the birth of the river Mincio, which does in fact rise from the Lago di Garda.† In the same house is a large frieze in various colours by the hand of Riccio, and painted in a good manner.‡

In the house of Messer Pellegrino de' Ridolfi, which is also in Verona, the same artist painted the Coronation of the Emperor Charles V. and a second picture showing the same Monarch, when after his coronation he rides with the sovereign Pontiff in great pomp through Bologna. § In oil Domenico di Riccio has painted the principal picture in the

greater part of what he has here given in relation to the Veronese artists from his hand.

* Mentioned in the Life of Valerio Vicentino. See vol. iii. p. 467.

† An engraving of this part of the work here in question will be found in Panvinius, *Antiquitates Veronensis*, lib. vii. p. 204.

‡ Persico, *Descrizione di Verona*, has given an exact description of these works, and to him our readers are referred for details which cannot here find place.

§ This work also is described in Persico, as above cited, and was engraved, with some omissions, in the year 1791, by command of the Cardinal Carrara.

church newly built by the Duke of Mantua near the Castello; the subject of this work is the Martyrdom by decapitation of Santa Barbara, which is executed with much care and good judgment. The cause whereby the Duke was moved to give that picture to Domenico was this, a painting had been executed by that artist long before in the Chapel of Santa Margherita, which is in the Cathedral of Mantua, and the manner of that work, which Domenico had painted in competition with Paulino, who painted the chapel of Sant' Antonio, with Paolo Farinato, who decorated that of San Martino, and with Battista del Moro, to whom had been confided the Chapel of Santa Maddalena ;—the manner of Domenico, I say, pleased the Duke very greatly, and the Santa Barbara was entrusted to him as the consequence of that Signor's approval.

Now all these four Veronese had been invited to Mantua by the Cardinal Ercole, who proposed that they should decorate that church which he had had restored with the designs, and in part also under the direction, of Giulio Romano. Other works have been performed by Domenico, in Verona, Vicenza, and Venice, but it shall suffice me to have mentioned the above. He is an upright man and an excellent artist, well versed, not in painting only, but in music also; Domenico is indeed an accomplished musician, and among the most distinguished members of the truly noble Academy of the Philharmonists in Verona.

Nor will Felice, son of the aoove-named Domenico, be found inferior to his father; although still young he has already proved himself a more than ordinary painter in a picture which he has painted for the church of the Trinità; the subject of this work is the Madonna, with six other Saints, all of the size of life. And this success of Felice need not occasion surprise, that youth having studied his art in Florence, dwelling in the house of Bernardo Canigiani, a Florentine gentleman and a gossip of his father.

In the same city of Verona there is also still living the painter Bernardino, called India,* who, to say nothing of many other works, has depicted the Fable of Psyche in most

* The son of Tullio India, who was also a painter, and of no mean repute.—*Masselli.*

beautiful figures on the ceiling of a chamber in the house of Messer Antonio del Tiene. He has also painted a room, with admirable invention, and in a very beautiful manner, for the Count Girolamo da Canossa.*

The painter, Eliodoro Forbicini,† a youth of a very fine genius, is also much extolled, possessing great facility in all kinds of painting; he is more particularly distinguished as a painter of grottesche, as may be seen in the two chambers above described as well as in other places where he has laboured.

In like manner Battista da Verona,‡ who is called thus, and no otherwise, out of his own country, well deserves to be mentioned here; he was instructed in the first principles of painting by an uncle of his own in Verona, and subsequently placed himself with the excellent Titian in Venice, under whose discipline he became a most excellent painter. While yet very young he painted a Hall in the Palace of Portesco, the Paymaster of the Forces, the building is at Tiene in the Vicentine territory, and the work was executed by Battista in company with Paulino; they having painted a vast number of figures, by which they both acquired credit and reputation. Battista executed numerous frescos in company with the above-named Paulino at the Palace of Soranza in Castel Franco, both being despatched thither by Michele San Michele, who loved them as his sons. These two artists also painted the façade of the house of Messer Antonio Cappella, which is situate on the Grand Canal in Venice, and at a later period, still working in company, they decorated the ceiling, or rather the entire wainscot of the Hall of the Council of Ten, dividing the pictures between them.

No long time after having finished the above, Battista was invited to Vicenza, where he executed numerous works, both in and around the city, and in these last days he has painted the front of the Monte di Pietà, where he has

* Bernardino painted two rooms in the Palazzo Canossa.—*Masselli.*

† Lanzi calls Forbicini "an assistant of India, and of many other artists," doubtless meaning that he was employed by them to execute the grottesche, in the production of which, as Vasari observes, his ability principally consisted.

‡ Battista Fontana of Verona, who, according to Lanzi, was much engaged at the Imperial Court of Vienna: other authorities speak of him as a good engraver.

delineated a vast number of nude figures larger than life, and in various attitudes; they are of good design and have been completed in so short a time that it is a very marvel. If then this artist has accomplished so much at so early an age, since he has not yet attained his thirtieth year, let every one judge for himself of what may be hoped from him in the course of a life.

The painter Paulino * is also a Veronese, he is now in good repute at Venice; and this artist also, although in like manner not more than thirty years old, has performed many commendable works. Born in Verona, Paulino was the son of a carver in stone, or as they say in that country, a stone-cutter, and having acquired the principles of painting from the Veronese, Giovanni Caroto,† he painted in fresco the Hall of the Paymaster Portesco at Tiene in the Vicentino, in company with the above-named Battista, with whom he subsequently executed numerous works at the Soranza, all of which show good design, a fine judgment, and a beautiful manner.‡

At Masiera near Asolo in the territory of Treviso, Paulino painted the very beautiful house of the Signor Daniello Barbaro, Patriarch elect of Aquileia; § and in Verona he painted a large picture on cloth for the refectory of San Nazzaro, a Monastery of the Black Friars; the subject chosen being the Supper of Our Saviour Christ in the house of Simon the Leper, ‖ when Mary Magdalene threw herself at the feet of Our Lord. In this work there are many por-

* This is the renowned Paolo, Cagliari or Caliari, better known as Paul Veronese. The author of the bitter remarks attributed to Agostino Carracci, reproaches Vasari for having said so little of this master, but the great abundance of good artists at that time in Verona renders it highly probable that Cagliari had not then been able to make it evident that he possessed the right to more distinction than has here and hereafter been accorded to him by Vasari, whose impartiality is manifest. See Zanetti, *Della Pittura Veneziana*, and Ridolfi, *Maraviglie dell' Arte*. See also Lanzi, *History of Painting*, vol. ii. p. 206, 213.

† The brother of Giovanni Francesco Caroto, mentioned in the Life of Fra Giocondo, which will be found in vol. iii. p. 385.

‡ The removal of these works has been already alluded to. See *ante*, note ‖, p. 437.

§ This Palace is now in the possession of the Counts Manin, and is much visited by strangers.—*Venetian Edition of Vasari.*

‖ The Supper of Simon is no longer in the Monastery of San Nazzaro, which is now become a soap manufactory.—*Ibid.*

traits from the life among the numerous figures which it comprises, with buildings, &c., in perspective, which are admirable; there are two Dogs under the table, moreover, which are so beautifully executed that they appear to be alive; and in the distance are certain figures of lame and halt, which are also excellently well done.

In the Hall of the Council of Ten in Venice, within an oval, which is larger than any of the others forming the divisions of the ceiling and occupies the centre thereof, as being the principal picture, is another work by Paulino; a figure of Jupiter driving forth the Vices, which is meant to signify that this supreme and absolute ruler expels evil, and also punishes wicked and vicious men.* The same artist painted the ceiling in the church of San Sebastiano, a work of extraordinary merit, as he did also the picture for the High Altar, with smaller pictures which surround and form the framework of the same. Paulino likewise painted the doors which close the organ, and all these are truly praiseworthy productions.†

In the hall of the grand council, Paulino executed a very large picture, the subject Frederick Barbarossa presenting himself to the Pope, with a large number of figures in varied habiliments and all of great beauty, insomuch that it does worthily represent the court of a Pontiff and an Emperor as well as the Venetian senate. There are many gentlemen and senators of the republic represented from the life in this picture, which is such, at a word, for grandeur, excellence of design, variety of attitude and beauty, that it is deservedly extolled by all who see it.‡

After having completed this work Paulino executed the decorations of other chambers, used for the service of the above-named Council of Ten, painting the ceilings in oil with

* This picture is still in its place, but it is by an Angel, and not by Jupiter, that the Vices are driven forth.

† The Church of San Sebastiano may be considered a perfect gallery of Paolo's works. The tomb of the master is also there, with his bust, by Matteo Carmero.—*Venetian Edition of Vasari.*

‡ Certain commentators enumerate the "Return of the Doge Contarini" after his victory over the Genoese, with "Venice received among the Gods," in the ceiling of the Great Hall of the Council, among the works of Paolo, but attribute "the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa" to Federigo Zucchero.

figures which are very finely foreshortened and admirably beautiful.* He painted in fresco for a certain merchant the front of a house, which is situate on the road leading from San Maurizio to San Moisè, and this also was a very beautiful work, but the sea-air is gradually destroying that production.† For Cammillo Trevisano, Paulino painted a Loggia and an apartment in fresco at Murano, which were greatly admired, and at the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, he painted the Marriage at Cana in Galilee, at the upper end of a very large room ;‡ this work is most wonderful for grandeur, for power of invention, for number of figures, and for variety of vestments : if I recollect rightly, it comprises more than a hundred and fifty heads, all judiciously varied and executed with the utmost care.

The same artist was commissioned by the procurators of San Marco to paint certain angular medallions ; these are in the ceiling of the Nicene library,§ which was bequeathed to the Signoria by the Cardinal Bessarion, with a vast treasure of Greek books collected by that prelate. Now the above-named Proveditors, when they caused the painting of the library to be commenced, had promised a prize of honour, over and above the price agreed on, to him who should best acquit himself in the decoration of the same, the work was then divided among the best painters at that time in Venice.

Being completed, and after all the pictures had been well examined, a golden chain was placed around the neck of Paulino, he, by the opinion of all, being adjudged to have done the best. The picture which obtained him this victory and prize of honour, was that wherein he has represented Music ; here are depicted three young and very beautiful women, one, the most beautiful of all, is playing on the bass-viol, her eyes are cast down, being fixed on the handle of the instrument, and her attitude clearly shows that her ear

* Other works by Paolo Veronese, beside those here mentioned, adorn the apartments in question.

† It has accordingly now perished utterly.

‡ This, which Lanzi considers one of the finest of the master's works, was taken to Paris in 1797, and has not been returned.

§ The work here alluded to is the ceiling of what was formerly called the Library of San Marco, which now makes part of the Palace, the Library having been transferred to the ex-ducal Palace.— *Venetian Edition of Vasari.*

and voice are intently following the sound; of the other two, one is playing a lute, and the other sings from a book. Near these figures is a Cupid without wings playing on a harpsicord, to signify that Love is awakened by Music, or that Love is ever the companion of Music; and the artist has made him without wings, to show that he never parts from her. In the same work Paulino depicted Pan, who, according to the poets, is the god of shepherds, holding in his hand pipes or flutes made of the bark of trees, these being such as have been dedicated to him in the manner of vows, by shepherds who had been victorious in the trial of playing on them.

Two other pictures were painted by Paulino in the same place, in one of which is Arithmetic, accompanied by philosophers, dressed after the manner of the ancients; in the other is Honour, to whom, she being seated, sacrifices are offered and royal crowns presented. But as this young man is just now in the best of his activity, and has not yet attained his thirty-second year, I will say nothing more at present respecting him.*

Of Verona is likewise the practised and able painter Paolo Farinato,† who was the disciple of Niccolo Ursino,‡ and has executed many works in Verona; among the principal of these may be indicated a hall in the house of the Fumanelli family, which Messer Antonio, a gentleman of that family, and a physician renowned through all Europe, has caused to be decorated in fresco and covered with stories after his own fancy. There are also two large pictures by Farinato in the principal chapel of Santa Maria-in-Organo,§ one of these represents the Slaughter of the Innocents by Herod, in the other is depicted the Emperor Constantine, who causes a number of children to be brought and slain before him, to the

* Vasari has returned to the subject of Paolo's works nevertheless, in the Life of Battista Franco, and in any case has said quite sufficient to render the attack of those who reproach him for not having written a separate biography of a painter then so young, wholly unjustifiable.

† Said to have been a scion of the family of the celebrated Farinata degli Uberti. On his large picture, in San Giorgio Maggiore at Verona, he gives his age as seventy-nine, in 1603; he was consequently born in 1524. —*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

‡ This should be Niccolò Giolfino, a painter of Verona.—*Ibid.*

§ These works are still in existence.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

end that he may bathe himself in their blood, as a cure for the leprosy wherewith he was afflicted.*

In the recess of the above-mentioned chapel are two other stories by Paolo Farinato, these also are large, although not of equal size with those previously named; in the first is Our Saviour Christ receiving Peter, who is walking towards him on the water, and in the second is the Supper which San Gregorio gives to certain poor men. In all these works, which are entirely worthy of praise, there is a large number of figures executed with good design, much thought, and great diligence.† There is furthermore a picture of San Martino by the same artist, which was placed in the cathedral of Mantua, and which Farinato painted in competition with other painters his compatriots, as we have before related.

And this shall be the end of the life of the excellent Michele San Michele, and of those other distinguished men of Verona, who are certainly worthy of all praise for their excellence in art as well as for their many other good qualities.

GIOVAN-ANTONIO RAZZI, OF VERCELLI,‡ CALLED SODONA, SODONE, OR SOGDONA.§

[BORN 1474—DIED 1549.]

HAD men the foresight to consider well their position when fortune offers to them the opportunity of making themselves

* Many authorities are of opinion that the subject here described is not that of the doubtful occurrence alluded to by our author.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† These paintings also still remain.

‡ Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen*, vol. ii. p. 385, *et seq.*, may be consulted with advantage in relation to the life of this painter. See also Della Valle, *Sienese Edition* of our author, and Tiraboschi, *Storia della Litteratura Italiana*, tomo ix. p. 193.

§ That this, which has been considered a by-name, was indeed a family name of Razzi, appears to be sufficiently proved by inscriptions, which are quoted by Della Valle, Gaye, and others: that on the picture of the Council House of Siena, for example, where Razzi signs himself, *Io Antonius Sodona*, &c.; with those cited by Gaye, *Carteggio inedito*, &c., among others, a letter from the Signoria of Siena, wherein the painter is addressed as *Maestro Giovannantonio Sodone Pittore;* and those from the Prince of Piombino, who in his letters to the Signoria, calls the master the *Cavalier Sogdona.*

rich, by procuring for them the favour of great men, and if in their youth they would labour to bring their merits and deserts into harmony with their good fortune, how marvellous would then be the effects that might be seen to result from their activity. But the contrary is known to be too often the case; for as it is true that he who confides his destiny solely to fortune, is for the most part deceived, so is it also most evident and daily proved by experience that even good ability will not accomplish any great things, if wholly left to itself and not accompanied by good fortune. If Giovan Antonio of Verzelli* had displayed excellence equal to his good fortune, as he might have done had he laboured to that effect, he would not have found himself miserably reduced at the end of his life, which was always an eccentric and ill-governed one, to an old age marred by deplorable want.

Giovan Antonio was invited to Siena by certain merchants, who were agents of the noble family of the Spannocchi, when, as his good fortune, or perhaps his evil destiny, would have it, he did not for a time find any competitors in that city. He therefore laboured there alone, and this, although it was for the moment a kind of advantage, became eventually injurious to him, since he thus suffered himself in a certain manner to fall asleep, and never gave himself the trouble to study, but executed the greater part of his works by mere facility of hand,† or if at times he did resolve to betake himself to some little study, these efforts were principally confined to copying and imitating the works of Jacopo della Fonte,‡ which were much admired in Siena, beyond this he did but little.

In the early days of his residence at Siena, Giovan-

* Authorities differ as to the birth-place of Razzi; Bottari, Baldinucci, and Ugurgieri maintain him to have been a native of *Vergelle*, a place in the Sienese territory; Della Valle, on the contrary, supports our author's assertion that he was of Verzelli or Vercelli, in Piedmont. It is true that Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'Artisti*, cites an inscription in which Giovan-Antonio calls himself "of Siena" (*Senensis*), but this may have reference to his right of citizenship, an honour which had been bestowed on him by the Sienese. Be this as it may, and whether he were Piedmontese or Sienese by birth, it is certain that by long residence, by adoption, and by affection, this master belongs to Siena.

† In the Life of Domenico Beccafumi, Vasari has declared Razzi to have been a good designer.

‡ For whose life see vol. i. of the present work.

Antonio executed numerous portraits from the life, with that glowing manner of colouring of his which he had brought from Lombardy, and he then also made many friends in Siena, but more because the inhabitants of that city are much inclined to favour foreigners than on account of his merits as a painter.* He was besides a man of joyous life and cheerful manners, a lover of pleasure, and ever ready to contribute to the amusement of others, even though it were not always in the most creditable manner, for which cause he obtained more than one by-name, among others that of Mattaccio, or the arch-fool; whereat, instead of being displeased and resenting the same, he would laugh and glorify himself, nay, he would make sonnets and canzonets upon these opprobrious epithets, which songs he would then sing to the lute, and that without reserve.†

Giovan-Antonio had a fancy for keeping all sorts of strange animals in his house, badgers, squirrels, apes, cat-a-mountains, dwarf asses, horses and barbs to run races, magpies, dwarf chickens, tortoises, Indian doves, and other animals of similar kind, whatever he could get into his hands in short; he was always surrounded by children and young men, in whose society he took much pleasure; ‡ and besides the animals above-named, he had a raven, which he had so effectually taught to speak, that this creature counterfeited the voice of Giovan-Antonio exactly in some things, more especially in replying to any one who knocked at the door, nay, this last he did so perfectly, that he seemed to be the painter's very self, as all the Sienese well know. The other animals also were so tame that they were constantly assembled about his person, while he was in the house, and came round all

* The commentators remark, and with reason, that Vasari, disapproving the character of Razzi, has for once permitted himself to look with a biassed judgment on his works, which are now admitted on all hands to have great merit.

† Della Valle labours much to defend Razzi against these charges brought against him, which he declares to be calumnious; and referring to the opprobrious names bestowed on the painter, he quotes an inscription by his own hand, on the picture in the Chapel of the Council House in Siena, and which is as follows:—*Ad honorem Virginis Mariæ. Io. Antonius . . . Sodona Eques et Comes Palatinus faciebat.* See *ante*, p. 452, notes ‡ and §.

‡ In the Life of Beccafumi, this fancy has been alluded to, but there Vasari adds, that Giovan-Antonio was then young, and of some merit as a painter.

who approached him, playing the strangest tricks, and performing the most extraordinary concerts ever seen or heard, insomuch that the dwelling of this man seemed like the very ark of Noah.

This unusual manner of living, the strangeness of his proceedings, with his works and pictures, some of which were certainly very good ones, caused Giovan-Antonio to have such a name among the Sienese (with the base and low that is to say, for those of higher condition judged him better), that he was held by many to be a great man. Wherefore Fra Domenico da Leccio, a Lombard, being made General of the monks of Monto Oliveto, and Giovan-Antonio, going to visit him at Monte Oliveto di Chiusuri, the principal abode of that Order, distant about fifteen miles from Siena, found so much to say and used so many persuasions, that he received commission to finish the stories which had been partly executed on a wall of that monastery by Luca Signorelli of Cortona.* The subject which had been chosen was from the life of San Benedetto, and Razzi undertook the work for a very low price, with the addition of his expenses and that of certain boys, colour grinders and other assistants, by whom he was attended. But the amusement which those fathers found in his proceedings while he worked in that place is not to be told, nor could one easily describe the pranks which he played there,† insomuch that the monks then bestowed on him that name of *Mattaccio*, before alluded to, in requital of his follies.‡

Returning to the work itself, however, Giovan-Antonio, having finished certain stories in a manner which showed

* Luca Signorelli suffered them to remain unfinished, because he was summoned to Orvieto, there to paint the Chapel of the Madonna in San Brizio.—*Note to the German Translation of Vasari.*

† The Abbate Perini, *Lettera sull' Archicenobio di Monte Oliveto Maggiore*, Florence, 1788, remarks that Vasari would make it appear that the works executed by Razzi at Monte Oliveto were "full of absurdities and offences, whereas they breathe the purest spirit of devotion;" but Vasari's words bear no such interpretation, as our readers will clearly perceive; they refer to the absurdities and follies he perpetrated, and not to ridiculous or unbecoming subjects painted by him.

‡ Della Valle excuses the painter for the follies here reproved, and quotes in his behalf the words of Seneca :—

Nullum fuit magnum ingenium absque aliqua admiratione dementiæ.

more readiness of hand than care and thought, the General complained of that circumstance, when Il Mattaccio replied, that he worked according to his humour, and that his pencil only danced in harmony with the sound of the coins, adding, that if the General would pay more, he was quite able to produce much better work. Thereupon Fra Domenico promised to pay him better for the future, when Giovan-Antonio painted three stories which still remained to be executed in the angles, with so much more of thought and care than he had given to the others, that they proved to be much better works.

In the first of these pictures is seen San Benedetto departing from Norica, and leaving his parents to go and pursue his studies in Rome; in the second are San Mauro and San Placido brought to him as children, and dedicated by their parents to God: the third picture represents the Goths burning Monte Casino. Last of all, and to do despite to the General and those monks, Giovan-Antonio depicted the story of the Priest Fiorenzo, the enemy of San Benedetto, who brought a number of public dancing women to sing and frolic around the monastery of that holy man, thereby to tempt and disturb the devotions of those fathers. In this story Il Mattaccio, who was as eccentric in painting as in the other actions of his life, exhibited a dance of nude figures, which was altogether offensive, and, as he knew that this would not be permitted, he refused to let any of the monks see his work while it was in progress. When this story was uncovered, the General at once commanded that it should be instantly destroyed and done away with, but Mattaccio, after much idle talk, and seeing that the father was in great anger, added draperies to all the figures in the picture, which is among the best of those to be found in the Monte Oliveto.*

Under each of the stories above-mentioned, the same artist painted two medallions, in each of which is a Monk, the whole range presenting figures of all the Generals by whom that Congregation had been governed. Not having the portraits from the life, Il Mattaccio executed most of

* Rumohr praises these works greatly. There are still some twenty-six paintings by Razzi in the Monastery, but since the suppression of the House under the French domination, they have unhappily suffered much injury.—*Note to the German Translation of Vasari.*

these heads from fancy, but in some he placed the portraits of certain among the older monks then in the monastery, bringing down the series until he came to the above-named Fra Domenico da Leccio, who was then General, as we have said, and from whom he had received his commission for the work. But some of these heads, having subsequently had their eyes put out, while others had been also injured in various parts, the Bolognese Fra Antonio Bentivogli caused them all, and for very good reasons, to be taken away.

While Giovan-Antonio was occupied with these paintings, a Milanese gentleman had gone to take the habit of a monk in that monastery; he was at the time wearing a yellow cloak, bordered and trimmed with black cords, as was the fashion of the period; and when the gentleman had taken the habit, this cloak was given by the General to Mattaccio, when the latter, putting it on his back, drew his own portrait, thus clothed, with the aid of a mirror, in the picture wherein San Benedetto, when little more than a child, miraculously mends and makes whole the pail or tub of his nurse, which she had broken. At the feet of his own portrait Il Mattaccio painted those of his raven, with a baboon, and some other of his animals.*

This work being finished, Giovan-Antonio painted a picture, the subject of which was the Miracle of the five loaves and two fishes, in the Refectory of Sant' Anna, a house belonging to the same Order, and at the distance of about five miles from Monte Oliveto, with other figures in other parts of the monastery.† When this work was finished, Razzi returned to Siena, where he decorated in fresco the façade of the house of the Sienese Messer Agostino de' Bardi, which is situate at the Pustierla: in this painting were many things worthy of praise, but much of it has been destroyed by time and the action of the air.

In the meantime Agostino Chigi, a very rich and most

* In this picture the artist placed the portraits of his wife and daughter as well as his own.—*German Translation of Vasari.*

† The large picture in the Refectory of Sant' Anna is also in tolerably fair preservation, but the smaller paintings executed over the seats of the Monks have been scratched by piles of wood which have been reared against them, this Refectory having become the magazine or store-room of a wood-seller.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

renowned Sienese merchant, visited his native city, and Giovan-Antonio was made known to him, as well by the follies he committed, as because he had the name of a good painter; wherefore Agostino conducted him to Rome, where Pope Julius II. was at that time causing the papal apartments in the Vatican, which had formerly been erected by Nicholas V., to be decorated with paintings, and Chigi so contrived that Giovan-Antonio was employed with other artists to work in those apartments.

Now Pietro Perugino was then painting the ceiling of one of the rooms, that namely which is close beside the Torre Borgia, but he, being an old man, worked slowly, and, not being able to commence such other portions of the work as he had at first been commanded to execute, a room beside that which Pietro was painting was then given to Giovan-Antonio. He, therefore, putting hand to the same, painted the decorations of cornices, friezes, and foliage, which border the ceiling, and then proceeded to paint certain large circular compartments, wherein he executed stories in fresco, which are of very considerable merit. But as this animal, occupied as he was with his four-footed creatures and his follies, did not steadily continue and put forward the work, Raffaello da Urbino, who had been invited to Rome by the architect Bramante, and whose superiority to the other artists had become manifest to the Pontiff,—Raffaello, I say, received charge of the whole, and his Holiness commanded that neither Perugino nor Giovan-Antonio should work any more in those apartments, nay, furthermore, he gave orders that all which they had done should be destroyed.

But Raffaello, who was goodness and modesty itself permitted all the paintings that Pietro Perugino, who had formerly been his master, had accomplished, to retain their places, nor did he efface the work of the Mattaccio except so far as the figures of the medallions and the stories were concerned; all the decorations and ornaments which served as framework, he suffered to remain, and they still surround the figures executed by Raphael, that of Justice and Knowledge namely, with those of Poetry and Theology.

Then Agostino, who was a man of the utmost courtesy and kindness, without permitting himself to be deterred by the affront which had been put upon Giovan-Antonio, gave

him one of the principal rooms in his palace in the Trastevere to paint. This is the apartment which opens on the great hall, and the subject of the work was Alexander and Roxana in their bridal chamber. Among other figures Razzi here depicted Loves employed in various offices; some unfasten the cuirass of Alexander, others draw off his sandals or buskins, some carry away and lay aside his helmet and mantle, while others scatter flowers upon the bed or perform services of similar kind; near the chimney is a figure of Vulcan engaged in the forging of arrows.

This work was then considered a very good and praiseworthy performance,* and if Il Mattaccio, who had some very excellent parts, and was powerfully aided by nature, had profited by the mishap we have referred to above, and then devoted himself to his studies, as any other would have done, he might have become a very excellent painter; but he, whose thoughts were ever running on some absurdity, worked by fits and starts only, or when the fancy took him, caring for nothing more earnestly than the dressing himself pompously, wearing a doublet of brocade, a short cloak all covered over and decorated with cloth of gold, head-gear of the richest fashion, a gold chain and other fopperies of similar kind, best suited to Jack-puddings and Mountebanks, in all which Agostino, whom that humour of his diverted greatly, found the finest sport in the world.

Pope Julius II. having then died, and Leo X., whom all fantastic and light-minded creatures such as was this man pleased well; Leo X., I say, being created high Pontiff, Il Mattaccio was suddenly raised to the very summit of delight, and the rather as he detested Julius, who had done him that scorn; wherefore, desiring to make his talents known to the new Pontiff, he set himself to work, and executed a painting wherein he depicted a nude figure of Lucretia stabbing herself with the poniard. And as fortune is favourable to fools and will sometimes bring aid to thoughtless men, so Giovan-Antonio succeeded in producing the most beautiful form of a woman that can be conceived, with a head that was breathing.

The work thus happily completed, Agostino Chigi, who

* The pictures of the Palazzo Chigi on the Langara, now called the Farnesina, are still in existence, but late authorities do not consider the figure of Vulcan to be by Razzi.

stood in the closest relations of service with Leo X., caused it to be presented to his Holiness, by whom the artist was made a Cavalier or Knight and duly remunerated for so beautiful a picture.* It now appeared to Giovan-Antonio that he had become a great man, and he began to refuse all labour unless when he was driven to work by actual want.

Agostino Chigi, being then called by certain of his affairs to Siena, took Giovan-Antonio with him, but while dwelling there, the artist, being a Knight without revenues, was compelled to set himself to work; he therefore painted a picture, the subject of which was Our Saviour Christ in the act of being taken from the cross; beneath is the Virgin in a swoon, with an armed warrior whose back is turned to the spectator, but the front of whose figure is shown as reflected from certain pieces of armour lying on the earth, and which armour is as clear as a mirror. This picture, which was and is considered one of the best of Razzi's works, was placed in the church of San Francesco, on the right hand as one enters the church.† In the cloister also, which is beside the said church of San Francesco, Giovan-Antonio executed a fresco of Christ scourged at the column, with numerous figures of Jews standing around Pilate, and a range of columns designed in perspective, forming a kind of vestibule. In this work Giovan-Antonio painted the portrait of himself without a beard, or rather with the beard shaven, and with long hair as they were worn at that time.‡

No long time afterwards, our artist painted certain pictures for the Signor Jacopo Sesto of Piombino; and, being with Signor Jacopo in that place, he furthermore depicted other works on cloth for the same Noble. Wherefore, besides many presents and marks of favour which were shown him by Signor Jacopo, Razzi also procured by his means a number of little animals from his Island of Elba, of the kind pro-

* This singularly beautiful picture, still in good preservation, is now in the possession of Herr Commendator Kestner, the Hanoverian Ambassador to Rome.—*Note to German Edition of Vasari.*

† This picture, which was held in high estimation by Annibale Carracci, is still to be seen in the church.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8. It has been engraved on copper by Gio Paolo Lasinio.

‡ This work has been transferred to canvas, and is now in the Academy of the Arts at Siena.

duced in that island, and all which Giovan-Antonio then took with him to Siena.

Repairing subsequently to Florence, he was commissioned by a monk of the Brandolini family, who was then Abbot of the monastery of Monte Oliveto, which is situate outside the gate of San Friano, to paint certain pictures in fresco on the wall of the Refectory. But negligent and thoughtless as he was, Giovan-Antonio executed these works without care or study, and they proved to be so worthless that he was utterly shamed and treated with scorn for his follies by those who had been led to expect that he would produce some extraordinary work.*

While Razzi was occupied with this painting, he sent a Barbary horse, which he had brought with him to Florence, to run at the race of San Bernaba; and, as fortune would have it, his horse ran much better than the others, and won the prize. But when the boys, who, according to the usual custom, followed the trumpeters after the race, to call out the name of the master to whom the winning horse belonged, came to Razzi inquiring what name they were to call out, he replied Il Mattaccio, and the boys so called out accordingly; when that disreputable name being heard by certain grave old men, they began to complain of it and to say: "What unbeseeming thing is this, and what boldness is here, that there should be called through our city so opprobrious a name as this?" in such sort that a clamour arose, and the poor Mattaccio was within an ace of being stoned by the boys and people, together with his horse and the ape which he had with him on the saddle.

Giovan-Antonio had indeed won many races in the course of years (which had been gained by his horses as described above), and displayed indescribable vain-glory in the matter of his accumulated prizes, he would exhibit them to every one who came into the house, nay, he would very frequently make a show of them at his windows.

But we return to his works. For the Brotherhood of San Bastiano in Camollia, whose place is behind the church of the Umiliati, Giovan-Antonio painted a Gonfalon on cloth and in oil, for the Brotherhood to carry in procession, the subject being San Sebastiano, nude and fastened to a tree.

* They were subsequently effaced.

The figure supports itself on the right foot, the left leg being foreshortened, and the head raised towards an angel who is placing a crown on the head of the Saint. This work is a truly beautiful one, and is worthy of the highest commendation; on the reverse of the banner is Our Lady with the Divine Child in her arms, while beneath are San Gismondo and San Rocco, with some Flagellants who are kneeling on the earth. It is said that certain merchants of Lucca would have given the men of the Brotherhood three hundred gold crowns for the picture, but could not obtain it even for that sum, the Company not being willing to part with so admirable a work.*

And of a truth Il Mattaccio, whether by care, by favour of fortune, or by chance, did in some of his performances acquit himself exceedingly well, but of these works he produced very few; there is one of them in the Sacristy of the monks of Mount Carmel, a Nativity of Our Lady, with nurses variously occupied standing around, this is exceedingly beautiful. At the corner of the Piazza de Tolomei also Il Mattaccio painted a fresco of the Madonna with the Divine Child in her arms, for the guild of the Shoemakers; San Giovanni, San Francesco, San Rocco, and San Crispino, who is the advocate of the men of that trade, are also depicted in that work, the last-mentioned Saint holding a shoe in his hand. In the heads of these figures, as well as in every other part of the picture, Giovan-Antonio has here also acquitted himself exceedingly well.†

For the company of San Bernardino of Siena, whose house is beside the church of San Francesco, this master painted stories in fresco, which he executed in competition with the Sienese painter Girolamo del Pacchia,‡ and with

* Since the year 1784 this beautiful picture has adorned the Public Gallery of Florence, where it will be found in the larger Hall of the Tuscan School.—*Masselli.*

† The picture called the Madonna of the Shoemakers has hitherto maintained its condition admirably well, but is now rapidly deteriorating from the effects of the smoke and other exhalations arising from the shop of a metal-founder, whose furnaces are immediately beneath it.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

‡ Lanzi and other authorities consider the painter here meant to be probably Pacchierotto, but that artist was called Giacomo and not Girolamo.

Domenico Beccafumi, in the chapel of the above-named Brotherhood. The subjects of these works are the Presentation of Our Lady in the temple, the Visitation of the Madonna to Sant' Elizabetta, her Assumption, and her Coronation in heaven. In one of the angles of the same chapel he painted a Saint in the episcopal robes, with San Lodovico and Sant' Antonio of Padua in the others, but the best figure of all is that of San Francesco, who, standing upright, is raising his head towards a little angel, who appears to be speaking to him: the head of San Francesco himself is truly admirable.*

In the palace of the Signoria at Siena, Giovan Antonio painted numerous little tabernacles in one of the large halls, decorating the same with clusters of columns, angels in the form of little children, and other ornaments. Within these tabernacles also there are various figures; one of these is San Vittorio armed after the manner of the antique, and holding his sword in his hand: near him, and depicted in like manner is Sant' Ansaldo baptizing certain catechumens; and in a third is San Benedetto, all very beautiful figures.

In the lower part of the same palace, and where the salt is sold,† Giovan Antonio painted a picture the subject of which was Christ rising from the sepulchre, with soldiers standing around the tomb and two little Angels, the heads of which are considered exceedingly beautiful.‡ Over a door in the same building is a figure of Our Lady with the Divine Child in her arms, and two Saints beside her,§ also painted in fresco by Giovan Antonio.‖

In the church of Santo Spirito, Razzi painted the chapel of San Jacopo, which he did by commission from men of the Spanish nation¶ who had their place of burial in that chapel,

* These works still remain.

† Our readers will not require to be reminded that the sale of salt has always been, and continues in many continental states still to be, a close monopoly of the government.

‡ The pictures of the Palazzo Publico still remain.

§ This work has been engraved by Lasinio and Cecchi. See also Lastri, *Etruria Pittrice*.

‖ Gaye, *Carteggio*, &c., informs us that Giovan Antonio was at this time, 1536, employed in various works for the Prince Giacomo of Piombino likewise. See Gaye's work, as above cited, vol. ii. p. 266.

¶ Armenini, in the first book of his *Veri Precetti della Pittura*, relates

the subject selected was the Madonna depicted after the ancient manner,* and having on her right hand San Niccolo da Tolentino, with the archangel San Michele, who is slaying Lucifer, on the left. In the lunette above these figures is Our Lady clothing one of the saints in the sacerdotal habit, and surrounded by numerous angels. On the ceiling over these works, which are on panel and in oil, Giovan-Antonio painted in fresco a figure of San Jacopo, armed, and on a horse which is rapidly hastening forwards; the saint holds his sword boldly brandished in his hand, and beneath him are lying many Turks, some dead and others wounded.

Beneath these pictures and beside the altar of the same chapel, are Sant' Antonio the abbot, and a figure of San Sebastiano bound naked to the column; they are in fresco, and are considered very good works.†

In the cathedral of the same city of Siena, and on the right hand as you enter the church, there is an altar-piece, painted in oil by the hand of Razzi, in this we have the Madonna with the Divine Child on her knee; San Giuseppe is on one side, and San Calisto on the other; this work is also held to be a very beautiful one, and it is manifest that our artist gave much more attention to the colouring thereof than he usually bestowed on his paintings. For the Brotherhood of the Trinity he painted a very beautiful bier ‡ whereon they

the following anecdote of Giovan Antonio Razzi. Our readers will take it for what it may be worth. Having been affronted by a Spanish soldier, then on guard at one of the city gates, the painter, unable to cope with the numbers by whom the man was surrounded, fixed his eyes on him attentively, and then, returning home, made a portrait of the soldier's face; this he took to the Spanish Prince, demanding satisfaction for the affront received, and the aggressor being readily discovered by means of the portrait, was punished accordingly, Giovan Antonio himself obtaining at the same time the favour of the Prince, as Armenini assures us he was told by an old man who had been the friend of Razzi.

* Vasari here probably means the Madonna with the Divine Child standing beside her, as she is depicted in the earliest paintings on that subject; or with her Son seated on her knee, as he describes Our Saviour Christ to be represented in a subsequent passage: the Infant in the arms of the Virgin being a mode of representation proper to a later age, as our readers will doubtless remember.

† They are still to be seen in the place above-mentioned.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

‡ This bier is preserved in the parish church of San Donato; some of

bear their dead to the burial, with one for the Company of Death, which is considered to be the handsomest bier in Siena:* nay, I am even of opinion that it is the most beautiful one that can be found, not only because the work is one which of itself is truly admirable and worthy of praise, but also because things of that kind are rarely executed at much cost or with any great care.

In the chapel of Santa Caterina of Siena, in the church of San Domenico in that city, Giovan Antonio painted two stories, being one on each side of a tabernacle wherein is the head of the above-named Santa Caterina executed in silver. That on the right side of the tabernacle exhibits the saint when she is receiving the Stigmata from Our Saviour Christ, who is seen in the air above, she lying fainting in the arms of two of the Sisterhood who support her. The Sienese painter Baldassare Petrucci,† examining this work, declared that he had never seen the figures of persons fainting depicted with more truth and perfection by any artist than by Giovan Antonio.‡ And of a truth he had reason to say so, as may be seen not only in the painting itself, but also in the design for the same by the hand of Razzi, which we have in our book of drawings.

In the second story, that standing to the left of the above-mentioned tabernacle, is depicted a certain event of the Saint's life, the Angel of God namely bearing to her the host of the most holy communion; she, raising her head, beholds Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary in the air above her, while two of the Sisterhood stand in attendance behind. Another picture on the wall to the right is the story of a criminal in the act of being led to his decapitation; and this man, refusing to be converted and despairing of the mercy of God, will not recommend himself to his Creator, when that

the authorities consider it to be a work of Beccafumi or of Marco da Siena; but if it be by Razzi, it is not to be accounted among the happiest of his efforts.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

* The bier here described is indeed truly beautiful, and may still be seen, in excellent preservation, in the Church of the Laical Brotherhood of San Giovanni and San Gennaro.

† Baldassare Peruzzi that is to say, for whose life see vol. iii. of the present work, p. 157. The Saint Caterina fainting has been engraved by I. Bonajuti and P. Lasinio, in the *Pitture di Siena.*

‡ An opinion still held by many.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

holy Saint praying for him on her knees, her orisons were so acceptable to God, that on the head of the criminal being struck off, his soul was seen to ascend into heaven. So greatly may avail with the mercy of God the prayers of those holy persons who are truly in his grace.

In this story there is a vast number of persons represented, but if they are not of the highest perfection, no man need marvel at that, since I have heard it affirmed as a fact, that the idleness and negligence of Giovan-Antonio had reached to such a point as to prevent him from ever making either designs or cartoons when he had a work of this kind to execute, he drawing with his pencil immediately on the fresh intonaco (a most extraordinary thing), and in this manner it is that he appears to have treated the picture in question. The same artist painted a figure of the Almighty Father in the arch which forms the entrance to the above-named chapel, but the remaining stories were not finished by himself, a circumstance principally attributable to his idleness, he not choosing to work except by fits and starts, but partly also to the fact that he could not obtain payment from those who had caused that chapel to be thus decorated. Beneath the stories above described is a picture by the same artist, representing God the Father; and in the lower part is a Madonna after the old manner, with San Domenico, San Gismondo, San Sebastiano, and Santa Caterina.

In the church of Sant' Agostino, and to the right of the entrance, Giovan-Antonio painted an Adoration of the Magi, which has ever been considered a good work, as it well deserves to be.* For, to say nothing of the figure of Our Lady, which is highly extolled, as are the first of the three Magi and certain of the horses, there is the head of a Shepherd, seen between two trees, which does truly appear to be alive.

Over that gate of the city called San Viene, our artist painted the Nativity of Jesus Christ, with angels in the air above: this is a fresco, and is depicted within a large tabernacle. Among the angels is one, a foreshortened figure of extraordinary beauty and relief, who is pointing to the Saviour as if he would show to all men the Word made

* This work also is still in existence, and has been engraved by P. Lasinio. See the *Pitture di Siena*, as above cited.

Flesh.* In this work Giovan-Antonio has placed his own portrait, wearing his beard, he having now become old; he has a pencil in his hand, the point of which is directed towards a scroll whereon is the word *Feci.*

In the chapel of the Commune, on the Piazza wherein stands the Palazzo Publico at Siena, Giovan-Antonio painted a fresco, the subject of which is Our Lady, with the Divine Child in her arms, and surrounded by numerous angels; the Madonna is accompanied by Sant' Ansano, San Vittorio, Sant' Agostino, and San Jacopo; while in the lunette above, which is of a triangular form, is the figure of the Almighty Father, with angels around him, by the same hand. But in the work here in question it becomes apparent that this man had begun, even when he commenced it, to have scarcely any love for his art remaining, having lost a certain something of good and praiseworthy in manner which he had possessed in his younger days, and by means whereof he gave an air of grace to his heads, which made them lovely and attractive. And that this is true, may be proved by the examination of certain works which he executed long before the one now before us, at the Postierla, and which may still be seen: they are in fresco, on a wall over the door of the Captain Lorenzo Mariscotti, where there is a figure of the Dead Christ lying in the lap of his Virgin Mother, which has a grace, beauty, and divinity that are truly wonderful.†

A picture of the Madonna, which Giovan-Antonio painted in oil for Messer Eneas Savini of the Costerella, presents further proof of what is here said, as does another on cloth, which he executed for Assuero Rettori, of San Martino, the subject of the last being the Roman Lucrezia, who inflicts on herself the mortal wound:‡ she is supported by her father and husband: this is a work wherein there is much grace in the attitudes, with infinite beauty in the heads.

Ultimately Giovan-Antonio perceived that the hearts of the Sienese were entirely turned to the excellence in art, and other admirable qualities of Domenico Beccafumi, and having

* This work is still visible.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† The fresco is still to be seen on the front of the Casa Bambagini.—*Ibid.*

‡ A subject previously treated by Razzi, as our readers will remember, for Pope Julius II.

neither house nor income at Siena, nay, having consumed almost all that he possessed, while he was then become old as well as poor, he departed from the city almost in despair, and betook himself to Volterra. There, as his good fortune would have it, he found Messer Lorenzo di Galeotto de' Medici, a rich and much respected gentleman, with whom he took shelter, in the hope of remaining with him for a very long time. Thus dwelling in the house of Messer Lorenzo, he painted a picture on cloth for that noble, the subject selected being the Chariot of the Sun, which, having been unskilfully guided by Phaeton, falls into the River Po. But it is perfectly easy to see that the artist worked for his amusement only, and that the painting was executed by mere facility of hand, no thought having been given to any part of it; so insignificant and ill-considered is the whole performance.

Accustomed to a life of freedom, Giovan-Antonio became weary after a time of remaining in the house of Messer Lorenzo, and his abode in Volterra having also become distasteful to him, he departed thence, and proceeded to Pisa, where he was commissioned to execute two pictures for the Duomo, by the intervention of Battista del Cervelliera with Messer Bastiano della Seta, Warden of that cathedral; these works were placed in the Apsis, behind the high altar, and beside those executed by Sogliani and Beccafumi.

The first of these pictures represents the Dead Christ, with Our Lady and the other Maries; and in the second is the Patriarch Abraham, proceeding to sacrifice his son Isaac.* But as they were found to be of no great merit, the Warden, who had designed to entrust other pictures for the same church to Giovan-Antonio, dismissed him, knowing well that men who do not study, having once arrived at old age, are liable to lose that certain something of good wherewith they had been endowed by Nature, and when that is lost, the manner remaining, with such facility of hand as may be left to them, is for the most part but little to be commended.

About the same time Giovan-Antonio completed a picture in oil, which he had previously commenced for the church of Santa Maria della Spina, and here he depicted Our Lady,

* The first of these pictures is still in its place; but the second, which was taken to Paris, and remained there three years, is of much greater merit.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

with the Infant Christ in her arms, Santa Maria Maddalena and Santa Caterina being on their knees before her, while San Giovanni, San Bastiano, and San Giuseppe stand upright and at each side of the Madonna. In all the figures of this work, Giovan-Antonio acquitted himself much more creditably than he had done in those of the Duomo.*

Having then nothing more to do at Pisa, he left that city, repairing to Luca, and in San Ponziano, a monastery belonging to the monks of Monte Oliveto, he received a commission from the abbot, who was a person of his acquaintance, to paint a picture of Our Lady on a staircase which forms the ascent to the dormitory. That work being completed, Giovan-Antonio returned to Siena, weary, old, and poor; but he did not long survive his arrival in that city: falling sick, and having no one to take care of him, nor any means wherewith to procure needful attendance, he took refuge in the great hospital, where he finished the course of his life in a very few weeks.†

While Giovan-Antonio was still young and in good repute, he had taken a wife in Siena, the young woman being the daughter of very honest and respectable parents. In the first year of his marriage he became the father of a little girl, but his wife, being weary of the follies committed by this man, at length refused to live with him. Withdrawing herself wholly from her husband therefore, she supported her child by her labour, and on the interest of her dowry,‡

* Still in the Church of Santa Maria della Spina.

† Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.*, vol. ii. p. 385, remarks, and we fear with justice, that in this life—although in this only—Vasari has been unjust, and, in so much, unworthy of himself. But it is nevertheless clearly apparent that this injustice, if so it must be called, has not arisen from the mean motive of personal dislike, but rather from the author having suffered his disapproval of the painter's ill-regulated life to prejudice his judgment and give, a perhaps, undue severity to his expressions. It is besides obvious that whenever Razzi did perform a truly conscientious and well-laboured work, our biographer, who had a particular respect for steady application, and greatly resented the desecration of art, was ever ready to acknowledge the merit of the artist, and give him due credit for it—of this the reader will have remarked numerous instances—more particularly towards the close of Razzi's life. Vasari was, in short, offended by the negligent habits of Giovan-Antonio as an artist, and revolted by the evil repute which he had acquired as a man, and these things were without doubt suffered, in this one instance, to bias the judgment of the biographer.

‡ A sum of 490 florins.

after having long borne with infinite patience the brutalities and absurdities of Giovan-Antonio, who was truly worthy of that name of Mattaccio, or Arch-fool, which was given to him, as we have said, by the fathers of Monte Oliveto.

The Sienese Riccio,* a tolerably able and experienced painter, who was a disciple of Giovan-Antonio, took the daughter of his master, who had been very carefully and respectably brought up by her mother, for his wife, and became heir to† all that his father-in-law had left in matters of art. This Riccio has produced many commendable works in Siena and elsewhere; in the cathedral for example there is a chapel to the left as you enter the church, decorated with paintings and stucco-work, by his hand. He is now in Lucca, where he has already executed many excellent works, and continues to do so.

There was also a disciple of Razzi who was called Giomo del Mattaccio, but as he died young and could give but slight evidence of his genius and acquirements, it does not need that I should speak of him further.‡

Giovan-Antonio died in the year 1554,§ when he had attained his seventy-fifth year.

THE FLORENTINE PAINTER AND ARCHITECT, BASTIANO, CALLED ARISTOTILE DA SAN GALLO.

[BORN 1581—DIED 1551.]

WHEN Pietro Perugino, then an old man, was painting the picture for the high altar of the Servites, in Florence,

* Bartolommeo Neroni, or Negroni, called Maestro Riccio the Sienese, was an architect as well as painter. His works have been engraved at Rome by Andrea Andreini of Mantua.—*Bottari.*

† Giomo is a contraction for Girolamo. Orlandi, *Abbecedario Pittorico*, has mistaken this Giomo, who died before he had given any evidence of his ability, for that Girolamo del Pacchia, who was capable of being the competitor of Razzi.

‡ Michel Angelo Anselmi of Siena, Rustico, an excellent painter of grottesche, and Lo Scalabrino, who, according to Lanzi, was "a man of genius and a poet," are likewise enumerated among the disciples of this master.

§ The Sienese, Signor Ettore Romagnoli, has discovered documents in his native city from which it would appear that Giovan Antonio Razzi died on the 14th of February, in the year 1549.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

nephew of Giuliano and Antonio da San Gallo, called Bastiano, was placed with him to learn the art of painting. But the youth had not been long with Perugino, when he saw the work of Michelagnolo in the house of the Medici, the Cartoon, that is to say, of which we have so frequently spoken, and became so fervid an admirer of the great artist's manner, that he would no longer frequent the workshops of Pietro, seeing that the manner of the latter, in comparison with that of Buonarroti, appeared to him to be dry and minute; a manner, in short, that was by no means to be imitated.

Now among all the artists who were then engaged in copying that Cartoon, which was at one time the school of all who wished to devote themselves to painting, the most able was considered to be Ridolfo Ghirlandajo; wherefore Bastiano selected that Ridolfo for his companion, to the intent that from him he might learn to paint, and thus they became very intimate friends. But not for this did Bastiano neglect the study of the above-named Cartoon, or the copying of the nude figures thereof; on the contrary, he drew the whole composition in a smaller size, designing every figure in the different groups, a thing which none had previously done, no one but himself having copied the work as a whole.

All this Bastiano did with the utmost care and attention that he could possibly command, devoting himself to the study of the work with such earnest zeal, that he finally became capable of rendering an exact account, not only of the attitudes and muscles of those figures, but of the forces exerted by the latter; nay, he was even ready on every occasion to assign the motive which had induced Buonarroti to adopt certain attitudes, such namely as presented more than common difficulty of execution; and in doing this he would pronounce his opinions with a gravity, deliberation, and sententiousness, which caused a party of very clever artists to fix on him the name of Aristotile,* and this was considered to be all the more suitable because it appeared that, according to an ancient portrait of the great writer and secretary of nature, Aristotle, the face of Bastiano bore a very close resemblance to that of the Stagirite.

* Our readers will perceive that Vasari subsequently gives another and less probable reason for his choice of a *soubriquet*.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

But to return to the small Cartoon designed by Bastiano. This was held by the artist himself in such account, that when the original work had come to an evil end, he was not to be induced to part with his copy, neither for gold nor for any other price; nor would he permit it to be copied; nay, he would never even suffer it to be seen except by his dearest friends, to whom he showed it as one does something very precious and as a great favour. At a subsequent period, in the year 1542 that is to say, this design was copied in oil by Aristotile in pursuance of the counsels of Giorgio Vasari, who was his intimate friend; it was copied, I say, in chiaroscuro, and sent by means of Monsignore Giovio to Francis King of France, by whom it was greatly prized, and who largely rewarded San Gallo. This was done by Vasari, to the end that the work of Michelagnolo might be preserved, seeing that designs on paper are very liable to be lost.

In his youth, Aristotile took great pleasure in architecture, as all those of his family had done, and occupied himself with measuring the plans of buildings; he studied the details of perspective also with much care, and in this he was greatly assisted by his brother Giovan Francesco, who was employed as an architect in the fabric of San Pietro under the Proveditor Giuliano Leni.

By this Giovan Francesco therefore, Aristotile was induced to visit Rome, where his brother set him to keep the accounts of a large establishment, consisting of Tufa and Puzzolana works, from the numerous furnaces of which Giovan Francesco derived large gains. Bastiano remained therefore, for some time at that occupation, doing nothing, as respected art, but draw in the chapel of Michelagnolo, except that he sometimes resorted, by the intervention of Messer Giannozzo Pandolfini, Bishop of Troja, to the house of Raffaello da Urbino.

Now about this time Raphael had prepared for the above-named Bishop, a design for a palace, which the latter proposed to erect in the Via di San Gallo at Florence, when the before-mentioned Giovan Francesco was despatched to put the design of Raphael into execution, which he did accordingly, using all the promptitude with which such a work can be carried forward. But in the year 1530, Giovan Francesco being dead, and the siege having caused many

changes in Florence, this building was left unfinished, as will be related hereafter. The completion of that edifice* was subsequently committed to Aristotile, the brother of Giovan Francesco, who had returned to Florence, after having accumulated a large sum of money, under the above-mentioned Giuliano Leni, and by pursuing the path which had been laid open to him by Giovan Francesco.

With a part of the money thus obtained, Bastiano was persuaded by his friends, Luigi Alamanni and Zanbio Buondelmonte, to purchase the site of a house behind the convent of the Servites and near to the dwelling of Andrea del Sarto, where he afterwards built a small but very commodious habitation, intending to take a wife and there settle quietly. Having thus returned to Florence, Aristotile, who had given much time to the study of perspective in Rome under Bramante, then seemed to care for no other occupation, although he would now and then take a portrait from the life, and also painted two large pictures in oil, the subjects of which were the Fall of Adam and Eve, with their Expulsion from Paradise: but these he had executed from copies which he had made in Rome, after the works depicted by Michelagnolo in the chapel; for which reason, and because they were borrowed from another master, Aristotile received but little commendation for them.

But, on the other hand, all the works that Bastiano accomplished in Florence when Pope Leo arrived in that city, were very highly extolled, he having among other things erected an Arch of Triumph in company with Francesco Granacci opposite to the gate of the abbey, and this being adorned with historical representations, which were indeed most beautiful. At the marriage of the Duke Lorenzo de Medici in like manner, Bastiano was of essential service in all the preparations, more especially in those required for the dramatic shows, in all which he mightily assisted Franciabigio and Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, who had charge of the whole.

At a later period Aristotile painted many pictures of Our Lady in oil, partly after his own invention, but partly copied

* The Palazzo Pandolfini has never been entirely completed according to the original plan. Documents relating to the part of Giovan-Francesco San Gallo therein will be found in Gaye, *Carteggio inedito*, vol. ii. p. 160.

from the works of others. Among these pictures was one similar to that which Raphael had depicted for the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, and wherein the Madonna is represented as covering the Infant Christ with a veil: this work of Bastiano's is now in the hands of Filippo d'Antella, and there is another also by Aristotile which is in the possession of the heirs of Messer Ottaviano de' Medici, as is also a portrait of the above-mentioned Lorenzo de' Medici, which Bastiano copied from that made by Raphael. He executed many other pictures in like manner about the same time, some of which were sent into England.

But knowing that he had no power of invention, and aware of the profound study and well-grounded knowledge of design required by painting, Aristotile determined, since the want of these qualities would prevent him from attaining to any great excellence; he determined, I say, that his calling should be architecture and perspective, but he readily prepared scenic decorations for the drama whenever he had an opportunity, that being a kind of work in which he delighted exceedingly. When the above-named Bishop of Troja recommenced the building of his palace in the Via di San Gallo, Aristotile received charge of that work; and this, much to his credit, he conducted in due time to the state in which we now see it.

Bastiano had meanwhile formed a great friendship with Andrea del Sarto, his neighbour, from whom he acquired knowledge which contributed much to the perfection of his works, but he still devoted himself with particular zeal to the study of perspective, insomuch that his assistance was often used in the festivals which, in that time of quiet for Florence, were given by certain companies of gentlemen then in the city. When the company of the Cazzuola, for example, performed the amusing comedy of the Mandragola in the house of Bernardino di Giordano, which is situate at the corner of the Monteloro, Andrea del Sarto and Aristotile prepared the scenic decorations, which were most beautiful. In another comedy by the same author, which was performed no long time after the above, in the house of the kiln-master Jacopo, at the gate of San Friano, Aristotile also prepared the scenes. These things greatly pleased the people at large, but they were more particularly acceptable to the Signors

Alessandro and Ippolito de' Medici, who were then in Florence under the care of Silvio Passerini, Cardinal of Cortona.

By these works Aristotile acquired so great a name, that he resolved to abide by them as his vocation, and matters of that kind were ever afterwards his principal occupation; there are indeed some who affirm that his name of Aristotile was given to him because he was considered to be in perspective what Aristotle was in philosophy.

But as it often happens that from the summit of peace and tranquillity there is a change to wars and discords, so, with the year 1527, all joy and gladness in Florence was transmuted into sorrows and troubles, for the Medici being then driven out and the pestilence and the siege coming after, many years passed over, during which people lived in perpetual turmoils. Wherefore, as no good could be done by artists at that time, Bastiano then remained always in his house occupied with his studies and whimsies.

Matters afterwards beginning to clear up a little, on the Duke Alessandro assuming the government of Florence, the young people belonging to the company of the "Children of the Purification," which has its seat opposite to San Marco, determined to perform a Tragi-comedy composed by Giovan Maria Primerani, the subject was taken from the Book of Kings, and the plot turned on the troubles which followed the violence suffered by Tamar. The care of the scenic decorations was given to Aristotile, who, the capabilities of the place considered, produced a more beautiful performance than had ever before been executed for a similar purpose. But besides the merit of the decorations, the drama, a very fine one in itself, was extremely well performed and greatly pleased the Duke Alessandro and his sister, who heard it; wherefore their Excellencies caused the author of it, who was then in prison, to be liberated, but on condition that he should write another drama, the choice of subject being left to himself.

Primerani having written his work accordingly, Bastiano constructed a most beautiful proscenium in the Loggia of the garden of the Medici on the Piazza di San Marco, which he richly embellished with columns, recesses holding statues, and many other fanciful ornaments which had never before

been applied to such purposes; but all this gave infinite pleasure, and the custom thus introduced has added greatly to the beauty of that sort of painting. The subject of the drama was from the History of Joseph, and displayed him first as falsely accused of offering violence to his master's wife, and next as imprisoned, but ultimately set at liberty by virtue of his interpretation of the King's dream. These decorations also pleased the Duke exceedingly; and as the time for his nuptials with Madama Margherita of Austria approached, he commanded that another drama should be prepared, and that the scenic preparations for representing the same should be made by Aristotile at the house which belongs to the Company of Weavers, and which is close to the abode of the Illustrious Ottaviano de' Medici, in the Via di San Gallo.

Aristotile set hand to the work accordingly, giving all the care and attention of which he was capable thereto, and completing it to the utmost perfection, but as Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici,* who had composed the drama to be performed,† and had charge of the whole representation, as well as of the music—as Lorenzo I say, was then fully occupied with the thought of how best he might compass the death of the Duke, by whom he was so much beloved and favoured, so he now believed that means for accomplishing his purpose might be found in the preparations for that representation. With this intent Lorenzo gave orders that the walls on both sides of the curtain, at that point where the floor of the stage terminated in the staircase leading behind the scenes namely, should be removed to the extent of eighteen braccia, in order that a capacious recess or chamber might there be prepared with its floor on a level with that of the stage, for the convenience of the singers.

But above this first floor Lorenzo proposed to have a second for the musical instruments, organs, harpischords, and others of such kind as are not easily moved or changed, while the space left by the wall which he had caused to be thrown down, he desired to have covered with canvas painted in buildings and perspective views, all which pleased Aristotile greatly, because the proscenium was enriched

* Lorenzo the Traitor, called Lorenzino de' Medici.—*Masselli.*

† The title of this comedy was "*L'Alidosio.*—*Bottari.*

thereby, and the floor of the stage was at the same time disencumbered of the musicians. There was, however, one thing which did not please him, namely, that the principal support of the roof, now left without the wall on which it had been sustained at that part, was not to be formed, as was fitting, of a large double arch, the strength of which would be very great, but by the wish of Lorenzo the security of the same was to depend entirely on a few props, so that the roof was to receive no support that could in any way interfere with the sound of the instruments ; to the end, as he averred, that no interruption might be given to the music.

But Aristotile clearly perceived that in this plan there was a danger by which many lives might be destroyed, since the fall of this construction must involve a large number of persons in its ruin ; he could, therefore, by no means be brought to agree with Lorenzo on that point, and it is certain that the intention of the latter was no other than the destruction of the Duke, by means of that contrivance. Aristotile therefore, not being able to get the good reasons which he offered into the head of Lorenzo, had resolved to withdraw himself from that undertaking, and with the blessing of God to depart from the place, when Giorgio Vasari, who, though then but a youth, was in the service of the Duke Alessandro, and much favoured by Ottaviano de' Medici, chanced to hear the contention between Lorenzo and Aristotile, as he was painting certain of the decorations for the proscenium. Throwing himself dexterously between them, therefore, he then heard what each had to say, and perceiving clearly the danger threatened by the method which Lorenzo would have adopted, he proposed a plan by which the place might be rendered sufficiently secure without constructing an arch or in any way impeding the effect of the music. He proposed to lay two double beams namely, of fifteen braccia each, the whole length of the wall, and to fasten these with iron clamps to the main timbers of the roof in such sort that the central beams could then repose thereon, which they might do as securely as on an arch, neither more nor less.

Lorenzo would, nevertheless, not listen either to Giorgio who proposed, or to Aristotile who approved this plan ; he would have nothing done, in short, but what he had from the

first desired, yet he offered no opposition to the opinions given, only such manifest sophistries and cavils that his evil intentions became obvious to every one. Wherefore Giorgio, well knowing the frightful consequences that might result from Lorenzo's design, and certain that this was no other than a plan for the wilful slaughter of some three hundred persons, declared that he would very certainly describe the method to the Duke, when his Excellency might send to examine the matter and provide against the consequences to be expected. Hearing this, and fearing to be discovered, Lorenzo, after many words, gave Aristotile permission to follow the plan proposed by Giorgio, which was accordingly done.

These decorations were the most beautiful, not only of all that had ever before been prepared by Aristotile, but of all that had ever been executed by any one up to that time, since Bastiano there constructed wings or side scenes, with a magnificent arch of triumph at the extremity of the stage, which last was painted to represent marble, the whole adorned with historical delineations and statues, to say nothing of perspective views representing streets, &c. stretching far away into the distance, and of many other embellishments, all giving proof of the most incredible care and forethought.

When the Duke Alessandro was ultimately assassinated by the above-named Lorenzo, and when the Signor Cosimo, after being created Duke in the year 1539, was to celebrate his nuptials with the Signora, Donna Leonora di Toledo, a truly distinguished lady, and one of such great and incomparable excellence that she may be compared without dispute to all that have been most renowned and extolled in the ancient histories, nay, perchance, may well be placed before them; when this marriage, I say, which was solemnized on the 27th June, 1539, was to take place, Aristotile constructed another scenic representation in the great Court of the palace of the Medici, that namely wherein is the fountain. In this scene, which presented the city of Pisa, Bastiano surpassed himself, displaying a richer variety of invention and better execution than he had ever before done.

It would indeed not be possible to bring together a more admirably varied arrangement of windows and doors, more fanciful and remarkable fronts of palaces or streets, and

of lines retiring more naturally into the far distance; all being done in strict accordance with the rules of perspective. There was to be seen the leaning tower of the Cathedral, with the Cupola, the round Church of San Giovanni, and other peculiarities of that city; of the flights of steps which Bastiano added, and of the deception which these caused to all who beheld them, I will say no more, lest I should appear to be merely repeating what has been related before, and will but remark that those steps which had the appearance of ascending from the ground to the stage, were of an octagonal form in the centre, while at the sides they were quadrangular, being managed in such sort as to display a degree of simplicity which was the perfection of art, and adding to the decorations above them a grace and finish the beauty of which could not be surpassed in that kind of work.

Behind all the buildings of this scene Bastiano, moreover, constructed, with great ingenuity, an arch whereon was erected a species of lanthorn made of wood, with a Sun measuring a braccio in diameter, which was formed of a ball of crystal filled with distilled water; behind the ball were kindled torches, which caused it to shine in such sort that the ceiling, the decorations, and the stages were all illuminated by that splendour in a manner which made it appear to be the true and natural Sun. This Sun being surrounded by rays of gold which covered the curtain, was gradually drawn up by means of a windlass in a fashion which caused it to appear that the sun had risen as the representation of the drama commenced; and having ascended to the centre of the arch, it then began to descend in like manner, so that at the close of the drama the sun had the appearance of having set.

The author of this comedy was Antonio Landi, a Florentine gentleman, while Giovan-Battista Strozzi, then a youth, and one of admirable parts, received charge of the interludes and music. But as there was enough written at the time concerning the interludes, music, and other circumstances whereby this drama was accompanied, I will say nothing more of them, except that the whole was arranged by Giovan-Battista Strozzi, Il Tribolo, and Aristotile, yet I will not omit to mention the names of certain artists by whom pictures for those decorations were executed.

The side walls beneath the stage were divided into six

compartments, in each of which was painted a picture eight braccia high and five braccia wide; every one being surrounded by an ornamental frame-work, a braccio and two-thirds in width. This bordering, which formed a kind of frieze, had the inner angles, or those towards the pictures, cut off; and on these were four medallions lying on a cross, for each picture, two of which had mottoes in Latin, while the other two had trophies or devices suitable to the subject of the painting. The space above these works was entirely covered with a bordering of blue baize, except at the part where the proscenium interposed, at which point there was a canopy, also of blue baize, and which extended over the whole court. On the border of baize, which passed above the pictures, were the arms of some of the most illustrious of the families connected with the house of Medici.

I begin with the first picture on the eastern side, and next the stage; this was by the hand of Francesco Ubertini, called Il Bacchiacca, and the subject chosen was the Return from Exile of the Illustrious Cosimo de' Medici: the device was a golden branch bearing two doves, and the arms in the frieze or border were those of the Signor Duke Cosimo. In another, which was by the same artist, was the visit of Lorenzo the Magnificent to Naples; the device being a Pelican, and the arms those of the Duke Lorenzo of the house of Medici and Savoy. The third picture was painted by Pier Francesco di Jacopo di Sandro, and represented Pope Leo X. when, on his visit to Florence; he is borne along under a canopy, carried by the men of his native city: the device was a right arm, the arms were those of the Duke Giuliano of the house of Medici and Savoy. The fourth picture, also by Pier Francesco, represented the Signor Giovanni issuing in triumph from Biegrassa, which place he had taken by the might of his arms. The device of this picture was the thunderbolt of Jove, and the arms in the frieze were those of the Duke Alessandro, and displayed the coats of Austria and of Medici.

The fifth picture showed Pope Clement VII. crowning the Emperor Charles V. in Bologna: the device was a Serpent biting his own tail, and the arms were those of France and Medici. This picture was by the hand of Domenico Conti, a disciple of Andrea del Sarto, but he did not give proof of

much ability therein,* having been disappointed of the aid of certain young men from whom he had expected assistance, seeing that all the artists were then in full occupation, the bad as well as the good. His failure caused Domenico to be much laughed at, but principally, because he had at other times shown himself prompt to ridicule others, and that with but little discretion. For the sixth story, which was the last on that side, and was executed by the hand of Bronzino,† the subject chosen was the Dispute which the Duke Alessandro had with the Florentine exiles in Naples and before the Emperor Charles V. The river Sebeto, with numerous figures, was delineated in this picture, which was, indeed, the best of all, and a singularly beautiful work. The device was a Palm, and the arms were those of Spain.

On the other side of the stage, and corresponding to the Return of the Illustrious Cosimo, was the fortunate Birth of the Duke; the device being a Phœnix, and the arms on the frieze or border exhibiting a Red Lily, which is the impress of the City of Florence. Next to this was the creation or election of Cosimo to be Duke, the device being the Caduceus of Mercury, and the arms those of the Castellan of the Fortress. Now, this picture had been designed by Francesco Salviati, but, as he was obliged to leave Florence just at that time, it was finished—and admirably well—by Carlo Portelli da Loro.‡ In the third picture were the three proud Campanian Orators expelled from the Roman Senate, as a requital for their presumption, as we find related by Titus Livius, in the twentieth book of his History; but, on that occasion, these orators were intended to signify three cardinals, who had vainly beset the Duke Cosimo, with the hope of depriving him of the government. Of this the device was a Winged Horse, and the arms were those of Salviati and Medici.

The fourth story exhibited the Taking of Monte Murlo; the device chosen being the Horned Owl of Egypt, placed over the head of Pyrrhus; the arms were those of the House

* Of whom mention has been made in the Life of Andrea del Sarto. An Italian commentator remarks that if he were not a distinguished, he was at least a grateful disciple of his master, since it was by him that the momument to Andrea's memory was erected. See vol. iii. p. 234.

† Angiolo Allori, of whom there is further mention hereafter.

‡ Of Carlo Portelli also there is mention made in a subsequent page.

of Sforza and of the Medici. This picture was executed by Antonio di Donnino,* a painter who gave considerable animation to his figures, and in the distance of whose picture there was so admirable a skirmish of cavalry, that this artist, reputed to be of no great distinction, was found on that occasion to have succeeded much better than some others who were great men, but only according to report. In the fifth painting was seen the Duke Alessandro invested by his Imperial Majesty with all the ensigns of his ducal dignity: the device was a Magpie, with a Branch of Laurel in its bill, and the arms on the frieze were those of the Medici and of Toledo. This picture was by the hand of the Venetian, Battista Franco.†

The last of all these pictures exhibited the Marriage of that same Duke Alessandro, which had been decided on in Naples, and in the device were two Crows, the crow being an ancient symbol of marriage. The arms on the frieze were those of Don Pietro, viceroy of Naples, and this work, which was by the hand of Bronzino, was painted with so much grace that it surpassed, as that before-mentioned had done, all the stories that were executed by the other masters. Aristotile himself depicted a frieze on the Loggia, with small historical representations and warlike trophies; they were exceedingly well done, and the whole work pleased the Duke greatly; his Excellency therefore rewarded Bastiano very largely.‡ That artist thenceforward continued for some

* A disciple of Francia Bigio, in whose life he has been mentioned. See vol. iii. p. 343.

† Whose Life follows.

‡ It is to be regretted, as the learned Quatremère de Quincy has remarked, in relation to the works of similar kind prepared by another San Gallo on the Piazza San Marco at Venice, that these labours—some of which might have been of the utmost value to art, had they been executed in durable materials—should have been so treated as to have glittered for a moment only, and then departed, leaving no trace: by engravings only, adds the writer above-mentioned, can we hope to perpetuate such works, the preservation of which might perhaps be more advantageous to art than at a first glance we might imagine. Quatremère proceeds to explain his idea at more length, and to his writings we refer our readers, who will not fail to perceive the advantages to be derived from the preservation of works, the very slightness of which permitted the masters to give the reins to their imagination in a manner which the cost would render impossible, where buildings in permanent forms, and to be executed in expensive materials, were to be designed.

time to prepare decorations of similar kind, almost every year, for the dramas performed during the Carnival, having obtained so much facility from his extensive practice, to say nothing of his natural endowments, that he had intended at one time to write on the subject, and to teach others. But this undertaking he afterwards abandoned, partly because he found it more difficult of accomplishment than he had expected, but partly also because the preparation of such works was afterwards committed, by those who, at a later period, held the government of the palace, to Bronzino and Francesco Salviati, as will be related in due course.

Finding himself therefore to be left for some time without employment, Aristotile departed from the city of Florence, and repaired to Rome, there to seek his cousin Antonio da San Gallo; and after having been received very gladly, and treated in the most friendly manner by Antonio, Aristotile was employed by that master to superintend certain buildings then in progress, with a stipend of ten crowns per month; he was afterwards sent to Castro, where he remained several months, having received a commission from Pope Paul III. to superintend the erection of a large part of the walls of that place, after the design and under the directions of Antonio.

But Aristotile, having been brought up with Antonio from a child, and having accustomed himself to treat him familiarly, was now held at a distance, as it is reported, by his cousin, because he would never adopt the habit of saying "you" to Antonio, but constantly addressed him as "thou," even though it were in the presence of the Pope himself—to say nothing of a circle of nobles and gentlemen, after the manner still practised by Florentines accustomed to the ancient fashions, who give the "thou" to every one as though they came out of Norica, they not being able to accommodate themselves to the modern modes of address, as do those who gradually adopt the usages which they see practised around them: but how strange this must have appeared to Antonio, accustomed as he was to be honoured by Cardinals and other great men, let every one judge for himself. His stay at Castro thus became irksome to Aristotile, and he begged Antonio to arrange for his being sent back to Rome; with this request Antonio complied will-

ingly, but observed to Bastiano that he must acquire better manners, and treat him in a different fashion, more especially when they were in the presence of great personages.

Now it happened that Roberto Strozzi making a banquet, at the time of Carnival, in one of those years which Bastiano spent at Rome, for certain Signori who were his friends, and having to perform a drama in his house, employed Aristotile to make due preparation for the same in the Great Hall, which he did in a manner so pleasing, so graceful, and so beautiful (the space at his command not being very great), that every one was astonished at the sight thereof. Among those who thus admired this work was the Cardinal Farnese, but that prelate, not content with admiring, caused Aristotile to arrange a theatre for himself in his palace of San Giorgio, wherein is the Chancery, and in one of those halls which look on the garden, and are in the story beneath the principal floor of the Palace; commanding him, moreover, so to construct the same, that it might remain permanent, and thus be ready for his use at any time when he might require or wish to avail himself thereof. This work also Aristotile conducted with all the care and study that he could possibly bestow thereon, which caused the Cardinal to be infinitely pleased with it, and the result was equally satisfactory to every one connected with art.

Now the Cardinal had committed the care of paying Aristotile to Messer Curzio Frangipani, and the latter, desiring as a prudent man should, to do what was right, but not to overpay the artist, called on Perino del Vaga* and Giorgio Vasari to estimate the work. This was just then particularly agreeable to Perino, for he detested Bastiano, and felt much displeased that he had received the commission for that work, which he thought should of right have been given to himself, as being a servant of the Cardinal; he was besides full of anxiety and jealousy because the Cardinal had not only availed himself of Bastiano's services, but was at that time employing Vasari also, to whom he had given a thousand crowns for having painted in fresco the Hall of the "*Parco Maiori*," in the Chancery, a work completed by Giorgio in a hundred days. Moved by these causes, therefore, Perino determined to estimate the above-

* Whose Life makes part of the present volume.

named decorations of Aristotile at so small a sum as should make him repent of having undertaken them.

But Aristotile, having heard who were the artists appointed to estimate his work, went to speak to Perino, and at the very first word he began, as was his custom, to cast his "thou" at Perino's beard, as speaking to one who had been well known to him, nay, was a friend of his in his youth. Thereupon Perino, already ill-disposed towards him, became so angry, that without being aware of what he was doing, he all but laid open the design which he had so maliciously formed; all which being related by Aristotile to Giorgio, the latter bade him not to have any anxiety, but to be of good cheer, since no wrong should be done him.

Shortly afterwards, Perino and Giorgio met by appointment to put an end to that affair, when Perino, speaking first, as being the older man, began to depreciate the work, and to declare that it was but an affair of a few baiocchi,* adding, that since Aristotile had received money on account, and had besides been paid for all the assistants whom he had employed, so he was already more than handsomely remunerated for his labour: he further remarked, "Had I received the commission for this work I would have done it in a very different manner, and with another sort of stories and decorations than has been exhibited by this fellow, but the Cardinal is perpetually favouring somebody who does him but little credit."

From these words and others of similar kind, Vasari perceived clearly that Perino was better disposed to give evidence of his displeasure with the Cardinal, and avenge himself on Aristotile, than to guard with a friendly mind the interests of a good artist, and to see that he was properly repaid for his toils and cares; wherefore speaking in a very gentle manner, Vasari replied to Perino in these words:—

"Although I do not pretend to more than ordinary knowledge of such works, yet have I seen such from the hands of those who knew perfectly how to do them, and it appears to me that this is an exceedingly well executed performance; not meriting, as you say, a few baiocchi only, but rather worthy to be estimated at many crowns. Neither does it appear to me fair or just that he who labours at his desk to

* The baioccho is a very small fraction more than a halfpenny.

produce designs, which are afterwards to be executed in large paintings, comprising so many and such varied subjects, should then receive for the laborious thought of his nights, and the toils, perhaps of many weeks, only so much as one would pay the daily work of him who, instead of having to rack his brains in the manner that Aristotile has done, is only called on to copy and imitate, without any fatigue of mind, and but little in comparison of hand or body.

"But suppose that you had, as you say, received the commission for this work, although you might have added more stories and richer ornaments, as you affirm, yet you would perhaps not have produced a more graceful result than is exhibited by Bastiano, who in this kind of work has very judiciously been considered by the Cardinal to be superior to yourself. Above all, you are to remember that by judging this matter unjustly, it is not to Aristotile alone, but to the knowledge and ability of artists in general that you do wrong; most of all, however, do you injure your own soul and offend your conscience, if you depart from the uprightness of duty for the sake of anger and private vexation: be certain, also, that good judges, who cannot but perceive the work to be a fair one, will not censure the artist, because it has been unduly estimated, but will blame the weakness of our judgment, or perhaps the malignity and envy of our nature. Nay, we know well, moreover, that whether we attempt to over-estimate the works we are called to judge for the sake of winning favour from the artist, or whether we depreciate and censure the good works of another to avenge ourselves of an injury received, we must needs be ultimately known to men as well as to God for what we are; malignant, ignorant, and wicked. Consider, too, you who have a hand in all the works executed in Rome, what would you think if others were to estimate your works as you judge theirs? Put yourself, I beseech you, in the place of this poor old man, for then you will see to how great an extent you are departing from reason and justice in this matter."

These words and others, which were spoken in the most friendly way by Vasari to Perino, produced such an effect, that they did at length agree upon an upright estimation.

Bastiano was well satisfied, therefore; and with that money, with the savings which he had made from his stipend, and with the sum received for the picture, which, as we related at the commencement, he had sent into France, he returned joyfully to Florence. Nay, although Michelagnolo, who was his friend, had intended to avail himself of Aristotile's services in the building which the Romans were proposing to erect on the Capitol, he was not to be detained even by that offer, but determined to return at once to his native place.

This he did in the year 1547, and presenting himself to kiss the hand of the Signor Duke Cosimo, he begged his Excellency, since he had commenced the erection of numerous buildings, to be pleased to accept his services in aid of those works, and that Prince, having received him kindly, as he has never failed to receive all men of worth, commanded that he should be paid a stipend of ten crowns per month, assuring him that he should be employed as occasion might arise. Receiving this stipend, therefore, Bastiano lived peaceably some years without labour of any kind, and finally died at the age of seventy, on the last day of May in the year 1551, when he was buried in the church of the Servites. Some of the drawings of this artist are in our book, and others are in the hands of Antonio Particini; among the number are several plates with views in perspective, which are exceedingly beautiful.

Contemporaries and friends of Aristotile were two painters, of whom I will here make some brief mention, seeing that certain truly praiseworthy performances which they have produced, give them a right to be named among the masters here recorded. The first was Jacone,* and the second Bacchiacca.† The works of Jacone were not very numerous, he being one of those men who pass their time in gossiping and jesting, and contenting himself with what little Fortune and his idleness permitted him to obtain, which was indeed often less than his necessities demanded. As he had frequent intercourse with Andrea del Sarto, Jacone designed exceedingly well and with much boldness, he also showed considerable fancy and originality in the attitudes of his figures, turning and contorting the same in all directions, seeing that

* Mentioned with credit in the Life of Andrea del Sarto, vol. iii. p. 234.
† Already more than once alluded to in these volumes.

he sought to vary and make each one different from the others in all his compositions, and of a truth he frequently gave evidence of much power of design, being fully capable of imitating the good when he chose to do so.

While still very young, Jacone painted numerous pictures of Our Lady in Florence, and many of these were sent to France by the Florentine Merchants. At Santa Lucia, which is in the Via de' Bardi, he painted a picture of God the Father, the Virgin Mary, and Our Saviour Christ, with other figures in the same work.* At Montici, on the corner of the house of Ludovico Capponi, he painted two figures in chiaro-scuro, one on each side of a Tabernacle. At San Romeo,† also, Jacone painted a picture, Our Lady namely, with two saints.

Having afterwards heard the façades which Polidoro and Maturino had executed in Rome, highly extolled, Jacone, without saying a word of his intention to any one, repaired to that city, where he remained several months, during which time he executed numerous copies, and made so much progress in his art that he was afterwards enabled on many occasions to prove himself a very good painter. The Cavaliere Buondelmonte gave Jacone a house of his, which he had built opposite to Santa Trinità at the entrance of the Borgo Sant' Apostolo, to paint in chiaro-scuro, and here the artist executed stories from the life of Alexander the Great; these are in many parts exceedingly beautiful, and have been conducted with such excellence of design and so much grace, that many believe Andrea del Sarto himself to have furnished the designs for the whole.‡

The example which Jacone had given of his ability in this work gave rise to the expectation that he would in time accomplish great things; but as his head was ever running on amusements, and he continually employed his time in suppers and feastings of all kinds with his friends, instead of giving it to labour and study, he was constantly observed rather to degenerate than to make new acquirements. But a circumstance, which I scarcely know whether to deride or to compassionate, is to be related of Jacone: he belonged, that

* Still in existence, but much injured.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.
† San Remigio that is to say.—*Ibid.*
‡ These works have entirely perished.

is to say, to a company or rather a horde of young men, who, under the pretext of living like philosophers, demeaned themselves rather like so many swine or other brute-beasts, never did they wash either hands or face, or head or beard; they did not sweep their houses, they never made their beds save twice in each month only, they used the cartoons of their pictures for their tables, and drank only from the bottle or the pitcher; this pitiable coarseness and contemptible folly all the while appearing to them to be the finest life in the world. But it is certain that external habitudes are not unfrequently the index of what may be found within, and indicate the mental characteristics of the man: I am well persuaded therefore, as I have remarked at other times, that these men were but little less impure and brutal in their minds and lives than they were in their outward appearance.

On the Festival of San Felice in Piazza (the Annunciation of Our Lady namely, of which mention has been made in another place), which in the year 1525 was exhibited by the Company of the Orciuolo,* Jacone was commissioned to execute a handsome Triumphal Arch, large, double, and standing entirely apart from all other buildings; it had eight columns, with pilasters and a pediment, the whole fabric being of great height: this our artist caused to be erected by Piero da Sesto, a most able and experienced master in wood-work, who acquitted himself of his part to perfection. Jacone then painted nine stories, partly with his own hand, and these were the best, but partly with the help of Francesco Ubertini Bacchiacca, the subjects of all being taken from the Old Testament, and principally from the life and acts of Moses.

Now Jacone had a kinsman who was a Scopetine Monk, and by the intervention of this Frate he was invited to Cortona, where he painted two pictures in oil for the church of the Madonna which is outside the city; in one of these is Our Lady, with San Rocco, San Sebastiano, and many other saints, and in the other is a figure of the Almighty Father who is crowning the Virgin; two Saints are represented as standing at the foot of the picture, and in the centre is San Francesco receiving the Stigmata; both of these works

* Orciuolo, a little jug. The trivial and even absurd names adopted by many of the Companies at this period will be familiar to most of our readers.

were exceedingly beautiful. Having completed them, our artist then returned to Florence, when he decorated a vaulted chamber for Bongianni Capponi, with certain others for the same person in his Villa at Montici.

When Jacopo da Pontormo was painting, for the Duke Alessandro, that Loggia at the Villa of Careggi, whereof there has already been made mention in his life, Jacone assisted him in that work; the greater part of the grottesche and other decorations being by his hand; after this he occupied himself in various trifling matters of which it is not needful to speak further, the sum of the matter being that he spent the best time of his life in jesting, in buffoonery, in aimless musing, or in speaking evil, now of one person and now of another: art having just at that time fallen in Florence into the hands of a company of persons who thought more of amusing and enjoying themselves, than of the labour required for the success of their works; their principal delight being to get together in the wine-shops and other places, where, in their absurd jargon, they would decry the productions of other artists, or would censure the lives of those who laboured steadily and passed their time with respectable companions.

The chiefs of this party were Jacone, the goldsmith Piloto, and the wood-worker Tasso; but the worst of all was Jacone, seeing that among his other fine qualities he had that of maligning some one in the bitterest manner whenever he opened his mouth. Wherefore it could scarcely surprise any one, that from the proceedings of such a company there should in time arise much mischief, and as will hereafter be related, many contentions; in one of these Piloto was killed by a young man whom his offensive words had enraged against him, a most appropriate consequence of their disorderly habits.

The mode of life and proceedings of men thus constituted could not but render them unacceptable to persons of respectable condition; and they were in the frequent habit, I will not say all of them, but some at least, of lounging about under the walls, as do the wool-workers and other mechanics, playing at various games; or at other times they would haunt the taverns. One day, therefore, that Giorgio Vasari was returning from Monte Oliveto, a Monastery outside of Florence, where he had been to visit the reverend and very

excellent Don Miniato Pitti,* who was then Abbot of that Monastery, he found Jacone with the greater part of his band at the corner of the Medici, when that person, as I have since been told, hoped, with some of his useless remarks, uttered half in jest and half in earnest, to hit upon something whereby Vasari might be offended. When the latter, who was on horseback, entered the midst of the troop, therefore, Jacone cried out, "Well done, Giorgio! how goes it with your worship?" "It goes excellently well with my worship, good Jacone," responded Giorgio, "seeing that I, who was once as poor as any one of you all, can now count my three thousand crowns or more. You have considered me a simpleton, but the monks and priests hold me to be something better; formerly I was serving among you, but now this servant whom you see serves me as well as my horse. I used to wear such clothes as we painters are glad to put on when we are poor, but now I am clothed in velvet. In old times I went on foot, now I ride on horseback; thus you see, my good Jaco, my worship does excellently well in sooth. God give you good day, Jacone."

When the poor Jacone heard all this tirade poured forth in a breath, he lost all presence of mind, standing silent and confounded, as one whose own condition of misery is suddenly brought home to him, and who perceives that the man who intends to be the assailant, sometimes falls at the feet of him whom he meant to assail.

Finally, being much reduced by sickness, while he was at the same time very poor, entirely destitute of aid, with none to nurse him, and unable to help himself from having lost the use of his limbs, Jacone died in great wretchedness, and with no better abode than a miserable cabin which he had in a little remote street or rather alley called Codarimessa. His death occurred in the year 1553.

Francesco Ubertino, called Bacchiacca, was an industrious painter, and although he was the friend of Jacone, he always lived in a decent manner and like an honest man: he too was an associate of Andrea del Sarto, and was ever much favoured and assisted in matters of art by that master.

* Don Miniato Pitti had given Vasari some assistance in certain parts of the first edition of these Lives, which were published by Torrentino in the year 1550.

Francesco, I repeat, was a diligent painter, and was more particularly successful in the execution of small figures, which he executed to perfection and with infinite patience; an instance of this may be seen in San Lorenzo at Florence, where there is a predella by his hand to the picture of the Martyrs painted by Giovan Antonio Sogliani.* There is also another predella by Francesco in the chapel of the crucifix, a work of admirable beauty.

In that apartment of the house of Pier Francesco Borgherini, of which there has so frequently been mention made, Bacchiacca painted in company with the other artists employed there, executing many small figures on the cabinets and wainscot. In the ante-room of Giovan Maria Benintendi, which has likewise been more than once alluded to, Bacchiacca painted two pictures, the figures of which are small, and these too are singularly beautiful. The subject of one of them is the Baptism of Our Saviour Christ by St. John in the river Jordan;† this has a larger number of figures and is a better work than the other. He executed many other pictures also for different persons, but these have for the most part been sent into France or England.

Ultimately Bacchiacca was received into the service of Duke Cosimo, seeing that he was excellent in the delineation of all kinds of animals, and was therefore employed to decorate a study for his Excellency, which he did with great ability, covering the same with birds of various kinds, together with rare plants and foliage, all which he executed in oil most admirably well. He then prepared cartoons with so vast a number of figures, that they may truly be declared infinite, the subjects representing the twelve months of the year, which were then woven into magnificent cloth of arras made of silk and gold by Marco di Maestro Giovanni Rosto the Fleming, who completed them with a care and forethought, by which they were rendered such that better works in that kind could not be seen.

At a later period Bacchiacca painted in fresco the grotto of a fountain which is in the garden of the Pitti palace, and

* The predella still retains its place.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† In all probability the Baptism of Christ by this master, now in the Gallery of Berlin, is that here in question.—*Note to the German Translation of Vasari.*

also prepared the designs for hangings of a bed to be richly embroidered all over with stories in small figures, this being considered the most gorgeous decoration of the kind that has ever been executed in similar work, seeing that the designs of Francesco have been worked in embroidery, thickly mingled with pearls and other costly materials, by Antonio Bacchiacca,* the brother of Francesco, who is an excellent master in embroidery. But as Francesco died before the bed was finished, it was subsequently completed with the designs and under the directions of Giorgio Vasari, being that which has served for the most fortunate nuptials of the illustrious Signor Don Francesco, Prince of Florence, and of the most Serene Princess, Queen Joanna of Austria.

Francesco died in Florence in the year 1557.

BENVENUTO GAROFALO AND GIROLAMO DA CARPI, PAINTERS OF FERRARA, AND OTHER LOMBARD MASTERS.

[Flourished from towards the close of the 15th, to about the middle of the 16th century.]

In that portion of these Lives which we are now about to write, we propose to make a collection of, and briefly record all the best and most eminent painters, sculptors, and architects, who have appeared in Lombardy during our own times, that is to say, since the time of Mantegna, Lorenzo Costa, Boccaccino of Cremona, and the Bolognese Francia: and this I do because I cannot relate the story of each in particular, and because it appears to me that it will be sufficient to record the works of these artists.

Nor should I have permitted myself to do even thus much, or to give a judgment of these masters' productions if I had not first examined the same; but as from the year 1542 down to the present year of 1566, I had not travelled nearly

* In the life of Pietro Perugino, vol. ii. p. 326, there is mention of this Ubertini, the embroiderer, brother of Il Bacchiacca, but he is there called Baccio, and not Antonio. Benvenuto Cellini enumerates this Ubertini, the embroiderer, among those who were present during the dispute which he held with Duke Cosimo in relation to the value of a very costly diamond.

all through Italy as I had previously done, neither had I seen the works of the above-named masters, nor those of some others, in which, during that space of twenty-four years, there must needs have been a great increase; so I determined, being almost at the end of this my work, to examine them before I should venture to write of their merits or demerits, whereof I resolved to form a judgment from the evidence of my own eyes.

Wherefore, the before-mentioned nuptials of the most Illustrious Signor Don Francesco Medici, Prince of Florence and Siena, my Lord, with the most Serene Princess, Queen Joanna of Austria, having been concluded, I, who had previously been for two years most busily occupied in painting the ceiling of the principal hall of their palace, then resolved to depart, and without sparing either cost or labour, to revisit Rome, all Tuscany, a part of the March, Umbria, Romagna, Lombardy, and Venice, with the whole of the Venetian territory, re-examining the old works and visiting the many new ones which have been executed since the above-named year 1542.

Having in the course of my journeys, therefore, made careful memorial of such things as I found most remarkable and worthy of being notified, that I might do no wrong to the deserts of the many artists, nor yet offer violence to that sincere truthfulness which is expected from all who write history of any kind, and who are required to speak without any bias or partiality whatever, I will now set down what may have been wanting to certain parts of that which I have already written, without departing from the order of my story, and will proceed to give notices of the works performed by certain masters who are still living, and who have produced and are producing excellent works; for it appears to me that so much is demanded by the deserts of many highly meritorious and noble artists.

I begin with the Ferrarese masters in painting.

Benvenuto Garofalo* was born in Ferrara, in the year

* This painter is sometimes called Benvenuto Tisio of Garofalo, a village in the province of Polesine. He was in the habit of painting a clove pink or gilliflower on his works, in place of his name, Garofalo being the name of that flower in certain parts of Italy; he was so called in consequence.

1481, to Piero Tisi, whose forefathers had by their origin been Paduans. He had received from nature so powerful an inclination to the art of painting, that when but a little child and while still at the school, whither he was sent that he might learn to read, he would do nothing but draw, an occupation from which his father, who considered painting a mere idleness, vainly endeavoured to deter the boy, for he found that to do so was impossible. At length the father perceived that he would do better to second the impulse of nature in this his son, who did nothing but draw night and day; and finally therefore, he resolved to place him with Domenico Laneto,* who was then a painter of very fair repute in Ferrara, although his manner was somewhat dry and laboured.†

With this artist Benvenuto had remained for some time, when, having gone on a certain occasion to Cremona, he there saw the paintings in the principal chapel of the cathedral; now among others from the hand of Boccaccino Boccacci, a Cremonese painter, by whom the whole apsis had been painted in fresco, was a figure of Our Saviour Christ, who, seated on his throne and with two Saints on each side, is represented in the act of bestowing his benediction;‡ and being greatly pleased with that work, Benvenuto fixed himself, by the intervention of some friends,§ with Boccaccino, who was at that time still occupied in the same church, with stories in fresco from the life of the Madonna, of which we have already spoken in his Life: these works he executed in competition with the painter Altobello,‖ who was employed

* The true name of this *Laneto*, or as Orlandi calls him *Lanetti*, was Domenico Panetti, aud it is a curious fact that from having been the master of Garofalo, he subsequently, and when Benvenuto had returned to Rome bringing with him the style of Raphael, became his disciple, nay, was ultimately a somewhat distinguished painter, instead of a common-place one, as he had previously been. See Lanzi, vol. iii. p. 194, English Edition.

† There is a picture by this master in the Gallery of Dresden.

‡ See *La Pittura Cremonese*, by the Count Soresina Vidoni, where there is a print of this work.

§ Benvenuto was at that time with his maternal uncle, Nicolò Soriani, who was also a painter, and with whom he resided for the purpose of being near Boccaccino.

‖ Altobello da Melone, also a Cremonese. There is further mention of this painter in a subsequent page. See also Lomazzi, *Trattato sopra la*

on frescoes from the Life of Christ in the same church, nay, opposite to the work of Boccaccino, where Altobello was producing stories which are exceedingly beautiful and truly worthy of commendation. Pleased, as we have said, with Boccaccino's manner, Benvenuto remained two years in Cremona, and having made great progress under the discipline of the Cremonese artist, he departed, being then in his nineteenth year, and repaired to Rome.

It was in the year 1500* that Garofalo arrived in that city, where he placed himself with Giovanni Baldini, a Florentine painter of considerable ability,† who had a large number of most beautiful drawings by different masters of eminence in his possession, and on these Benvenuto practised whenever he had time, more particularly during the night. After having remained with Baldini fifteen months, and having examined the works of art in Rome to his great delight, Benvenuto continued for some time to move about through various parts of Italy, and finally arrived in Mantua, where he remained during two years with Lorenzo Costa, serving him with so much affection that, after the lapse of that time, Lorenzo, to reward his attachment, procured him an appointment to the service of Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, by whom Lorenzo himself was employed.

But Garofalo had not been long with the Marquis, before he was compelled, by the illness of his father, to return to Ferrara, where he then continued during four years, executing numerous works on his own account, as well as others, which he performed in the company of the Dossi.‡

In the year 1505, Messer Jeronimo Sagrato, a gentleman of Ferrara, who resided in Rome, sent for Benvenuto, desiring him to repair to the last-named city, which he did most gladly, and the rather as he much desired to see the miracles then related of Raffaello da Urbino, and of the

Pittura, Milan, 1584; and Lamo, *Discorso sopra le tre Arti*, Cremona, 1584. See also Morelli, *Notizie*, &c.

* It would seem that there must here be an error in the date, since the works of Altobello and Boccaccini referred to in the text, bear respectively the dates 1518, 1515, and 1517.

† For some few notices concerning Baldini, see Baruffaldi, *Vite dè piu insigni Pittori*.

‡ For mention of whom see vol. iii. of the present work.

chapel of Pope Julius,* which had been painted by Buonarroto.†

But when Benvenuto had seen the works here alluded to, he was not only amazed, but felt almost in despair, as he regarded the graceful animation which Raphael was imparting to the art, and remarked the profound knowledge of design evinced by Michelagnolo. He anathematized the manner of Lombardy, and that which he had acquired with so much study and labour at Mantua; nay, had it been possible, he would very fain have divested himself of all that he had learned with so much pains: but since better might not be, he resolved to unlearn that which he had given his youth to acquiring; and after the loss of so many years, he determined from a master to become once more a disciple.‡

He thereupon began to copy and draw from those works which he considered the best and most difficult, giving scarcely any of his attention to other matters, but labouring perpetually at these designs for two years, when his bad manner had become changed for a good one to such an extent that he was now held by the artists in much account: nay, what was more, he demeaned himself in such sort, and displayed so much diffidence as well as courtesy, that he

* The Sistine Chapel, which Vasari calls the Chapel of Julius, from that Pontiff having given the commission for its decoration.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† Here is another manifest inaccuracy, most probably an errror of the copyist or the press. In the *Kunstblatt* for 1844, No. 165, we have an original memorandum by Michael Angelo's own hand, wherein he notifies the commencement of his paintings in the Sistine Chapel as taking place on the 10th of May, 1508. That but little by the hand of Raphael was to be seen at the date given in the text is also known, but for the details respecting these matters, which cannot here find place, our readers are referred to Rehberg, *Rafael Sanzio aus Urbino*, München, 1824; Fea, *Notizie*, &c., Rome, 1822; Quatremère de Quincy, *Histoire de la Vie et des Ouvrages de Raphael*, Paris, 1824; Platner und Bunsen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*; Duppa, *Life of Raffaello Sanzio*, London, 1816; and Passavant, *Rafael Von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi*, Leipsig, 1839, which last is perhaps the best authority among all the many we possess, as regards accuracy in describing the works of Raphael.

‡ This account of the discontent of Benvenuto with the Lombard manner is to be taken with certain grains of allowance, and rather as comparing it with that of Raphael, than as declaring it to be bad in itself. It is to be remarked also that at the time here in question, Correggio had not yet obtained his fame among the Lombards.

became the friend of Raffaello da Urbino, who, kind and obliging as he was, assisted and favoured Benvenuto greatly, teaching him many things; and if the latter had continued to practice in Rome, there cannot be a doubt but that he would have produced works fully worthy of his fine genius.

But he was compelled, I know not by what cause, to return to his native place; yet in taking leave of Raphael, he promised to abide by his counsels, and once more to repair to Rome, where Raphael assured him that he would supply him with more occupation than he could require, and that in very honourable works.

Having reached Ferrara, and despatched those affairs which had been the cause of his returning thither, Benvenuto was preparing himself to revisit Rome, when the Signor Alfonso Duke of Ferrara, invited him to paint a small chapel in the Castello, in company with other Ferrarese painters, which having completed, his departure was again prevented by the pressing kindness of Messer Antonio Costabili, a Ferrarese gentleman of much authority and influence, who induced him to paint a picture in oil for the high altar of the church of Sant' Andrea, and that done he was compelled to execute another in San Bertolo, a monastery of Cistercian monks, in which he painted an Adoration of the Magi, which was greatly admired. He was then called on to execute a picture for the cathedral,* with two others which were placed in the church of Santo Spirito :† in one of these is the Virgin, seen in the air with the Divine Child in her arms, with other figures beneath; and in the other is the Nativity of Jesus Christ.

While Benvenuto was occupied with these works, he constantly thought with extreme regret, nay, even with pain, of his estrangement from Rome, and was resolved that, come what might, he would at once return to that city; but the death of his father Piero taking place at that time, all his plans were deranged, seeing that he then found himself with a marriageable sister on his shoulders, a brother only fourteen years old, and his family affairs in great disorder.

* That namely which is still to be seen in the Cathedral of Ferrara, and which represents Our Lord surrounded by numerous saints.

† The works in the Church of Santo Spirito were restored by Palmaroli in the year 1826. They bear the usual superscription of the master, the clove pink or gilliflower namely.

Benvenuto was thus compelled to resign himself and make up his mind to remain in his native place.

He then separated himself from the Dossi, in whose company he had previously worked; and in the church of San Francesco he painted a chapel entirely alone: the subject is the Resurrection of Lazarus; the numerous figures are very good and most agreeably coloured, the attitudes are full of force and movement; Benvenuto consequently received much commendation for his work. In another chapel of the same church our artist painted the Slaughter of the Innocents cruelly put to death by Herod; this was so well done, and the figures of the soldiers and others engaged therein are so full of life, that the picture is a perfect marvel. The various expressions of the many faces, also, are admirably rendered; grief and fear in the countenances of the mothers and nurses, pain and death in those of the infants, and cruelty in the faces of the murderers, with many other peculiarities, which gave infinite satisfaction.*

It is also to be remarked that in the execution of these works, Benvenuto adopted a method which had never before been used in Lombardy; he made models of earth that is to say, to the end that he might the more truthfully render both the lights and the shadows; he employed the model of a figure in wood likewise, jointed and hinged in such a manner that it could be brought into any attitude whatever, and this he then arranged after his own pleasure, placing his draperies thereon, and moving them into such positions as he required. But what is of more importance than all the rest, he copied every minutia from life and nature, as one who knew that the right and true method is to observe and copy the living subject. For the same church our artist painted the altar-piece of a chapel, and on one of the walls he painted a fresco, the subject of which is Our Saviour Christ, taken by the multitude in the Garden of the Mount of Olives.†

For the church of San Domenico, in the same city of Ferrara, Benvenuto painted two pictures in oil;‡ one representing the Miracle of the Cross and Sant' Elena; in the other

* These pictures, as well as others painted by Benvenuto in the Church of San Francesco, and not mentioned by Vasari, are still in existence.

† This has suffered greatly by time, as well as by the negligence of those who have had the care of the Church.

‡ They are both still in the Church.

is San Pietro Martire,* with a considerable number of very beautiful figures.† In this work Benvenuto appears to have greatly changed from his first manner, that here to be remarked, is much bolder and less laboured. For the nuns of San Silvestro this master painted a picture, the subject of which is Christ Praying on the Mount, while the three Apostles are sleeping beneath. For the nuns of San Gabbriello he executed an Annunciation ;‡ and for the Sisters of Sant' Antonio he painted the Resurrection of Our Saviour Christ, as the picture of their high altar.

In the church of San Girolamo, Benvenuto painted a picture for the Frati Ingesuati; this represented the Divine Child in the Manger, and around him is a choir of exceedingly beautiful angels; it was placed on the high altar, and is esteemed an admirable work. In Santa Maria del Vado there is a well-composed and beautifully-coloured picture by the same hand; Our Saviour Christ namely, ascending into heaven, with the apostles standing beneath, and looking after their ascending Lord in profound astonishment.§

For the church of San Giorgio, which is a place belonging to the monks of Monte Oliveto, without the city, Benvenuto painted a picture in oil, the subject being the Magi offering their Adoration to the Infant Christ, and bringing to him presents of myrrh, incense, and gold. This is one of the best works ever executed by that master in the whole course of his life;‖ but all his productions greatly pleased the people of Ferrara, and caused them to employ him in the painting of pictures almost without number for their dwellings. He painted very many for monasteries also, as well as

* Peter the Martyr, a Dominican monk and Inquisitor of the thirteenth century, was a native of Verona. He was assassinated by one of the enemies whom his severities in his office had aroused against him, as he was proceeding from Milan to Como.

† Lanzi remarks that certain of the authorities declare the St. Peter the Martyr to have been painted in competition with Titian, and that if the work of the last-named master should be lost, that of Garofalo might take its place.

‡ There is an Annunciation by Garofalo in the Palace of the Magistracy at Ferrara, and another in the Pinacoteca of the Brera at Milan.

§ This picture was taken to Rome, and in its stead was placed a copy by Bononi.

‖ These and other pictures taken from the suppressed churches and monasteries, are now deposited in the Palace of the Communal Magistracy.

for the castles and villas without the city and for the neighbourhood around it. Among other places he worked at Boldeno, where he produced a picture on panel representing the Resurrection of Christ: he also painted the Refectory of Sant' Andrea in fresco, and here he displayed exceedingly rich invention, with much power of fancy, the numerous figures of the work being intended to signify and set forth the connexion between the Old Testament and the New.* But since the works of this master are almost innumerable, so it shall suffice me to have mentioned such of them as are to be considered the best.†

Girolamo da Carpi received his first instructions in painting from Benvenuto Garofalo, as will be related in his life, and together they depicted certain subjects in imitation of bronze, on the façade of the house of the Muzzarelli family, which is situate in the Borgo Nuovo. They also painted, in like manner together, both the interior and the outside of the palace of Copara, a place of recreation belonging to the Duke of Ferrara, for whom Benvenuto executed many other works, some alone, and some in the company of other painters.

Now Benvenuto had long lived in the determination to take no wife, but after he had lost the society of his brother, he became tired of living alone, and in the fortieth year of

* This great picture in fresco is still in existence, although much injured in various parts. In the year 1841, the painter Pellegrino Succi was sent to Ferrara by the Pope (then Gregory XVI.) with a commission from that Pontiff to transfer the fresco to canvas, that the work might thus be saved from destruction. The invention is so quaint and singular a one, that we will endeavour to give our readers some idea of its principal features. In the centre is Our Saviour Christ on the Cross; he has the New Testament on his right hand, the Old on his left, the last represented as placed on an Ass. From the Cross of Our Lord proceed Arms, which place a Crown on the head of the New Testament: they also hold the keys of Paradise, deliver the Patriarchs from Hell, and slay the Old Testament. Through the hands of a figure representing Religion flow streams of blood, which fall on the three principal Sacraments, and opposite to these are seen the Sacrifices of the Old Testament: Solomon's Temple has also a place in this composition, and opposite to it is the preaching of St. Paul. Over the whole is a figure of the Almighty Father seated on a Rock.

† "The City of Ferrara," observes a grieving compatriot of our author, "has at various periods been deprived of many valuable paintings. In 1617, Pope Urban VIII. took many of those executed by her most distinguished masters from the churches, and others were carried away under the reign of Napoleon."

his age he resolved to marry. This he had not done more than a year, when he fell seriously ill, and lost the sight of his right eye, nor was he without fear and much danger of losing the other. He then recommended himself to God, and made a vow to wear grey clothing ever after, as, in effect, he did, when by the grace of God the sight of the left eye was preserved to him so perfectly, that the works executed by Garofalo in his sixty-fifth year are so well done, so delicately finished, and evince so much care, that they are truly wonderful. Respecting this master there is further to relate, that the Duke of Ferrara was on a certain occasion displaying a work in oil, by Benvenuto, to Pope Paul III., the Triumph of Bacchus namely, five braccia long,* with another representing the Calumny of Apelles,† both executed at that age by Garofalo, after the designs of Raffaello da Urbino, and each placed over a certain chimney-piece in the palace of his Excellency the Duke; he was showing them, I say, to Pope Paul, when that Pontiff declared himself to be struck with astonishment, that works of such extent and beauty should have been executed by a man of so advanced an age; one, too, who had but a single eye.

On every festival day during twenty years, Benvenuto worked without intermission, for the love of God, and accepting no payment for his labour, at the convent belonging to the nuns of San Bernardino,‡ where he executed many works of importance in oil, in tempera, and in fresco; this was certainly a very remarkable thing, and full proof of his sincerity and good nature; the rather as he had no competitors in that place, yet gave as much care and study to all that he did, as he could have done had he been labouring in a much frequented district. These works of San Bernardino are very good compositions, and the heads have considerable beauty of expression, the grouping is free from confusion, and the figures are in a soft and good manner.

Benvenuto had many disciples, but although he taught

* This fine picture of the Bacchic Procession is now in the Gallery of Dresden.—*Förster*.

† The fate of this work is not known.

‡ The Convent of San Bernardino is among those that have been suppressed, and of the works executed there by Garofalo nothing is now known.

them all that he knew more than willingly, and might have expected that some one of them would have distinguished themselves, yet no one of these young men ever made any progress; and instead of receiving from them that affection and gratitude which his kindness had well merited, he never obtained any thing better than vexations from any one of them; insomuch that he was wont to declare the only enemies he had ever had in his life to have been his own disciples and assistants.

In the year 1550, when Benvenuto had become much advanced in age, his disease of the eyes returned upon him, and he became totally blind: in this state he remained nine years, supporting his misfortune with great constancy of mind and patience, being in all things submissive to the will of God. At length, and when he had attained his seventy-eighth year, rejoicing in the approach of death, and seeming to himself to have too long wandered in darkness, with the hope of thenceforward enjoying eternal life, he completed the course of his life on the 6th day of September, in the year 1559. Benvenuto left a son called Girolamo still living, who is a very amiable person, and also a daughter.

This artist was an exceedingly good and worthy man, cheerful of disposition, mild in his converse, and always supporting the trials of his life with patient resignation. In his youth he found much pleasure in fencing and in playing on the lute; he was very warmly attached to his friends, and was indeed beyond measure affectionate and devoted to their service; among his intimates were the painter Giorgione da Castel Franco, Titian of Cadore, and Giulio Romano, Benvenuto was indeed universally well-disposed, and ever proved himself most friendly to all those of his art; I can myself bear testimony to this matter, seeing that during the two visits which I made to Ferrara in his time, I received from him innumerable favours and marks of kindness.

Benvenuto was honourably interred in the church of Santa Maria del Vado, and received from many persons of distinction that tribute of respect, both in verse and prose, which his qualities had well deserved.* But as I have not

* There is a large number of Benvenuto's works in Rome, many of them being to be found in private houses as well as in public galleries, &c.: there are several in that of the Capitol, for example, and one or more in the

been able to procure the portrait of Garofalo,* I have placed at the commencement of this series of Lombard painters that of Girolamo Carpi, whose Life I am now about to write.

Girolamo, then, who was called Da Carpi,† and who was a Ferrarese, and disciple of Benvenuto Garofalo, passed his earlier years in the work-shops of his father Tommaso, who was a painter of shields, and who employed him to decorate coffers, seats, frames, and other matters of similar character. Girolamo, having subsequently made some progress under the discipline of Benvenuto, expected that his father would set him free from the necessity of executing those mechanical works, but as Tommaso, desirous of gain, would do nothing of the kind, his son resolved to leave him, come what might thereof.

He thereupon departed from Ferrara and repaired to Bologna, where he found much favour with the gentlemen of that city: wherefore having taken certain portraits, which were found to be very fair likenesses, he acquired so good a reputation that he made large gains, and was able to gain more for his father by his abode in Bologna than he had done while in Ferrara.

Now at that time there had been a work by the hand of Antonio Correggio transported to Bologna and deposited in the house of the Counts Ercolani. The subject of the

Vatican. Lanzi speaks of one in the Chigi Palace, and Bottari mentions another as in the Corsini, but the present writer cannot remember to have seen either of these examples. The two in our own National Gallery, the Vision of St. Augustine and a Holy Family namely, need no mention here.

* There are two portraits in the Louvre which are believed to be of this artist, but principally because they hold a clove pink or gilliflower in the hand: that which Manolessi believed himself to have discovered, is considered by Lanzi to be the portrait of Giovan Battista Benvenuti, called L'Ortolano.

† Superbi, *Apparato degli uomini illustri di Ferrara*, calls him de' Carpi, but the dispute on what Lanzi has well called the frivolous question thus arising, has been set at rest by Baruffaldi, *Vite de' Pittori Ferraresi*, who cites authentic documents to show that his name was Girolamo Bianchi, and that he was as Vasari—who having been his friend, was a highly competent authority—has said, "called Da Carpi." In some of the later editions of our author his life is separated from that of Benvenuto, &c., but we adhere to the text as arranged by Vasari himself in the edition of 1560.

picture was our Saviour Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene in the form of the Gardener ;* and this painting, which was executed with a degree of perfection, and finished with a softness to which no words could do justice ; this work, I say, did so possess itself of the heart of Girolamo, that he could not satisfy himself with copying it, and at length set off for Modena, to see the other works of Correggio in that place. Arrived there accordingly, Girolamo was filled with admiration at the sight of what he beheld, but he was struck with astonishment by one among them more than by all besides. This was a large picture, which is, indeed, most divine : the subject of the work is Our Lady with the Divine Child in her arms, the infant being in the act of placing the ring on the finger of Santa Caterina, whom he is espousing.† There is, besides, a San Sebastiano and other figures, with expressions of countenance so beautiful that those faces appear to have been made in Paradise ; the hair and hands, moreover, are such that it is not possible to imagine any thing more perfect in their kind, nor can anything painted be more natural or more life-like.

From the Doctor, Messer Francesco Grillenzoni, the owner of the picture, and who had been an intimate friend of Correggio, Da Carpi obtained permission to copy the same, which he did with all the care that it is possible to conceive. He afterwards did as much in respect to the picture of San Pietro Martire,‡ which Correggio had painted for a company of laymen, by which it is held in the high estimation which it so justly deserves. In this work, to say nothing of the other figures, there is most particularly to be remarked,

* Mentioned in the Life of Correggio. See vol. ii. p. 407, note §.

† This picture, which in the seventeenth century was in possession of Cardinal Sforza, came afterwards into that of the French king, and is still in the Louvre. It has been engraved by Etienne Picard, and the small *replica* at Naples has been engraved by Jacob Felsing. In the Hermitage at St. Petersburg there is a picture exactly similar to that at Naples, and which bears the following inscription :—*Laus Deo. Per Donna Metilde d'Este Antonio Lieto di Correggio fece il presenti per sua Divozione*, 1517.

‡ The St. Peter the Martyr was one of those pictures which passed from the Gallery of the House of Este to that of the king of Poland : it is now in the Dresden Gallery, where it is called the St. George, from the circumstance of that Saint holding a prominent position in the picture.

that of the Infant Christ in the lap of the Virgin Mother, and this does truly appear to breathe. The figure of San Pietro Martire also is eminently beautiful. Girolamo likewise copied a small but no less admirable picture by the same master, which belonged to the brotherhood of San Sebastiano, for whom Correggio had painted it.* All these works, thus copied by Girolamo, improved his manner to such an extent that it was no longer the same thing, and did not appear to be his own.

From Modena Girolamo proceeded to Parma, where he had heard that there were also works by Correggio, and where he copied certain of the pictures in the apsis of the Cathedral, among them an admirably fore-shortened figure of our Lord ascending into Heaven and surrounded by numerous Angels,† while the Apostles are standing beneath in contemplation of that miracle. Girolamo likewise copied the four Saints, protectors of Parma, by whom the niches are occupied; these are San Giovanni Battista, who has a Lamb in his hand; St. Joseph, the Spouse of Our Lady; the Florentine, San Bernardo degli Uberti, who was a cardinal and bishop of Florence; with another saint who was also a bishop.

In the Church of San Giovanni Evangelista, moreover, Girolamo studied the figures of the principal chapel, which is in the apsis of that church, these being in like manner by the hand of Correggio, the Coronation of Our Lady namely, with figures of San Giovanni Evangelista, of the Baptist, of San Benedetto, San Placido, and a large number of Angels, who surround the principal group. He likewise copied the admirable figures which are in the chapel of San Joseffo in

* This picture is not a small, but rather a large one; there is an engraving of it by one of the many engravers Kilian, but whether by Lucas, Wolfgang, or one of their sons, the present writer has not been able to ascertain. This also is in the Dresden Gallery, where it is known as the Madonna di Sebastiano.

† Vasari here corrects the mistake which he had previously made, of placing this work in the Church of St. John the Baptist; Bottari considers him to have taken the opportunity here offered for speaking of Correggio's works, partly to the end that he might add certain notices received after the Life of Correggio had been written, and correct some few mistakes into which he had fallen while preparing that biography. See the *Roman Edition of Vasari*, 1750.

the church of San Sepolcro, a work that may be truly called divine.*

Now it may be considered certain, that he who takes great pleasure in the manner of some particular master, and studies that manner with love and zeal, will at least acquire some tincture of the same, and give evidence thereof in parts, if not in the whole of his own works; it has, indeed, sometimes happened, that the scholar has become more distinguished than his master: but with respect to Girolamo we have principally to remark, that he approached the manner of Correggio in certain parts, and when he had returned to Bologna he constantly endeavoured to imitate his works, studying none other but those, and the pictures by the hand of Raffaello da Urbino, which, as we have before related, the men of that city have in their possession.† All these particulars I obtained from Girolamo himself, whom I knew well in Rome, seeing him there frequently during the year 1550, when he often lamented with me that he should have consumed his youth and the best of his years in Ferrara and Bologna, instead of passing them in Rome or some other place, wherein he might have made more important acquisitions in art.

But Girolamo was besides impeded to no small extent in his studies of art by the too earnest devotion with which he addicted himself to his pleasures and to playing on the lute, in which he spent the time that might have been given to his improvement in painting. He ultimately returned to Bologna, where, among many other portraits, he took that of the Florentine Messer Onofrio Bartolini, who was then pursuing his studies in Bologna, and who afterwards became Archbishop of Pisa: that head, which now belongs to the heirs of the above-named Messer Noferi,‡ is an exceedingly beautiful one, and in a singularly graceful manner.

* The pictures of the Church of San Sepolcro were engraved by Francesco Brizio, a disciple of Ludovico Caracci.—*Bottari.* See also Bartsch, *Peintre-Graveur*, who enumerates the Holy Family, called the "Madonna della Scodella," now in the Gallery of Parma, among the engravings of Brizio. The last-named work of Correggio has been also engraved by Toschi.

† The celebrated St. Cecilia..

‡ Contraction of Onofrio The fate of this portrait is not known.

At the same time the painter Messer Biagio * was working in Bologna, and this artist perceiving that Girolamo was getting into credit, began to fear that he would pass before himself and deprive him of all his gains; he therefore watched his opportunities, and succeeded in establishing a friendship with Girolamo, whom he then laboured to retard in his progress, attaching himself so closely to his society, and becoming so intimate with Girolamo, that after a time they began to work in company, and so continued for some time.

Now this arrangement was not only detrimental to Girolamo in the matter of gain, but was also highly injurious to his progress in art, seeing that he now followed the practice of Maestro Biagio, who worked by mere facility of hand, and took all his pictures from the designs now of one master and now of another, in a manner which, being also pursued by Girolamo, the latter now gave no further care or study to his paintings.

There was at that time a certain Fra Antonio, a Monk of the Monastery of San Michele in Bosco, which is situate immediately outside of Bologna, and this Frate had painted a figure of San Sebastiano, the size of life, in his own convent, with a picture in oil for a convent of that same order of Monte Oliveto which was situate at Scaricalasino, and some figures in fresco at the chapel of the garden of Santa Scolastica at Monte Oliveto Maggiore. The Monk Antonio having done these things, it was determined by the Abbot Ghiacciro, who had detained him during that year at Bologna, that he should paint the New Sacristry of the church: but the Frate Antonio, who did not feel equal to undertake so great a work, or who did not care perchance to undergo much labour and fatigue, as is frequently the case with that kind of people,—Frate Antonio, I say, so contrived that the work was entrusted to Girolamo and Maestro Biagio, who accordingly painted the whole chapel in fresco. In the compartments of the ceiling these artists depicted Children and Angels, and on the principal wall they represented the Story of the Transfiguration of Our Lord, the figures of which are very large: the design for this picture was taken from that executed in Rome by Raffaello da Urbino for San Pietro in Montorio.

* Biagio Pupini, called Maestro Biagio delle Lame. See vol. iii. p. 326, where there is also mention of this artist.

On the remaining space they painted figures of Saints, of which some at least are very good.

Girolamo meanwhile perceived that his association with Maestro Biagio was by no means advantageous to him, nay, was likely to prove his utter ruin; he therefore determined to separate himself from his company, which he did when the undertaking above-mentioned was completed, and then began to work alone. The first picture which he executed entirely by himself was one for the chapel of San Sebastiano in the church of San Salvadore, a performance wherein he acquitted himself exceedingly well;* but having shortly afterwards received intelligence of the death of his father, Girolamo returned to Ferrara, where he for that time did little besides taking a few portraits and other works of but slight importance.

Meanwhile Titiano Vercellio had been invited to Ferrara, as will be mentioned in his life, there to execute certain paintings in a small room or study for the Duke Alfonso, wherein Giovan Bellino had previously performed certain works, and where Dosso had painted a Procession of Bacchanals,† the figures of which are so fine that he would well merit the name of a good painter for that work only, had he never produced any other;‡ when Girolamo profited by the arrival of Tizian, and by his means, with the intervention of some other persons also, he began to obtain access to the court of the Duke.§ He now, as it were to give a specimen of what he could do, copied the head of Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, from a painting by the hand of Titian, and this he did so well that it appeared to be exactly the same as the original, for which reason it was sent into France as a work of great merit.

* The subject of this work is the Marriage of St. Catherine, it was removed at the restoration of the Church in the sixteenth century, and is now beneath the organ.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† Which still retains its place.

‡ Vasari has perhaps mentioned Dosso too slightly in other places, and now expresses himself in more favourable terms, in consequence of the better knowledge of that artist which he had obtained during his subsequent travels through Italy.

§ Lanzi affirms that it was not when Titian painted the Duke's study that he thus favoured and assisted Girolamo, who was then no more than a child, but at a later period.

At a later period, and when Girolamo had taken a wife and become the father of a family, perhaps somewhat earlier than he ought to have done, he painted the Four Evangelists in fresco, in the angles of the ceiling in the church of San Francesco at Ferrara. These were tolerably good figures, and in the same church he painted a frieze which passed entirely around the building, a work of very great extent, and comprising numerous figures in half length, with little children most charmingly intermingled and linked together.* In a picture which he was commissioned to execute, also for the church of San Francesco, Girolamo painted the figure of Sant' Antonio of Padua with other Saints; and in a second picture he represented Our Lady in the air with two Angels, this last being placed on the Altar by the Signora Giulia Muzzarella, whose portrait the artist depicted therein with very great success.

In Rovigo Girolamo da Carpi executed a work for the Church of San Francesco, the subject chosen was the Descent of the Holy Spirit in Tongues of Fire; this was a performance worthy of the highest commendation, for the excellence of the composition as well as for the beauty of the heads. For the church of San Martino in Bologna likewise he painted a picture representing the three Magi, both the figures and heads of which are exceedingly beautiful.†

At Ferrara the works performed by Girolamo were the façade of a house for the Signor Battista Muzzarelli, which he painted in company with Benvenuto Garofalo, as we have said, with that of the palace of Copara, a villa belonging to the Duke, and situate at the distance of about twelve miles from Ferrara. In the last-mentioned city itself he also painted the façade of the house of Pietro Soncini, which is on the Piazza and near the Fish Market, depicting there the taking of Goletta by the Emperor Charles V. At San Polo, which is a church in the same city belonging to the Carmelite Monks, our artist painted a picture in oil representing San Girolamo with two other Saints, all of the size of life.‡

* The frieze is still in existence, as are the figures of the Evangelists, but some of these have been restored.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

† It is in the first chapel, and almost at the entrance to the church. Lanzi, *Storia Pittorica*, declares this work to unite the beauties of the Roman and Lombard schools.

‡ Still in its place.—*Ed Flor.*, 1832-8.

In the ducal palace Girolamo painted a very large picture, with a figure full of animation, movement, and grace, and exhibiting admirably good relief; this, which was of the size of life, was intended to signify Opportunity.

The same artist also painted a nude figure of Venus, the size of life, and in a recumbent attitude, with Love beside her; this was sent to Paris, but I, who saw the work at Ferrara, in the year 1540, can with truth affirm that it was a most beautiful one. Girolamo likewise commenced the painting of the Refectory of San Giorgio, a monastery which the monks of Monte Oliveto possess in Ferrara, and did indeed complete the work to a considerable extent, but some part of it was left unfinished and this has been now brought to a conclusion by the Bolognese painter Pellegrino Pellegrini.*

But he who should make mention of all the pictures which Girolamo executed in the houses of different nobles and gentlemen, would make the story much longer than it is our purpose to do, wherefore I will speak of two only; these, however, are indeed most exquisite. One of the two is a copy from a picture by the hand of Correggio, and which is beautiful to a marvel, now in the possession of the Cavalier Boiardo, in Parma; the subject Our Lady, who is putting a little tunic or camicia on the Infant Christ, and from which Girolamo took a copy, as we have said, so entirely faithful, that it appears to be the same and no other. The second is also a copy from a work by Parmigianino, and which is now at the Certosa of Pavia,† in the cell of the Vicar; this also is executed with so much love and zeal that no miniature can be found finished more delicately.

Girolamo painted many other pictures with infinite care; and, as he took much pleasure in architecture, our artist sometimes undertook works in that branch of art likewise;

* He was the son of Maestro Tibaldo, a Bolognese builder, and is therefore sometines called Pellegrino Tibaldi, and sometimes Pellegrino of Bologna. He is mentioned again by Vasari in the Life of Primaticcio. See also Zanotti, *Storia dell' Accademia Clementina di Bologna.*

† Bottari remarks, that by defect of memory Vasari has committed two errors in this passage, since the picture of the Certosa, which was afterwards sent into Spain, was the work of Correggio (it is now in our National Gallery); while "that painted for the Cavaliere Boiardo," was the Cupid preparing his bow by Parmigiano, and which is now in the Bridgewater Gallery.

he prepared numerous designs for buildings belonging to different private persons, but also served in this particular the Cardinal of Ferrara, Ippolito de' Medici, who, having bought the garden at Montecavallo in Rome, which had previously belonged to the Cardinal of Naples, with several vineyards belonging to other persons which surrounded it, invited Girolamo to Rome, to the end that this master might serve him, not in the buildings only, but also in the truly regal decorations of wood work, &c., which adorn that garden; * and in this work he acquitted himself so well, that all who beheld it were amazed; nor, indeed, do I know any one who has done better in wood-work (afterwards covered with the most exquisite foliage) than Girolamo da Carpi, or who has produced a richer variety of graceful forms, such as temples of different characters, wherein may now be seen arranged many of the finest antique statues to be found in Rome, part of the latter being complete, and part having been restored by the Florentine Valerio Cioli† and other sculptors.

By all these labours Girolamo da Carpi, having got himself into very good credit at Rome, was preferred, in the year 1550, by the above-named Cardinal, his lord, who loved him very greatly, to the service of Pope Julius III., who made him architect of the works then in course of erection at the Belvidere, giving him rooms there, with a good stipend. But as that Pontiff was never to be contented in matters of that kind, (more particularly at the commencements, and when, understanding nothing of design, he constantly became dissatisfied at night with that which had pleased him in the morning,) and as besides Girolamo had to be perpetually contending with certain old architects, to whom it seemed a wonderful thing that a new and unknown person should be placed before them,—Girolamo, I say, clearly perceiving the envy and probable malignity of these men, resolved to retire, and this he did the more readily because

* Where the pontifical Palace now stands.—*Bottari.* The Palace of the Quirinal that is to say; the Quirinal Hill is still popularly called Monte Cavallo, from the antique horses which, as most of our readers will remember, form the glorious ornament of that place.

† Valerio Cioli of Settignano was the son of the sculptor Simone Cioli, and a disciple of Tribolo. There is further mention of Valerio in the Life of Michael Angelo.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

he was himself rather lukewarm of disposition than otherwise.

Taking the prudent part, therefore, our artist returned to Montecavallo and to the service of the Cardinal, a step for which he was much commended by many who thought that it was indeed too desperate a life to be every day and all day long contending about each trifling arrangement with this person and that: then, as he well said, it is better to have quiet of mind, though with only bread and water, than to sigh and break one's heart in the midst of greatness and honours. When, therefore, Girolamo had executed a very beautiful picture for that prelate, his lord,—with which I, who have seen it, was very greatly pleased,—being now weary and exhausted, he returned with his said lord to Ferrara, there to enjoy the repose of life in his own home with his wife and children, leaving the hopes and schemes of fortune in the hands of his adversaries, who obtained from the Pontiff just what he had received himself, and nothing more or better.

While Girolamo was thus residing at Ferrara, the palace took fire, by some accident, I know not what, when the Duke Ercole charged our artist with the care of restoring it; an office which he performed exceedingly well, adorning the fabric as he best could in that country, where they suffer a great dearth of stone for making polished ornaments; he acquitted himself so well indeed, as to secure the favour of the Duke, who remunerated his labours most liberally.

Finally, having completed this work and many others, Girolamo died at the age of fifty-five,* and in the year 1556, when he was buried beside his wife in the church of the Angeli. He left two daughters and three sons, Giulio, Annibale, and another, that is to say.

Girolamo was a man of a cheerful character, very agreeable in conversation, in his works somewhat leisurely and slow, of middle stature, an immoderate lover of music, and perhaps rather more earnestly devoted to the pleasures of sense than was altogether desirable. After his death the works of his lord were carried on by the Ferrarese architect Galasso,† a man

* According to Baruffaldi, *Vite dè piu excellenti pittori Ferraresi*, Girolamo da Carpi's age at his death was sixty-eight.

† The Florentine editors of the Passigli edition of our author, remind us

of admirable genius, and of such remarkable ability in all things appertaining to architecture, that, to judge from what we see of his designs, he would have displayed a much higher degree of excellence than he has now done, had he been employed in works of greater importance.

The excellent sculptor Maestro Girolamo* was in like manner a Ferrarese; he had his abode at Ricanati, and executed numerous decorations in marble for the house and chapel of the Madonna at Loretto, after the death of Andrea Contucci his master, making large numbers of the ornaments, by which that edifice is enriched. When Tribolo, who was the last of the masters in design employed at Loretto, had departed from that place, after having completed the large marble relief which is at the back of the chapel, that namely which represents the Angels bringing that House from Sclavonia to the wood of Loretto,—when Tribolo had departed, I say, this Girolamo continued working at the completion of various parts, labouring perpetually from the year 1534 to the year 1560, and executing numerous works. The first of these was the seated figure of a Prophet, three braccia and a half high, and this, being considered a good and beautiful work, was placed in a niche on the western side of the chapel.

The success of Girolamo in respect of this figure, caused him to be subsequently charged with the execution of all the other Prophets, one only excepted, and this, which is on the outside, to the east of the edifice, and opposite to the altar, was by the hand of Simone Cioli of Settignano, who was also a disciple of Andrea Sansovino. With that exception, I say, all the prophets are by the above-named Maestro Girolamo, and are executed with much diligence, study, and good ability. For the chapel of the Sacrament the same master has prepared the Chandeliers of bronze, which are about three braccia high, and are richly covered with foliage as well as figures, cast in full relief; these are so admirably

that this is not the painter Galasso, whose Life Vasari has already given. See vol. ii., p. 126, *et seq.*

* Girolamo Lombardi of Ferrara. For the many sculptors of this family see the *Memorie degli Artisti della Marca d' Ancona*, by the Marchese Amico Ricci.

well done that they are indeed a marvel. A brother of Maestro Girolamo, who is an exceedingly able master in works of cast metal, has also executed numerous undertakings in Rome, where he has laboured in company with Maestro Girolamo. Among these productions may more particularly be specified a very large Tabernacle in bronze, for Pope Paul III., which is to be placed in that chapel of the palace of the Vatican which is called the Paolina.

There have, in like manner, been at all times excellent masters in our arts among the Modanese, as we have remarked in other places, and as may be seen in respect of painting by four pictures which have hitherto received no mention at my hands, because I do not know by what masters they were executed. They were painted in tempera in that city, a hundred years since, and according to those times, are very beautiful, being finished with great care: the first is at the high altar of San Domenico, the others are in the chapels of the nave in the same church. There is also now living in that city, a painter called Niccolò,* who in his youth produced numerous works in fresco around the shambles which are tolerably well done;† he also painted a picture on panel, for the high altar of San Piero, a place belonging to the Black Friars, the subject being the Decapitation of San Piero and San Paolo.‡ In this work, and in the soldier who cuts off the heads of the martyrs, Niccolò imitated a similar figure of much-renowned beauty by the hand of Antonio da Correggio, and which is in the church

* Niccolò Abati, sometimes called simply Niccolino, but more commonly Niccolò dell' Abate, not, as some authors affirm, because the Abbot Francesco Primaticcio made him known to the French, and contributed to the rise of his fortunes, but because, as Lanzi has shown, that was his family name. The life of this artist also was written by Zanotti, *in loc cit.*

† Tiraboschi denies that Abati painted in this place, but it has been shown by the Cav. Gio. Battista Venturi, of Brescia, that he did work there, although only as the assistant of Alberto Fontana, to whom the commission for the paintings had been given.

‡ Or rather the martyrdom of those Saints, since they were not both beheaded. This picture is in the Dresden Gallery; it was engraved, according to Förster, by Folkena, for the description of that Gallery by Zucchi and Kilian.

of San Giovanni Evangelista, at Parma.* Niccolò was more distinguished as a painter in fresco than in the other modes of painting, and in addition to the many works which he has produced in Modena† and at Bologna,‡ I am told that in France, where he is now living, he has executed many admirable pictures, under Messer Francesco Primaticcio, Abbot of San Martino, after whose designs Niccolò has painted numerous works, as will be related in the life of Primaticcio himself.§

Giovan Battista,‖ a rival or competitor of the above-named Niccolò, has also produced numerous works in Rome and other places, but more particularly in Perugia, where he has painted several pictures from the life of the apostle St. Andrew, in the chapel of Signor Ascanio della Cernia, in the church of San Francesco; and in these paintings he has acquitted himself exceedingly well. In the same place, a picture in oil, representing the Adoration of the Magi, was painted, in competition with Niccolò Abati, by the Fleming Arrigo,¶ master in glass, and this would have been very beautiful had it not been somewhat confused and overloaded with colours, which destroy each other, and deprive what should be the principal figures of their due prominence. He has, however, been much more successful in a glass

* This figure is in a Martyrdom of St. Placidus, and his sister, St. Placida, called by some writers Santa Flavia. It is now in the Ducal Gallery of Parma, and has been engraved by D. Delfini.

† The frescoes executed by Niccolò at Scandiano, a Palace of Duke Ercole, are particularly extolled. See Venturi's illustrations to the engravings of these frescoes, published by Guizzardi, Modena, 1821. There are works executed by Niccolò Abati, in company with Fontana, in the Palace of the Municipality also.

‡ The frescoes and other works of our artist in Bologna are likewise described in Venturi, as above cited. See also Zanotti, *Pitture di Pellegrino Tibaldi e di Niccolò dell' Abate*, Venice, 1756.

§ Whose Life follows. See also Felibien, *Entretiens sur les vies des Peintres*, &c.

‖ Gio. Battista Ingoni, of a noble and once ancient family, but of no great repute as a painter. Vedriani, who wrote especially of the Modanese artists, *Vite de' Pittori Modanesi*, adds nothing to what Vasari tells us of Ingoni; indeed, he uses the very words of our author. Tiraboschi, in his notices of Modanese painters (in the *Biblioteca Modanese*), has mention of Ingoni, but little more.

¶ For certain details relative to the works of this Flemish master, see Della Valle, *Storia dell' Duomo d'Orvieto*, p. 331.

window of the chapel of San Bernardo, which is one of those in the church of San Lorenzo in the same city, and which he designed and painted entirely alone.

But to return to Giovan Battista: having gone back to Modena on the completion of these works, that artist painted two large pictures on the walls of the church of San Piero, for which Niccolò had painted the altar piece; the subject of these two pictures being scenes from the lives of San Piero and San Paolo.*

The same city of Modena has produced certain sculptors worthy of being enumerated among good artists. For, to say nothing of Il Modanino, of whom we have made mention in another place,† there was a master called Il Modana,‡ who has produced most admirable works in terra-cotta, some of the size of life and others still larger. Among these may be enumerated those executed for a chapel in the church of San Domenico, in Modena, with others for the Dormitory of San Piero, a monastery belonging to the Black Friars, and also situate in Modena. This last-mentioned work is a Group consisting of Our Lady, with San Benedetto, Santa Justina, and another Saint; and to all the figures composing it the master has given the colour of marble in such perfection that they might be taken for that material. They have all very beautiful expression in the faces moreover, with admirable proportion in the forms, and very fine drapery. Il Modana has executed a similar group in the Dormitory of San Giovanni Evangelista, at Parma,§ and on the outside of the church of San Benedetto, in Mantua, he has executed a considerable number of figures the size of life, and in full relief; these are placed in niches along the front, and beneath the portico, they are exceedingly beautiful, and imitate marble so perfectly that the spectator cannot but suppose them to be of that stone.

* Giovan-Battista Ingoni survived until 1608, when he died, at the age of eighty-three.

† See the Life of Giuliano da Majano, vol. ii. of the present work, p. 13.

‡ This, according to the best authorities can be no other than Antonio Begarelli, a celebrated artist in terra-cotta, whose works are as above described.

§ These figures are now in the Institute of the Fine Arts at Parma. See Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura*, tomo ii. p. 364.

The Modenese sculptor Prospero Clemente* has, in like manner, ever been and still continues to be an exceedingly able master in his vocation. There are proofs of his ability in the Cathedral of Reggio, where the tomb of the Bishop Rangone is by his hand. In this work there is a seated statue of the above-named prelate with two children, all admirably well done. The commission for this tomb was received by Clementi from the Signor Ercole Rangone. In the Cathedral of Parma likewise, there is a tomb by Prospero Clemente; the sepulchral monument of the Beato Bernardo degli Uberti namely, a Florentine, who became a cardinal and was bishop of that city. This undertaking Clemente completed in the year 1548, and very much has his work been extolled.†

In Parma, likewise, there have been at divers times many excellent artists and men of fine genius, as we have said elsewhere. There is an admirable picture in the cathedral, for example, which was painted in the year 1499, by the Parmesan artist Cristofano Castelli. Of Francesco Mazzuoli‡ we have already written the life, and there have been many other men of distinguished ability in that city. But respecting Mazzuoli, we have before mentioned that he commenced certain works in the Madonna della Steccata, which at his death were left unfinished, when Giulio Romano, having prepared a coloured design on paper, which may still be seen in that place by every one, commanded that a certain Michelagnolo Anselmi, who was by his birth a

* The Padre Luigi Pungileoni shows that Prospero Spani, called Clemente, was a native of Reggio; see the *Giornale Arcadico*, November and December, 1831, p. 344: but Bottari had previously affirmed as much in the Roman Edition of our author, and his assertion has since been further supported by documents which the Cav. Francesco Fontanesi brought forward in a *Discorso* published at Reggio in 1826.

† For details respecting this artist's works, see *Monumenti di Pittura e Scultura trascelti in Mantova*, Mantua, 1827 See also *Memorie sopra Prosper Clementi Scultore Reggiano*, in the *Giornale Arcadico* for 1831.

‡ For the Life of Mazzuoli, called Parmigiano, see vol. iii. of the present work, p. 356, *et seq.* The reader may also consult the Padre Ireneo Affò, *Vita del Graziosissimo Pittore, Francesco Mazzola detto il Parmigiano*, with *Sketches of the Lives of Correggio and Parmigiano*, London, 1823.

Sienese, but had by adoption become a Parmesan,* should execute that cartoon, he being a good painter. The subject chosen for the work was the Coronation of Our Lady.†

Having commenced his labours accordingly, Anselmi did certainly acquit himself to perfection, and well deserved the commission which he then received to paint one of four very large recesses which there are in that church; the one now in question was opposite to that wherein Michelagnolo Anselmi had painted the above-mentioned Coronation after the design of Giulio Romano. Setting hand to his work, therefore, Anselmi there executed an Adoration of the Magi, the picture comprising a very considerable number of figures, which were besides exceedingly beautiful. He also painted the Wise Virgins on the plane of the arch, as we have related in the life of Mazzuoli, adding a decoration of rosettes in copper. But Anselmi died while there was still almost a third of the work unaccomplished, wherefore that picture was completed by the Cremonese, Bernardo Soiaro,‡ as we shall presently relate. By the hand of the same Michelagnolo Anselmi is the Chapel of the Conception, in the Church of San Francesco, at the above-named city of Parma, and in San Pier Martire there is a Celestial Glory by the same master in the Chapel of the Cross.

Jeronimo Mazzuoli,§ who was the cousin of Francesco, as I have said before, continuing the work which had been left unfinished by his kinsman in the Church of the Madonna, there painted an arch with the Wise Virgins, and added the decoration of rosettes. He afterwards executed a work in the great tribune, which is opposite to the principal door

* Anselmi was not a Sienese, but a descendant from the ancient and noble family of his name in Parma. He was an admirable painter, although but little known beyond his native country. There are works by his hand in the Church of San Stefano at Parma; and in a Church of Montechiangelo, a fortified place of the Torelli, there are others of great merit. The reader will find details respecting this master in Lanzi, vol. i. p. 295, vol. ii. p. 399, *et seq.* See also Affò, *Il Parmigiano Servitore di Piazza*, Parma, 1794.

† According to Lanzi, Giulio Romano sent nothing more than a simple sketch, when Michelagnolo Anselmi prepared the cartoon, and executed the picture.

‡ Bernardo Gatti, called Il Soiaro.

§ Of whom there has been favourable mention in the Life of Parmigiano.

of entrance. The subject of this last-mentioned performance is the Holy Spirit descending on the Apostles in Tongues of Flame; while on the other and last of the arches, Jeronimo depicted the Nativity of Jesus Christ; which, although it was not then uncovered, he showed to us in this present year of 1566, to our great pleasure, seeing that for a work in fresco it is a truly beautiful one.

The great tribune of that same Madonna della Steccata, which is now in course of execution by the Cremonese painter Bernardo Soiaro, will also prove to be an admirable production when it shall have been finished, and will be fully able to endure comparison with the other works to be seen in that place. But of this result we may not affirm that any other than Francesco Mazzuoli himself has been the cause, seeing that it was he who with such excellent judgment commenced the magnificent decoration of the church which had been erected, as we have before related, after the design and under the direction of Bramante.

With respect to the masters of our arts in Mantua, I have to remark, in addition to what has been already related in the life of Guilio Romano, that the latter so widely disseminated the seeds of art in Mantua and throughout Lombardy, as to have secured a succession of able masters, of whom there have been many since that time, while his own works are daily more and more appreciated and extolled. For although Giovanni Battista Bertano,* principal architect to the Duke of Mantua, has constructed many splendid apartments in the palace, and above that part where are the aqueducts and the corridor, adorning these rooms very richly with stucco works and pictures, executed for the most part by Fermo Guisoni,† the disciple of Giulio, and by others; yet they cannot be compared, as will be shown, with those directed by Giulio himself.

* Giovanni Battista Ghisi, called Bertano, was the chief of a family of artists who bore the name "Mantuano." He was employed by the Duke Vincenzio, and after the death of Giulio Romano, was considered one of the most active artists in Mantua. See Orlandi, *Abecedario Pittorico.*

† Mentioned in the Life of Giulio Romano, see *ante*, p. 57.

This same Giovanni Battista has made Domenico Brusasorci* paint a picture in oil after his design, in Santa Barbara, the church of the ducal palace, which is indeed a work most truly deserving of praise; the subject is the Martyrdom of Santa Barbara.† Having studied Vitruvius, moreover, this Giovanni Battista has written and published a work on the Ionic Volute, following the precepts of the above-named author, and showing how the volute should be turned.‡ He has also erected at the principal entrance of his own house in Mantua, a column of stone, whereon are marked all the admeasurements and dimensions of the said Ionic order, comprising the ancient palm, inch, foot, and braccio, with the other orders figured plainly, to the end that all who desire to do so, may examine whether the measures thus given be correct or not.

The architect Bertano has likewise caused pictures to be executed by various masters in the church of San Piero, which is the cathedral church of Mantua, and may be called the work and architecture of Giulio Romano, since he, restoring that edifice, gave it a new and modern form: here then, Giovanni Battista has caused a painting to be executed for each chapel, two of them being painted after his own design, by Fermo Guisoni. The subject of one is a Santa Lucia,§ and that of the other San Giovanni Evangelista. Another of similar character, Bertoni caused to be executed by the Mantuan painter Ippolito Costa.‖ The subject of this last-mentioned work is Sant' Agata,¶ with her hands tied and placed between two soldiers, by whom she is cruelly mutilated.** In the same cathedral a picture

* Domenico Riccio, called Brusasorci (Burn the Mice), from his father, who having invented a method of destroying those animals, obtained the soubriquet of *Brusasorci*.

† For the legend of this saint see Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, vol. ii. p. 103, *et seq.*

‡ The MS. of this work is in the possession of the Earl of Burlington.

§ See Mrs. Jameson, *ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 234, *et seq.*

‖ According to Orlandi, Ippolito Costa was a disciple of Girolamo da Carpi, but Bandinelli considers him to have made his principal acquirements under Giulio Romano.

¶ For the legend of this saint also, the reader is referred to Mrs. Jameson, as above cited, vol. ii. p. 229, *et seq.*

** According to Lanzi, this picture, which was after the design of Bertano, has more of the style of Giulio Romano than have any of those painted by Ippolito, after his own designs.

was executed, as we have before related, by the Veronese Battista d'Agnolo del Moro ;* this is at the Altar of Santa Maria Maddalena, while that for the Altar of Santa Thecla was undertaken by Jeronimo Parmigiano. The Veronese Paolo Farinato,† received commission for the picture of the Altar of San Martino, as did Domenico Brusasorci for that of Santa Margherita, while the Cremonese Giulio Campo,‡ painted the picture for the Altar of San Jeronimo. But the best of all, though they are all beautiful, was that, the subject of which is Sant' Antonio the Abbot beset by a Demon, who tempts him in the form of a woman, and this was by the hand of Paolo Veronese.

But as regards the Mantuan artists, it is certain that the city has never had a more able master in painting than Rinaldo, who was a disciple of Giulio Romano, and by whose hand there is a picture in the Church of Sant' Agnese in Mantua, of which the figures are most beautiful. The subject of the work is Our Lady in the air, with Sant' Agostino and San Girolamo; but this artist was prematurely removed from the world by death.

In a very fine studio and "antiquarium" which the Signor Cesare Gonzaga has caused to be made, and which he has filled with antique statues and busts in marble, that Signor has furthermore commissioned Fermo Guisoni to execute paintings for the greater embellishment thereof: these consist principally of the genealogy of the Gonzaga family, and the artist has acquitted himself to admiration in every particular, but more especially in the expression of the faces. The Signor Cesare has also deposited certain pictures besides in that place, some of which are without doubt exceedingly precious, as for example, that of the Madonna with the Cat, which was executed by Raffaello da Urbino,§ with another, in which Our Lady, a figure of most exquisite grace, is represented as washing the Infant Christ.‖

The same noble has had a second large study set apart

* So called because he was the disciple of Francesco Torbido, called Il Moro : see vol. iii. of the present work, p. 410.

† An excellent painter, and a disciple of Niccolò Giolfino. See the Cremonese artists, p. 527, *et seq.* of the present vol.

‡ Of whom we have more hereafter.

§ This is now at Naples, in the Museo Borbonico namely.—*Förster.*

‖ Now in the Gallery of Dresden, but according to the authority just cited, it is not the work of Raphael, but of Giulio Romano.

for medals, and in this, which has been adorned in ebony and ivory by a certain Francesco da Volterra, who in that kind of work has not an equal, the Signor Cesare has a number of small figures in bronze, all antique, which could not possibly be more beautiful than they are. At a word, since the time when I formerly visited Mantua, and from that period down to this year of 1566, when I have seen it again, the city has been so richly adorned and been rendered so beautiful, that if I had not seen the change, I could not have believed it possible. And what is more, the artists have greatly increased their numbers, and are continually increasing them.

To the excellent sculptor and engraver of prints, the Mantuan Giovanni Battista for example, of whom we have already made mention in the life of Giulio Romano, and in that of Marcantonio Bolognese,* there have been born two sons, who engrave copper-plates divinely; nay, what is still more remarkable, he has a daughter called Diana, who engraves so admirably well, that the thing is a perfect miracle; for my own part, who have seen herself—and a very pleasing and graceful maiden she is—as well as her works, which are most exquisite, I have been utterly astonished thereby.†

Nor will I omit to mention that the above-named Mantuan artists have produced many works in San Benedetto of Mantua (which is a most renowned Monastery of Black Friars, and was restored in a very fine manner by Giulio Romano), as have also certain Lombard masters, to say nothing of those already enumerated in the Life of Giulio. There are works by Fermo Guisoni, for example, in that place; a Nativity of Our Saviour Christ that is to say. There are two pictures, moreover, by Girolamo Mazzuoli, and three by Latanzio Gambaro da Brescia,‡ with three

* It would seem that Vasari did not know the Giovanni Battista, of whom he is now speaking, to be one and the same person with the Duke's architect whom he has so lately cited, yet this fact would now appear to be placed beyond dispute.

† Diana Ghisi became the wife of Francesco Ricciarelli of Volterra, and has therefore subscribed herself in some of her engravings, *Diana civis Volaterrana;* in others, she signs herself simply *Diana.* Bartsch, *Le Pientre Graveur*, enumerates forty-six plates by her hand.

‡ A native of Brescia; he first studied under Giulio Campo, in Cre-

besides by Paolo Veronese, and these last mentioned are the best. In the same monastery, and at the upper end of the Refectory, there is a picture in oil by the hand of a certain Fra Girolamo, a lay brother of San Domenico,* of whom there has before been mention made; there is a picture in oil, I say, which Fra Girolamo copied from that most beautiful Supper of Our Lord, painted in the Monastery of Santa Maria delle Grazie, at Milan, by Leonardo da Vinci, and which he has imitated so exactly, that I was much amazed by the beauty and fidelity of the work. Now, I record this circumstance all the more willingly, because in the course of this year, 1566, I have seen the original of Leonardo at Milan, and found it in so grievous a state, that there is nothing more than a confused mass to be perceived; wherefore, the good faith of this worthy father is all the more valuable, since it will ever bear testimony in those parts to the art of Leonardo da Vinci. I have seen another picture by the hand of the same Frate, and this also is a copy from a painting by Leonardo. It is in the house of the Mint, at that same city of Milan, and there it was that I saw it. The subject is a Woman, who is smiling; and there is a figure of San Giovanni Battista as a child, a very faithful and well executed copy.†

Cremona likewise, as we have remarked in the Life of Lorenzo di Credi and in other places, has at different times produced men who have performed very commendable works in painting, and we have already related ‡ that when Boccaccino Boccacci was occupied with the apsis of the Cathedral of Cremona, and with the Stories from the life of Our Lady in other parts of the church, we have already recorded, I say, that there was then a good painter at Cremona called Bonifazio Bembi; § and that Altobello in like

mona, but retiring to his native city, afterwards became the disciple of Girolamo Romanino, whose daughter he is said to have married.

* Fra Girolamo Monsignori.

† See the Life of Fra Giocondo, Liberale, and others, vol. iii. p. 358, *et seq.*, of the present work, where mention is made of Fra Girolamo Monsignori. See also vol. v. and last of the present work.

‡ For the Life of Boccaccino see vol. iii. p. 154, *et seq.*

§ The Count Vidoni, in his magnificent work, *La Pittura Cremonese,*

manner executed numerous stories in fresco from the life of Jesus Christ, these last giving evidence of much more power in design than do those of Boccaccino.

Altobello subsequently painted a chapel in fresco in the church of Sant' Agostino at Cremona, and this he did with a very graceful and beautiful manner, as may be seen by every one. In the Corte Vecchia at Milan, the Piazza or Court of the Palace that is to say, this master depicted an armed figure, clothed after the manner of the antique and standing erect; many others were executed in the same place, and about the same time, by other masters, but that of Altobello was the best of all.

When Bonifazio died, the above-mentioned stories from the life of Our Saviour Christ in the Cathedral of Cremona, were left unfinished, when such of them as had been commenced by Bonifazio were completed by Giovan-Antonio Licinio of Pordenone,* called in Cremona De' Sacchi; that master painted five stories in fresco, depicting the Passion of Our Saviour Christ therein, with a manner of much dignity and grandeur, the figures large and very bold in style, the colouring powerful, the foreshortenings full of force and life, qualities by which the Cremonese were taught the good and true method of painting. Nor was this done in fresco only, seeing that in the same cathedral, and on one of the pilasters about the centre of the church, there is a picture on panel by the hand of Pordenone, which is, indeed, most beautiful. This manner of painting was subsequently imitated by Cammillo, the son of Boccaccino, in the principal chapel of San Gismondo, without the city, which that Cammillo painted in fresco; and in this, as well as other works, he succeeded so well that he finally became a much better artist than his father had been. He was, nevertheless, so dilatory and indolent in his proceedings that he completed but few works, except such as were small and of but little importance.†

But the artist who most carefully imitated the good man-

gives some account of this Bonifazio, as does Zaist, *Notizie istoriche de' Pittori Cremonesi.*

* For the Life of this master, see vol. iii. of the present work, p. 260, *et seq.*

† This painter is mentioned by Lomazzo and Lamo, as before cited. See also the Count Vidoni, *ut supra.* He died in the year 1546.

ner, and was most essentially benefited by the competition of the above-named masters, was Bernardo de' Gatti, called Il Soiaro,* of whom we have already spoken. Some declare this artist to have been a native of Verzelli, while others affirm that he belonged to Cremona; but be that as it may, and let him have come from whithersoever they will, he painted a very beautiful picture for the high altar of San Piero, a church of the Canons Regular; and in their refectory he also depicted the story, or rather miracle, which Our Saviour Christ performed, when he satisfied the hunger of an infinite multitude with five loaves and two fishes: but this last Bernardo retouched to such extent, *a secco*, that it has lost all its beauty.† In the church of San Gismondo, which is situate, as we have said, without the city of Cremona, Il Soiaro painted the Ascension of Our Saviour Christ into heaven; this work, which is beneath one of the vaulted arches, is a very graceful performance, and admirably coloured.

In the church of Santa Maria di Campagna, at Piacenza, Il Soiaro painted a fresco in competition with Pordenone, and opposite to the Sant' Agostino, of which we have before spoken. The subject of this work is San Giorgio, he is on horseback, in full armour, and is in the act of Destroying the Dragon, the figure displaying much boldness and animation, with admirable relief. Having finished that work, Il Soiaro was commissioned to complete the Tribune of the Church, which had been left unfinished by Pordenone, and in which he depicted all the Life of the Madonna, in fresco; and although the Prophets and Sybils, with Angels in the form of Children, which had previously been painted in that apsis by Pordenone, are beautiful, yet Il Soiaro has acquitted

* Sojaro or Sogliaro. This in the Cremonese dialect means a cooper, of which trade was the father of Bernardo. There are two pictures by his hand in the Museo Borbonico at Naples, an Ecce Homo and a Crucifixion; of the last, a German writer, Hirt, hath deposed in such sort as to merit the most special ear of my reader; his magniloquent words are as follow:—"It is composed with the discretion of Leonardo, designed with the learning of Michael Angelo, inspired [unless the reader will have the original, *besouled*] with the spirit-giving breath of Raphael, coloured with the fresh tone of Titian, and transfused with the clear-obscure of Correggio."

† Let the reader consult Vidoni, *La Pittura Cremonese*, as above cited, where there is no inconsiderable part of the work given in two plates, with the addition of valuable remarks: see p. 57, *et seq.*

himself so well, that the whole work might be supposed to have been executed by one and the same person.

There are certain small pictures which this artist has painted in Vigevano likewise; they are placed on some of the altars in the church, and are highly worthy of praise. He subsequently repaired to Parma, there to work in the Madonna della Steccata; while in this place he completed the Apsis and the Arch which had been left unfinished by the death of the Sienese Michelagnolo: and here, too, Il Soiaro obtained so much credit by the excellence of his labours, that the Parmesani have commissioned him to paint the principal Tribune of the church, where he is now occupied with a picture representing the Assumption of Our Lady, in fresco, a work which, as it is hoped, will be in all respects worthy of commendation.*

At the time when Boccaccino was still living, although he had then become very old, Cremona possessed another painter, called Galleazzo Campi,† who painted the Rosary of the Madonna in a large chapel of the church of San Domenico, in that city; as he did also a façade at the back of the church of San Francesco, with other pictures and works of various kinds, which are to be seen in Cremona, and display a tolerably fair amount of merit.‡ To Galeazzo were born three sons, Giulio, Antonio, and Vincenzio. The first-named Giulio, although he acquired the principles of art under his father, did nevertheless subsequently follow the manner of Il Soiaro, as being the better one. He also studied very carefully certain pictures which Francesco Salviati had painted in Rome, to the end that the subjects might be woven into arras, and sent to Piacenza to the Duke Pier Luigi Farnese.

The first works executed by Giulio in his youth, at Cre-

* This work is said to be one of those which the master accomplished with his left hand, he having lost the use of his right hand by a paralytic affection. He died at an advanced age, in the year 1575.

† According to an inscription, discovered some years since on the portrait of Girolamo Campi, in the Florentine Gallery, he was born in the year 1477, and died in 1536. See Vidoni, *Pittura Cremonesa*, as before cited.

‡ The works above described have long perished, but Lanzi mentions a picture by Campi as still existing in the Church of San Sebastiano in Cremona.

mona,* were in the choir of the church of Sant' Agata, where he depicted four large stories from the life of that Virgin Martyr; and these were of such merit that a practised master would perhaps scarcely have done them better. At a later period our artist painted some pictures in Santa Margarita,† and decorated the façades of numerous palaces in chiaro-scuro; these works giving proof of very good design. For the church of San Gismondo, which is situate outside of Cremona, Guilio Campi painted the picture of the High Altar in oil; and this is much extolled for the multitude and diversity of the figures delineated therein, seeing that these may well bear comparison with those of the painters who had worked before him in that church.‡ Having painted the altar-piece, he executed numerous frescoes in the vaulting, one of which may more particularly be specified. This represents the Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles, whose figures appear foreshortened as seen from below, and are managed with infinite grace, while they give proof of much judgment in art.

At Milan, also, in the church of the Passion, which belongs to the monastery of the Canons Regular, the same artist painted a Crucifixion in oil. This is on panel: over all are seen the figures of Angels, and beneath, are the Madonna, San Giovanni Evangelista, Santa Maria Maddalena, and the other Maries. For the nuns of San Paolo, who have also a convent at Milan, Giulio Campi executed four pictures, representing the Conversion and other events in the life of the above-named Saint; § a work in which he was assisted by his brother Antonio, who also painted one of the chapels in a new church which had been erected after the design of Lombardino, at the convent of Santa Caterina,

* Giulio Campi is said to have perfected himself in his art under Giulio Romano, with whom he studied some time in Mantua.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

† The Church dedicated to the Saints Pelagia and Margherita, that is to say.—*Ibid.*

‡ This picture represents the Duke Francesco Sforza kneeling with Bianca Maria Visconti, in the act of adoring the Madonna; they are supported by the Saints Sigismund, Jerome, Grisano, and Daria. Of this painting also there is an engraving with illustrations, in the above mentioned work of Count Vidoni.

§ Engraved by one of the Ghisi family.

near the Porta Ticinese. The subject of this work is Sant' Elena causing the Holy Cross of Christ to be sought for; and the picture is a very good work.

Vincenzio, also, the third of these brothers, having acquired his art from Giulio the eldest brother, as did also Antonio the second, is now a young artist, of whom there are the very fairest expectations. And not only have these, his two brothers, been disciples of Giulio Campi, but so has also the Brescian Lattanzio Gambara, with many others. Those from whom he has nevertheless received the highest honour, and who have proved themselves most excellent in art, are the paintress Sophonisba Anguisciola and her three sisters, all of whom have been his disciples. These richly gifted maidens were born to the Signor Amilcar Anguisciola, and to the Signora Bianca Punzona, both of whom belong to the noblest families in Cremona.

But with respect to the above-named Sophonisba, of whom we spoke some few words in the Life of the Bolognese sculptress, Madonna Properzia de' Rossi, not knowing any thing more at that time,* I have now to relate that I have this year seen a picture by her hand in the house of her father at Cremona. The subject of this work, which is very carefully treated, is a family group, the three sisters of the paintress namely playing at Chess, with an old woman belonging to the family; these figures are executed with so much boldness and freedom that they appear to be truly alive, and seem to want nothing but the power of speech.† In another picture by this same Sophonisba, is a portrait of her father the Signor Amilcar, who has one of his daughters on one side of him, a lady called Minerva, and who was much distinguished in letters as well as in painting; on the other side of the Signor Amilcar is Asdrubal his son, and the brother of Sophonisba; these figures likewise are so well done that they seem to breathe, and are indeed most life-like.

* See vol. iii. of the present work, p. 243; but her father is there called Annibale, instead of Amilcar.

† This work is said by some authorities to be in England, but the present writer has not been able to ascertain the collection in which it may be found. Förster meanwhile affirms it to be in that of the Count Raczynsky at Berlin.

At Piacenza, in the house of the Signor Archdeacon of the principal church, there are two most beautiful pictures by the hand of this lady.* One of them presents the portrait of the Signor Archdeacon above-named, the other that of Sophonisba herself. I have already related the fact of this lady's being invited by the Duke of Alva to enter the service of the Queen of Spain, and in that country she still remains, receiving very handsome appointments, and being highly honoured. Many portraits and other pictures which are greatly extolled, have been executed by Sophonisba during her residence in Spain, and the fame of these her works moved Pope Pius IV. to make known to her that he desired to have the portrait of the above-mentioned most illustrious Queen of Spain from her hand; wherefore, having executed the same with all the diligence and care that was possible, she sent the portrait to Rome, there to be presented to his Holiness, accompanied by a letter, written in the precise terms that follow.

"Holy Father. From the Most Reverend Nunzio of your Holiness, I understand that you desire to have from my hand the portrait of her Majesty the Queen my mistress. Now as I consider this commission a singular grace and favour, having to serve your Holiness, I have requested permission from Her Majesty, who has most willingly granted the same, perceiving in this wish a proof of the paternal affection which your Holiness bears to Her Majesty; I send the portrait, therefore, by the occasion afforded to me by this Cavalier, and if in that painting I shall be found to have satisfied the wish of your Holiness, I shall find infinite comfort in the knowledge thereof: but I will not omit to say that if the beauties of mind possessed by this most illustrious Queen could also be represented by the pencil to the eyes of your Holiness, you could see nothing more admirable. As respects the delineation of those features which may be portrayed by art, I have not failed to use all the care which I could command, to the end that your Holiness might behold them in their truth.

* The portrait of Sophonisba, painted by herself, is at Althorpe; and there is a Marriage of St. Catherine by her hand at Wilton.

"And with this conclusion I kiss the most holy feet with all reverence and humility.

"From Madrid, on the 16th of Sept. 1561.

"The Most Humble Servant of your Holiness,

"SOPHONISBA ANGUISCIOLA."

To this letter his Holiness returned the following reply, and the portrait appearing to him to be a very beautiful and admirable work, he caused his answer to be accompanied by gifts worthy of the great abilities of Sophonisba.

"PIUS POPE IV.—*Dilecta in Christo filia.*

"We have received the portrait of the most illustrious Queen of Spain, our dearest daughter, which you have sent us, and which has been most acceptable, as well on account of the person represented, whom we love paternally, for her piety and the many pure qualities of her mind, to say nothing of other considerations, as because the work has by your hand been very well and diligently accomplished.

"We thank you for it, assuring you that we shall hold it among our most valued possessions, commending this your skill, which, albeit very wonderful, is nevertheless as we hear, the very smallest among the many gifts with which you are endowed.

"And with this conclusion we send you again our benediction. May our Lord have you in his keeping. *Dat. Romæ, die* 15 *Octobris*, 1561."

This testimony suffices to show how great is the ability of Sophonisba; and one of her sisters called Lucia, left a reputation at her death which was scarcely inferior to that of Sophonisba, she also having executed pictures no less beautiful and valued than those painted by her sister. Of this an example may be seen in Cremona, where there is a portrait by her hand of the excellent Physician, Signor Pietro Maria, with one even more remarkable in another portrait, that of the Duke of Sessa namely, which was painted by this well endowed maiden, in a manner so truthful that it seems as though better could not be done, and that no likeness could be made to resemble the original with a more life-like reality.

The third of the sisters Anguisciola, called Europa, is not yet past the age of childhood; to her, who is full of grace and good parts, I have spoken myself this year, and from what we now see of her works and designs, she will be in no wise

inferior to her sisters Sophonisba and Lucia. Europa has already executed many portraits, the likenesses of gentlemen in Cremona, which are indeed entirely natural and beautiful. One of the likenesses executed by her hand, that of the Signora Bianca her mother namely, was sent into Spain and pleased Sophonisba greatly, as it did every one who saw it. And since the fourth named sister, Anna, who is still but a little child, has also begun to devote herself and with much profit, to design, I know not what further to say, than that there must be a great inclination received from nature, and that to this much practice must needs be added, before any can hope to equal what has been done by these four noble and richly gifted sisters,* who have proved themselves enamoured of all the highest qualities, but most especially of those which appertain to design. At a word the house of the Signor Amilcar Anguisciola (the most fortunate father of an admirable and honoured family) appears to me to be the very abode and dwelling-place of painting, or rather of all the excellencies.

Meanwhile, since women so well know how to produce living men, what marvel is it that those who please to do it should prove so perfectly able to make the painted semblance? But to return to Giulio Campi, of whom I have said that these young ladies were disciples; in addition to his other works there is to be mentioned a large picture which he painted on cloth to serve as the covering of the organ in the cathedral church; this is in tempera, it exhibits a vast number of figures, the subject chosen being events in the history of Esther and Ahasuerus, with the Crucifixion of Haman. There is, moreover, a graceful picture by his hand on the Altar of San Michele in the same church, but since this Giulio still lives, I will say no more at present in relation to his works.

The sculptor Geremia, of whom we made mention in the life of Filarete,† was also a Cremonese; there is a large work in marble by his hand in San Lorenzo,‡ a house of

* There was a fifth sister, named Elena, but she became a nun.

† "This is an error of memory in our author," remarks one of his compatriots, "since he has not mentioned the sculptor, Geremia, in the Life of Filarete;" but he has named that artist in the Life of Filippo Brunellesco, which will be found in the first volume of the present work.

‡ This also is an error; the work in question is the Tomb of the Saints

the monks of Monte Oliveto, Giovanni Pedoni,* who has produced numerous works in Cremona and Brescia, was likewise a native of the former city; among his productions, those now in the house of the Signor Eliseo Raimondo are particularly to be mentioned, as being very beautiful and praiseworthy.

In Brescia likewise there have been and still are persons who have proved themselves most excellent in works of design; among others Jeronimo Romanino,† who has produced a vast number of paintings in that city. The picture of the High Altar in the Church of San Francesco, which is a tolerably creditable work, is by the hand of this master, as are likewise the small folding doors which close in the altar-piece; these are painted in tempera both within and without; another picture in the same church, painted in oil and very beautifully done, is also by Jeronimo Romanino; in this work the artist has given singularly close imitations of natural objects.‡

But a much more able artist than Romanino was Alessandro Moretto,§ who painted a fresco beneath the arch of the Porta

Marius and Martha, but the author of the same was Antonio Amadeo of Pavia, and it was executed in the year 1482, as we learn from an inscription on the tomb itself.

* Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura*, tomo ii. p. 186, calls Giovanni Pedoni and his son Cristofano, natives of Lugano, and speaks very highly of their abilities.

† An excellent painter and follower of the manner of Titian.—*Bottari.* See also Averoldi, *Scelte Pitture di Brescia;* and Ridolfi, *Maraviglie dell' Arte.*

‡ In the Church of Santa Maria di Calchera, in Brescia, there is a picture representing the Communion of Sant' Apollonius, by this master, with the Resurrection of Lazarus, a Marriage of the Virgin, and the Last Supper of Our Lord, in the Church of San Giovanni.

§ Alessandro Bonvicino, called Moretto, was born in Brescia towards the close of the fifteenth century. His first master was Fioravante Ferranola, also a Brescian, but his principal acquirements were obtained from Titian. There are some fine frescoes by Bonvicino in the Villa Martinengo, at Novarino, near Brescia, with many other works. There is also a Santa Maddalena by this master in the Venetian Academy of the Fine Arts, a Madonna in the Berlin Gallery, the Doctors of the Church in the Städtische Museum at Frankfort, a Santa Justina in the Belvedere at Vienna, with a Coronation of the Virgin and other works in the Brera at Milan. His last production, bearing the date 1554, is in the Frizzoni

Brusciata; the subject of this work was the funeral procession of the Saints Faustino and Jovita,* with groups of figures following the remains of those Saints, all exceedingly well executed in fresco. In San Nazzaro, which is also in Brescia, there are certain works by the hand of Moretto, with others in San Celso,† which have considerable merit; and one in San Piero at Oliveto, which is an exceedingly graceful and beautiful performance. At the house of the Mint in Milan also there is a picture by Alessandro Moretto which represents the Conversion of Saint Paul and in which are many heads of great life and animation; the draperies and habiliments are likewise perfectly well done. This artist was indeed particularly fond of depicting vestments in cloth of gold and silver, with velvets, damasks, and other textures of all kinds, which he also arranged about his figures with infinite care.

The faces of Alessandro Moretto are full of animation and have somewhat of the manner of Raffaello da Urbino; nay, they would without doubt have had much more thereof, had Moretto not always dwelt at so great a distance from that master. The Brescian painter Lattanzio Gambara, who as we have before said, acquired his art under the Cremonese Giulio Campo, was the son-in-law of Alessandro,‡ and is now the best painter in Brescia. The picture of the High Altar in the Monastery of the Black Friars of San Faustino, is by the hand of Lattanzio, as are paintings in fresco on the walls and vaulting of that edifice, with other pictures in the same edifice. On the high altar of the Church of San Lorenzo likewise, is a picture by this artist, with two stories on the walls; all those of the vaulting, moreover, which are in fresco,

Gallery at Bergamo. The fellow citizens of this master erected two monuments to his memory some few years since, and about the same time his bust was placed in the Capitol at Rome.—*Kunstblatt* for 1844, p. 160. See also Zamboni, *Memorie intorno alle Fabbriche di Brescia.*

* For the little that is to be told of these saints, who were brothers, our readers are referred to Mrs. Jameson, as so frequently cited.

† The Church of S.S. Nazzaro and Celso are one and the same.—*Förster.*

‡ "Lattanzio was not the son-in-law of Alessandro Moretto, but of Romanino," remarks an Italian commentator; but the information of Vasari appears to have been derived from so good a source, that we may fairly suppose him to have been correct. Lattanzio may have married twice and been son-in-law to both these artists.

and nearly all in a very good manner, are by the same artist.

Lattanzio Gambara has given proof of admirable invention herein, as well as in the paintings of the interior; he has also depicted the façade of his own dwelling which is situate between San Benedetto and the Episcopal Palace. In addition to many other works executed in that house, may be mentioned two beautiful portraits by his hand, which I saw there the last time I was in Brescia; these are that of Alessandro Moretto his father-in-law, and a most beautiful head of an old man, with that of his own wife, the daughter of the above-named Alessandro; and if all the works of Lattanzio had been equal to those portraits, he might have been accounted among the best masters of our art. But since the number of his pictures is very great, and since he is besides still living, it shall suffice me for the present to have made mention of him thus far.

In Venice and Milan there are numerous works by the hand of Giangirolamo,* who is also of Brescia. In the before-mentioned house of the Mint at Milan, for example, are four pictures representing Night-pieces and Conflagrations; and in the house of Tommaso da Empoli there is a Nativity of Our Saviour Christ, the time of which is also night, and which is very beautiful:† there are besides other works of similar fantasies in which he was an adept; but since he occupied himself principally with matters of that kind, and never undertook any work of importance, we can say nothing more of him than that he was a fanciful and ingenious person, what he has accomplished well meriting to be highly commended.

Girolamo Muziano‡ is also of Brescia, and having passed

* Girolamo Savoldo, otherwise called Giangirolamo Bresciano. See Ridolfi, *Maraviglie*, &c., part i. p. 255. See also Paolo Pino (*Dialogo della Pittura Veneziana*), who places him among the first artists of his time.

† There is a picture by Savoldo in Berlin which represents a girl hurrying from a fire which is raging among old buildings; this painting bears his signature. His principal work is at Pesaro, the subject is Our Saviour Christ seen in the clouds of heaven; beneath are numerous saints.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1838, and *German Translation of Vasari, note.*

‡ Girolamo Muziano was born at Aquafredda, near Brescia, in 1528; he acquired the first principles of design from Romanino, but subsequently

his youth in Rome, has produced many beautiful works both in figures and landscape.* In the city of Orvieto there are two pictures in oil by this artist, they are in the Church of Santa Maria, which is the Cathedral of that place, and where there are also figures of the Prophets in fresco by Girolamo Muziano, which are exceedingly beautiful. The copper plates which have been executed after his cartoons also give proof of good design;† but as this master likewise is still living and in the service of the Cardinal Ippolito da Este, by whom he is employed in the edifices and decorations which that prelate is causing to be executed in Rome, at Tigoli, and in other places, I will say nothing more respecting him in this place.‡

There has lately returned from Germany the painter Francesco Richino,§ who is also a Brescian, and who, to say nothing of the many works which he has produced in other places, has executed certain pictures in oil for the above-mentioned Church of San Piero Oliveto at Brescia, which are painted with much forethought and evince great care.

The brothers Cristofano and Stefano‖ are also painters of Brescia, where they are in high repute among the artists for the facility with which they execute views in perspective Among other productions of this kind in Venice is one on the level wood-work or wainscot in Santa Maria dell' Orto, where they have represented a Corridor with a double range of twisted columns, similar to those of the Porta Santa in Rome; and these columns, being placed on socles which project in full relief, cause that church to have the appearance

studied colouring under Titian: according to some of the best among our authorities, this artist imitated Michael Angelo in the outline and movement of his figures.

* For the execution of which he was so highly distinguished, that he obtained in Rome the appellation of Girolamo de' Paesi (landscapes).

† They were engraved by Cornelius Cort and Niccolò Beatricetto.—*Bottari.*

‡ This master is said to have been so zealous a student, that he would sometimes shave his head, to the end that he might be the less easily persuaded to leave his house. There are works of his not in Rome only, but in the Louvre, at Orvieto, in Dresden, and other places.

§ See Leonardo Cozzando, *Ristretto della Storia Bresciano*, by whom Richini is said to have been a poet and architect, as well as painter.—*Masselli.*

‖ Cristofano and Stefano Rosa painters in perspective, are mentioned by Ridolfi, *Maraviglie dell' Arte*, part i. p. 255.

of possessing a magnificent corridor with a groined roof passing entirely around it; the point of sight of this work, which displays most beautiful foreshortenings, is in the centre of the nave, and the performance is so fine a one as to astonish all who behold it, seeing that the wood-work, which is indeed level, is made to appear as if it had great depth of recession, an effect which is much heightened by the rich variety of cornices, and festoons, with masks and various figures which enrich the same, and add infinite magnificence to the whole. This production does indeed merit very great praise, as well for its novelty as because it has been executed throughout with extraordinary ingenuity and care.*

Now the work above-mentioned pleased the most illustrious Senate of Venice very highly, insomuch that these Signori commissioned the same artists to execute a similar performance in the Library of San Marco,† and this, though a smaller one, is a very admirable work for a thing of that kind.

These brothers have lately been invited to paint a magnificent hall in their native city of Brescia, with decorations of similar kind: the building was commenced at a very great cost many years since on the Piazza of the city, and is erected over a vast colonnade, beneath which the citizens have their walk. The hall is sixty-two paces long, by thirty-five broad, and at the highest point its elevation is equal to its width: the building has indeed the appearance of much greater extent, being entirely isolated on all sides, and having no other chamber or edifice near it. In this magnificent hall, therefore, the above-named brothers have produced numerous works to their very great credit: they first arched the roof with strong rafters, bound with clamps of iron, and, having covered it with lead, they formed a coved ceiling, which is an exceedingly rich and handsome work.‡

* This work is still in existence, but somewhat faded and obscured.

† Now no longer a library, but the Palace of the sovereign.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

‡ These artists survived the account here given many years. Cristofano died in 1576, Stefano in 1572. For details respecting these artists see Ridolfi, *Maraviglie dell' Arte;* Zamboni, *Notizie delle Fabbriche piu celebri di Brescia*, &c.; and Lanzi, *History of Painting*, vol. ii. p. 229, *et seq.*, where their works are very highly praised.

It is true that in this immense space there have been placed but three pictures, which are in oil, and were painted by the elder Titian, but there might with good effect have been many more exhibited there, and the divisions might have been of better proportions, adorned with richer devices, and in every way more beautiful, and this would have imparted a more cheerful aspect to that hall, which in every other respect is arranged with infinite judgment.*

Now having spoken, in this part of our work, of the artists who have flourished in the cities of Lombardy, it cannot but be fitting that we should also make mention of those belonging to Milan, the chief city of that province, of such of them, that is to say, as we have not before named, seeing that they have been in question more than once in divers portions of this our book. Wherefore, to begin with Bramantino,† of whom some discourse has been made in the Life of Pietro della Francesca del Borgo:‡ I find that he has executed many more works than I have mentioned when speaking of this master on a former occasion; and, of a truth, I could scarcely suppose it possible that an artist so frequently cited, and to whom Milan is indebted for good design,§ should have produced so few works, as those which were all whereof I could formerly obtain intelligence.

After having painted in Rome, then, as has been related, certain apartments for Pope Nicholas V.,‖ and finished that foreshortened figure of Our Saviour Christ, with the Virgin who is holding the Divine Child in her arms, and is accompanied by San Giovanni and the Magdalene, which is over

* Cristofano Rosa had a son named Pietro, who was a disciple of Titian, but died while still young in 1577, either of the plague or of poison. —*Bottari.* See also Lanzi, *History of Painting* (English Edition), vol. ii. p. 186, *et seq.*

† Bartolommeo Suardi, or Suardo, called Bramantino, from having been the disciple of the architect Bramante. See Passavant, in the *Kunstblatt* for 1838, No. 68. See also Lanzi, as before cited, vol. ii. p. 472, *et seq.*

‡ For whose Life see vol. iii. p. 13, *et seq.*

§ The truth of this assertion has been much disputed, but the question is one which cannot be entered into in this place.

‖ It was not the present master, but his disciple, called Agostino Bramantino, that painted the rooms of Nicholas V. See *De Pagave, Sienese Edition of Vasari.*

the door of San Sepolcro, in Milan, and is an admirable work:* after having done this, I say, Bramantino furthermore depicted the Nativity of Christ Our Saviour, in fresco, on a façade of the Mint; † and in the church of Santa Maria di Brera he painted the Birth of the Madonna,‡ with figures of Prophets on the doors which close the organ in that church. The figures in this last-mentioned work are foreshortened admirably, and there is a view in perspective, which is also exceedingly well done; but this does not surprise me, that master having always delighted in the details of architecture, with which he was well acquainted.

Indeed I remember to have seen in the possession of Valerio Vicentino, a very beautiful book filled with designs of antiquities, the measurements and execution of which were wholly by the hand of Bramantino; it comprised those existing in Lombardy, and gave the plans of many renowned edifices, which I did myself design from that book, being then a youth.§ There was the church of Sant' Ambrogio in Milan, for example, which had been erected by the Lombards, and was filled with pictures and works in sculpture, after the Greek manner: it had a circular apsis of considerable extent, but which was not well considered, as respects the architecture. This church was subsequently, and in the time of Bramantino, rebuilt after his design,‖ when it received the addition of a portico in stone, on one of the sides, the columns being formed to resemble trees that have been cut down, and having a new and peculiar effect.¶

In the same book was the ancient portico of the church of San Lorenzo, in the city of Milan, and this portico is a vast

* This is a veritable work of Suardi.—*Masselli.* In the Church of Sant' Eustorgio also there is a work by his hand, certain Angels namely; and in the Church of Santa Maria, near San Sestino in Milan, there are the Four Evangelists by this master.—*Förster.*

† This work is no longer visible.—*De Pagave, ut supra.*

‡ This also has perished.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8.

§ This work was designed by Agostino di Bramantino, it is therefore an error to speak of it as having been studied by Bramante, as our author has done in a subsequent page.—*De Pagave.*

‖ This Church has been more than once restored, but never wholly rebuilt.—*Ibid.*

¶ The portico on one of the sides of Sant' Ambrogio was designed at the command of Ludovico Il Moro, by Bramante, who also directed its execution.—*Masselli.*

and beautiful as well as very much renowned work, but the architecture of the church is in the Gothic manner.* The church of Sant' Ercolino † was in like manner designed in this work, a most ancient building, rich in marble and stucco works, which are extremely well preserved, as are some vast sepulchral monuments in granite, which are also in that edifice. The church of San Pietro-in-Ciel d'Oro, at Pavia, has also a place among these designs: the body of Sant' Agostino is in the sacristy of this church, and is deposited within a tomb covered with small figures, which I believe to be by the hand of the Sienese sculptors Agnolo and Agostino.‡ The tower built of bricks by the Goths was in like manner there designed, and is a very beautiful thing, entirely worthy of such memorial, seeing that, to make no mention of many other ornaments, there are figures on this tower six braccia high, and made of terra-cotta, which have maintained themselves in very fair preservation, even to our own days.

It is said that in this tower died Boethius, who was buried in the above-named church of San Piero-in-Ciel-d'Oro, now called Sant' Agostino, where his tomb is still to be seen, with the inscription which was placed on it by Alessandro, by whom the church was rebuilt and restored,§ in the year 1222. Finally there was designed by the hand of Bramantino in this book the most ancient church of Santa Maria, in Pertica, a round structure erected by the Lombards with the spoils of war; here lie buried the remains of the French and others who were defeated and slain before Pavia, at the time when King Francis I. of France was taken prisoner by the army of the Emperor Charles V.

But now to leave these designs, I have further to relate, that Bramantino painted the façade of the Signor Giovanni Battista Latturate‖ in Milan, depicting thereon a figure of

* It was destroyed in 1537, and was rebuilt in a different manner.—*Masselli.*

† This should be Sant' Aquilino.—*Ibid.*

‡ The tomb of Sant' Agostino is by a master whose name has not yet been ascertained; it was commenced on the 14th of December in the year 1362.—*Förster.*

§ Thus in the text:—*Si edificò e restaurò.*

‖ This house was the paternal abode of Bartolommeo Suardi, called Bramantino, nor is it known by what means it fell from the possession of

Our Lady between those of two Prophets. On the façade of Signor Bernardo Scacalarozzo likewise, this artist painted four colossal figures in imitation of bronze, which are tolerably well done.* There are, besides, other works by his hand in Milan, all of which have procured him considerable praise, seeing that he appeared in that city as the first light of a good manner in painting, and was the cause of Bramante's having become so excellent as he did in architecture, the first things studied by Bramante having been the designs of Bramantino.† It was after his design moreover,‡ that the church of San Satiro was erected, and that church pleases me exceedingly, seeing that it is a very beautiful production, richly adorned with decorations of columns, double corridors, and other ornaments, both within and without, to say nothing of the most beautiful sacristy, where there is a large number of statues.

But that which is here most of all worthy of praise, is the central tribune, the beauty of which caused Bernardino da Trevio,§ as we have already related in the Life of Bramante,‖

his family into that of the Lattuanti.—*De Pagave, Sienese Edition of Vasari.*

* This façade was painted by the architect Bramante.—*Ibid.*

† This is not the fact, as the admirers of Bramante are careful to affirm, sometimes with less of courtesy than energy. When Bramante went to Milan he was well versed in the branch of his art here in question.

‡ The text would make it appear that Bramantino was here meant, whereas the master really intended by this "whose" is Bramante. A slight looseness of expression is not unusual with our excellent Giorgo, this must needs be admitted; his reader has now and then to fish awhile for his meaning, and that not unfrequently in sufficiently troubled waters, but if he be not always precise in expression, never shall he be found otherwise than upright of intention; and judge ye the whether, O reader of our hearts! Besides, hath he not himself told us that his hand was ever more familiar with the pencil than the pen? and if he be not the Martinet of phrases that your ultra-delicate ear demands, what right have we to quarrel with him for not being what he has warned us he does not propose to be? Let us give him peace rather, and accept what he has done, which is so much, rather than cavil at what he has omitted, seeing that this last is indeed so little. *Vale*, oh excellent reader.

§ Bernardino Zanale of Treviglio. This artist wrote a Treatise on the Laws of Perspective and the Proportions of the Human Form, which was completed in the year 1524. Specimens of his manner are to be seen in the Sacristy of Santa Maria delle Grazie, and in the Brera at Milan. He was invited to Bergamo in 1525, and died in the following year. See Passavant, *Kunstblatt* for 1838, p. 266.

‖ For this Life, see vol. ii. p. 426, *et seq.*

to pursue the same mode of proceeding in the cathedral of Milan, and eventually to devote himself wholly to architecture, although his first and principal vocation had been painting. In the monastery of the Grazie for example, Bernardino depicted four stories of the Passion of Our Lord, as we have before said. These works are in fresco; they are in one of the cloisters, and there are others, also by the same artist, in another cloister: these last are in chiaroscuro.

It was by Bernardino da Trevio that the sculptor Agostino Busto, called Bambaja, was brought forward and powerfully assisted: of this Bambaja mention has been made in the Life of Baccio da Montelupo;* there are works by his hand at Santa Marta, a convent of nuns in the city of Milan; and here I have myself seen, although it is not without difficulty that permission to enter that place is procured, the tomb of Monsignore Foix, who died at Pavia.† This monument is constructed of numerous pieces of marble carved in low relief, and presenting ten stories, the small figures of which are sculptured with infinite care: these stories consist principally of the various battles, victories, and other deeds of that noble; the storming of fortified places among others: finally, are represented his death, burial, and sepulture, and to say all at a word, they are such, that, regarding it in great astonishment, I stood for a while considering how it has been found possible to produce by means of hand and chisel so delicate and extraordinary a work: for in this monument we have decorations consisting of trophies, arms of every kind, chariots, artillery, and many other engines and implements of war, all carved with the most surprising perfection, and lastly the figure of Monsignor Foix himself, the size of life, wearing his armour, and with a countenance which seems almost to rejoice, even in death, over the victories gained by his hand.

It is indeed greatly to be lamented that this work, which is truly worthy to be accounted among the most astonishing

* The Life of Baccio da Montelupo will be found at p. 136, *et seq.*, of vol. iii. Agostino Busto is mentioned in the Life of Vittore Carpaccio also, for which see vol. iii. p. 329, *et seq.*

† Gaston di Foix died in battle with the Spaniards at Ravenna, in the year 1512.

productions of the art, should have been left unfinished, and be now permitted to remain in pieces on the earth, instead of being erected in some befitting position: neither am I surprised to find that some of the figures have been carried off and sold, to be afterwards put up elsewhere and for other purposes.* But there is, now-a-days, so little humanity or rather gratitude, to be found amongst men, that among all the many who were favoured by, and received benefits from, the noble Gaston, none has been known to give himself any concern for the memory of De Foix, any more than for the excellence and beauty of the work thus abandoned. There are other works by the same Agostino Busto, in the cathedral for example, as well as in San Francesco, where there is the tomb of the Biraghi family, as we have said: at the Certosa of Pavia also there are examples of his ability with many others, in different places, which are for the most part truly admirable.

Among the competitors of Agostino Busto was a certain Cristofano Gobbo†, who also executed numerous works on the façade of the above-named monastery of the Certosa, as he did also in the church, and these he effected so well that he may justly be enumerated among the best sculptors at that time in Lombardy. The figures of Adam and Eve, which are on the eastern front of the cathedral of Milan, are in like manner by the hand of Cristofano, and are considered remarkable works, such, in short, as may well bear compari-

* De Pagave, in his notes to the Sienese Edition of our author, gives some account of the dispersion of the works prepared for this magnificent tomb. A large quantity of the precious sculptures were taken to the Villa Castellazzo, near Milan, formerly the property of the Counts Arconati, but now belonging to the Busca family. Some of the pieces are carefully preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, where the present writer remembers to have seen them in the year 1837, as also in 1841, and again in 1845; whether they yet remain there may now perhaps be reasonably doubted. Others are said to be in the Brera. Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura Moderna*, tom. ii. has given plates very carefully engraved in outline of a certain portion, (see plates lxxvii. and lxxviii.) and at p. 355 of the same works he declares himself to have seen some of these works in Paris.

† Cristofano Solari, called the Gobbo (Hunchback), of Milan, was a brother of that Andrea, who is mentioned by Vasari at the end of the Life of Correggio; see vol. ii. p. 411.

son with any that have been produced in those parts by other masters.

Almost at the same time there was a sculptor in Milan, called Angelo, and who bore the surname of Ciciliano. This artist produced a work on the same side of the cathedral above-mentioned; this is no less beautiful than that of Cristofano, which stands near it; the work of Angelo is a figure representing Santa Maria Maddalena borne through the air by four Angels in the form of children; the size is that of the Adam and Eve by Cristofano. The last mentioned sculptor gave much attention to architecture as well as to sculpture, and among other works he commenced the portico of San Celso,* in Milan, which was finished after his death by Tofano,† called Il Lombardino, who erected many churches and palaces in all parts of Milan, as we have already related in the Life of Giulio Romano; among these, the convent, church, and vestibule belonging to the nuns of Santa Caterina, and which is situate at the Porta Ticinese, may more particularly be mentioned; many other fabrics of similar character were also constructed by Tofano.‡

Silvio da Fiesole§ was also employed, by the intervention of Tofano, in the works of the above-mentioned cathedral, and among the stories in the life of Our Lady which decorate a door looking towards the north west, there is one by his hand, that namely which represents the Espousals of the Virgin, a very beautiful relief it is. The story of similar size which is opposite to this, represents the Marriage at Cana in Galilee, and is by the hand of Marco da Gra,‖ a very

* The design of the church and portico of San Celso was by Bramante, according to De Pagave, and the execution of the work was confided to Angelo Siciliano, whom Vasari calls Ciciliano.

† Cristofano, that is to say.

‡ De Pagave attributes the works at the Porta Ticinese to Galeazzo Alessio, of Perugia.

§ Silvio Cosini of Fiesole has been already mentioned in the Life of Andrea da Fiesole. See vol. iii. p. 103.

‖ It has been suggested that this "Marco da Gra" may probably mean Marco Ferrerio, called Agrate, by whom the celebrated marble statue of St. Bartholomew, in the Milanese Cathedral, was executed.

able sculptor, but these stories are still in process of execution, being at this time carried forward by a very studious youth called Francesco Brambilari,* who has almost completed one, in which are the Apostles receiving the Holy Spirit. This also is a very beautiful work. Francesco has likewise made a basin or reservoir in marble, which he has decorated with ornaments pierced in the stone, as well as with admirable foliage and a group of children, which are singularly graceful; over this (which is to be placed in the cathedral) there is eventually to stand a marble statue of Pope Pius IV. de' Medici, who was a native of Milan.

And here we may with truth affirm, that if the study of art were pursued with as much zeal in Milan as it is in Rome and Florence, the able masters to be found there might have produced, nay, might still be producing, very admirable works; and of a verity the Milanese are at this time not a little indebted to the Aretine Leone Leoni,† seeing that he, as we shall relate hereafter, has spent considerable sums of money as well as much time, in collecting many casts from the antique which he has had brought to Milan for his own use and that of the other artists.

But to return to the Milanese painters. After Leonardo da Vinci had executed the before-mentioned Last Supper in that place there were many who sought to imitate him, more particularly Marco Uggioni and some others, of whom we have made mention in the Life of Leonardo.‡ That master was very successfully imitated by Cesare da Sesto likewise, and this last-mentioned artist was also a Milanese; in addition to the works by his hand whereof we have made mention in the Life of Dosso, there is a large picture in the house of the Mint at Milan, which is indeed a rich and beautiful work. The subject is the Baptism of Our Saviour Christ by St.

* Whose true name was Brambilla. Förster informs us that the metal Tabernacle of the Sacrament in the Cathedral of Milan was cast by this master.

† Some slight mention has been made of Leone Leoni, in the Life of Valerio Vicentino, see vol. iii. p. 467, *et seq.*, but Vasari afterwards wrote a separate biography of this artist, which will be found in a subsequent page of the present work.

‡ See vol. ii. p. 392. This painter is more commonly called Marco Oggione, and occasionally Uglone.

John.* Another picture by Cesare da Sesto is the half-length figure of Herodias with the Head of John the Baptist in a Charger, which is also executed with admirable ability; and furthermore this artist depicted an altar-piece in the church of San Rocco, which is situate without the Porta Romana; the subject of that work likewise being St. John the Baptist, but represented as a child; to say nothing of many other paintings by the same hand, all of which are much admired.†

The Milanese painter, Guadenzio, was also considered in his lifetime to be an able artist;‡ he painted the picture for the high altar in the church of San Celso,§ and in Santa Maria delle Grazie he painted a chapel in fresco, the subject chosen being the Passion of Our Saviour Christ, represented by figures the size of life, these last exhibiting singular movement and animation in the attitudes.‖ After this Guadenzio painted a picture on panel in the same chapel, and in rivalry of Titian;¶ but although he made great efforts,

* This most admirable picture is now at Milan, in the possession of the noble family of Scotti-Galanti.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8. It was engraved by Fumagalli, in the *Scuola di Leonardo*, 1821.

† This work came into the possession of the Melzi family.—*Ibid.* From a note to the German Translation of our author we learn that one of the finest, if not the very best, picture of Cesare da Sesto was painted for the High Altar of the Church of San Niccolò in Messina, and is now at Naples (in the Museo Borbonico). See also Passavant, *in loc. cit.*, p. 277.

‡ Guadenzio Ferrari, who was born in 1484 at Valduggia, near Novara, in the Sardinian States, for which cause the Piedmontese account him to be one of their school. See Della Valle, *Introduction to vol.* x. *of the Sienese Edition of our author.* Orlandi calls him a disciple of Perugino, and he is said by some writers to have painted in the Farnesina with Raphael. Guadenzio was a sculptor and architect, as well as painter. See the Marchese R. d'Azeglio, who gives details respecting this master, in his richly illustrated work on the Royal Gallery of Turin. Guadenzio Ferrari died in the year 1550, and while occupied with the Last Supper, still to be seen in Santa Maria della Grazie, at Milan.

§ There is no work by Guadenzio at San Celso, but in the Church of the Blessed Virgin, which is very near it, there is a Baptism of Our Lord by St. John.—*Masselli.*

‖ The subject of this work is the Flagellation and Crucifixion of Our Saviour Christ, and is still in fair preservation.—*Ibid.*

¶ The subject of the work here in question is the figure of St. Paul the Apostle, represented in an attitude of meditation, and in the distance is seen the story of his conversion. It was painted, according to the authorities, in the year 1543, and is now in the Louvre, together with that

his work cannot be said to surpass those of the other artists who have laboured in the same place.*

Bernardino di Lupino,† of whom we have already made some mention elsewhere, depicted various works for the house of the Signor Gianfrancesco Rabbia, which is situate near San Sepolcro in the city of Milan; the front of the house that is to say, with the Loggie, halls, and other apartments. The subjects of these pictures were taken from Ovid's Metamorphoses, and other fables; the figures are good and beautiful, and the work is carefully executed and very delicately finished.‡ In the Munistero Maggiore§ likewise, Bernardino produced certain works, having decorated the entire front of the high altar with stories of different subjects, and painted a picture of Our Saviour Christ scourged at the column, with many other productions, all of which are of very fair merit.‖

of Titian, painted for the same place, and which represents Our Saviour Christ crowned with thorns.

* Lomazzo, *Trattato sulla Pittura*, &c., makes this master one of the "seven greatest painters in the world," and the authorities who do not accept this opinion, are yet agreed in admitting that the passing notice here given to him by Vasari does in no way meet his deserts. The Santa Caterina by Guadenzio Ferrari is on all hands considered to be a work of the first rank. The taste of this artist may without doubt be considered questionable in certain points, but into details of this kind it is not our province to enter in this place; the reader who shall desire such, will find them in Lanzi, *ut supra; School of Milan*, vol. ii. p. 496, *et seq.;* in Bordiga, *Notizie intorno alle opere di G. Ferrari, pittore e plastico*, Milan, 1821; in Lomazzo, *Trattato*, &c.; in Orlandi, *Abecedario Pittorico;* and in many other works.

† Or rather, *Luino*, as we have already remarked.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1832-8. See vol. iii. of the present work, p. 156. Passavant considers him to have commenced his labours about the year 1488. See *Beitrage zur Kentniss der Lombardischen Malerschulen*, and the *Kunstblatt*, as before cited.

‡ The pictures painted by Bernardino Luino in the house of the Rabbìa family are declared by some of the Florentine writers to have been destroyed, when the building was restored in the last century; but from a note to the German Translation of our author we learn that certain portions of them are still to be seen in the Casa Silva at Milan.

§ The Great Monastery has been suppressed, but in the Church annexed to it, and which is dedicated to San Maurizio, there are numerous pictures by Luino, who is one of the most admirable and meritorious of the Lombard masters. There are indeed not wanting authorities who consider him the first; and when we remember the correctness and grace of his design, the purity of his style, and the singular delicacy of his execution, we are but slightly disposed to question their judgment.

‖ The short mention with which our author has passed over the works

And this shall be the end of the above written Lives of the various artists of Lombardy.*

of this artist, proves that he was not acquainted with them, and had been but insufficiently informed by those on whom he had relied for his intelligence. In the present day Bernardino receives full justice ; nay, some may think he has obtained rather more than his deserts, since his works have in certain instances been attributed to Leonardo da Vinci. See Passavant, *loc. cit.*, where many of Vasari's omissions are supplied.

* Among the works of Luino, which have been attributed, as above remarked, to Leonardo da Vinci, Förster enumerates the Vanity and Modesty, in the Sciarra-Colonna Palace in Rome. The daughter of Herodias, with the head of the Baptist, in the Tribune of the Uffizj at Florence, and though last mentioned, not least interesting to ourselves, the Christ Disputing with the Doctors in our own National Gallery. See *German Translation of Vasari*, vol. iv. p. 447, *note*.

END OF VOL. IV.

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